JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN: PANGS OF BIRTH

15 August – 30 September 1947

FIRST SERIES
Volume V

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.
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QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CABINET DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

The present volume titled *Pakistan: Pangs of Birth* covers the period from 15 August to 30 September 1947. The volume depicts a triumphant and determined, if frazzled Jinnah assuming the reins of the State he had founded. The occasion marked the end of a "poignant phase" and the beginning of a new era of building up the nascent state.

The euphoria generated by the achievement of Pakistan turned out to be ephemeral. The nation was stunned by the mass killings in East Punjab and Delhi and the gigantic refugee influx that ensued. Although the tragic happenings almost unhinged the new State, Jinnah exhorted his people to exercise restraint and eschew retaliation, having earlier told Mountbatten, "I do not care whether you shoot Muslims or not, it has got to be stopped".

In order to provide succour to homeless refugees, Jinnah instituted the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which reached the staggering figure of 30 million rupees. He set a personal example by having the expenses of the Governor-General's House reduced and ordered adoption of strict measures for economy and austerity.

The beleaguered nation had to endure another shock. The Boundary Commissions perversely awarded certain contiguous Muslim majority areas to India, especially Gurdaspur. The recommendation to allot Gurdaspur to India had been made by V. P. Menon and Wavell as early as 1946. Mountbatten endorsed it so as to provide India with access to Kashmir. India's attitude towards other States such as Junagadh, which had acceded to Pakistan, and Hyderabad, which had been sitting on the fence, was coercive and minatory. All the dithering States were sooner or later bludgeoned into submission.

Recognising the supreme importance of education, Jinnah wished to "eradicate as quickly as possible the illiteracy of ... 90 per cent of our people". He decided to avail himself of Aga Khan's offer of forty lakhs of rupees to set up two institutions "on the lines of famous Zurich Polytechnic" for imparting higher scientific and technical education. He hoped to supplement it by a crore of rupees to be raised within Pakistan.

QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH PAPERS

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15 August – 30 September 1947

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The present volume, subtitled *Pakistan: Pangs of Birth*, is the fifth in the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*. It encompasses the initial phase of incipient Pakistan under the Governor-Generalship of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The four earlier volumes in the series, subtitled *Prelude to Pakistan*, *Pakistan in the Making*, *On the Threshold of Pakistan*, and *Pakistan At Last*, which together span the period from 20 February to 14 August 1947, traced Jinnah's critical role during the final phase of the Freedom Movement. The present volume, covering the period from 15 August to 30 September 1947, signifies a watershed in his political career involving progression from a national politician to a statesman and the nation's founding father. The volume reflects the aspirations of the nation, the trials and tribulations it had to go through, the gigantic challenges it faced, and its determined and courageous response. Jinnah is seen here facing up to the crucible of external threats and internal turmoil then confronting Pakistan and exhorting the nation to strive for survival with honour and dignity.

The volume comprises 340 documents arranged in chronological order and supplemented by seven appendices. Most of the appendices pick up the threads of various themes from previous volumes and reflect a continuity of some major issues; others relate to fresh matters like the Boundary Commission Awards and a Report on Palestine appearing for the first time. In order to facilitate thematic projection, documents relating to the princely states—both primary and supplementary—have been grouped together under the relevant appendix. Issues arising from the deliberations of the Partition Council and the Joint Defence Council as well as the problems relating to the North-West Frontier and Pathanistan, earlier dealt with in appendices, assume critical importance in the present volume and have, therefore, been included in the main text.

The primary documents included in the volume are mainly from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (e.g. *F. 910/364-5*) and the *Governor-General Papers* (e.g. *F. 143(Part I)-GG/1*) available in the National Archives of Pakistan as well as those from the Foreign Office Archives (e.g. *FOA, SA(4)-6/2*) arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially. The supplementary material has been drawn mainly from sources such as the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library (*e.g. IOR, R/3/1/157*), the Public Record Office (*e.g. PRO, Cab 127/150*) in London; the United States National Archives (*U.S. National Archives, 845.00/9-147*); the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad (*NDC*);

contemporary newspapers and publications. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-7* and earlier volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been identified by giving the document number and volume and page numbers, e.g. No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49 or No. 211, Vol. IV, 322-3. Appendices to the present volume have been referred to simply as Appendix III. 23.

Documents of a repetitive character such as congratulatory messages and requests for interview have been excluded. A number of documents, initiated by or addressed to Jinnah as Governor-General, available in Government records, await declassification and are not accessible yet.

Scholarship of enduring value is based on patient research. Without the underpinnings of research, scholarship is rather like a jerry-built structure than a strong and durable edifice. The task of an editor entails unremitting search for documents, hard work and diligent, if now and then unrewarding, research. An open mind, detached and dispassionate thinking, and free and frank exchange of views characterize the process of work in enterprises of "pith and moment" such as the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project.

It takes considerable time to groom and train staff for editorial and research work. The staff position has never been too satisfactory because the procedure for filling vacancies is quite cumbersome. Some of the vacancies even lapsed and efforts to revive them foundered. This could not but retard the pace of work. Had the desired administrative support been available in full measure, the present volume might well have come out before the turn of the century. Be that as it might, the volume would not have come out even when it has but for the unstinted help and unremitting efforts of my colleagues to whom I am indebted.

I am grateful also to Cabinet Secretary Dr Masuma Hasan, a scholar in her own right, for her generous and unwavering support to the Project and for her keen perception and understanding of our difficulties and problems.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Cabinet Division
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28 May 2000

The Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947, provided that as from 15 August 1947, two independent Dominions, namely India and Pakistan, shall be set up.[1] Pakistan emerged on the map of the world as the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest in the world. The same day, Pakistan's founding father, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, took office as the first Governor-General.[2] Later that day, a seven-member Pakistan Cabinet,[3] headed by Liaquat Ali Khan, as well as Provincial Governors were sworn in. Chief Ministers in the provinces also assumed office.

To the Muslims of the subcontinent in particular and the Muslims of the world in general, the birth of Pakistan was a truly historic landmark, and they joined in paying glowing tributes to its founder. There was a veritable deluge of congratulatory messages, and among those who felicitated Jinnah and the nation were eminent contemporary statesmen such as Vincent Auriol,[4] Chiang Kai-shek,[5] Lyndon Johnson,[6] Harold Macmillan,[7] Pethick-Lawrence,[8] Habib Bourguiba,[9] Grand Mufti of Palestine,[10] Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia,[11] Sheikh Hasan Albanna,[12] et al. Denis Shaw, an educationist, hailed Jinnah as a "giant among little people"[13] and was sure that "his name will be ranked with Garibaldi[14] and Bolivar".[15] The emergence of Pakistan was hailed by Iran as a "bright star"[16] in the political firmament. In short, the birth of Pakistan came to be widely regarded as a miracle of modern times, accomplished virtually single-handed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In the inspiring words of Stanley Wolpert, the eminent American historian:

> Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three.[17]

Greeting the nation on the Independence Day, Jinnah observed that "August 15 is the birthday" of Pakistan and that the day marked "the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices ...". He went on to say that the emergence "of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan". The advent of Pakistan "gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how" a nation, composed of many elements, could live in amity and harmony and strive for the greater good "of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed".[18]

Mindful of the awesome challenges confronting the new nation, Jinnah none the less told his compatriots buoyantly:

> Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But, to build it up, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess.[19]

Underscoring the main features of the new State policy, Jinnah affirmed that Pakistan was keen to "maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours"[20] and that it had no aggressive designs against

anyone. He declared: "We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world".[21] Later, articulating his future vision of Pakistan, Jinnah, in an interview with Weldon James of the *Collier's Weekly*, averred:

> We expect to evolve a progressive, democratic government in line with the Muslim belief in the equality of all men.[22]

* * * *

The birth of Pakistan was marked by national rejoicing and jubilation, but the euphoria was soured by deep anxiety and grief over the rampant anti-Muslim violence which swept across East Punjab[23] and Delhi.[24] Mountbatten had not been unaware of the diabolical Sikh plan to eliminate Muslims from East Punjab, part of which was to blow up special trains carrying Pakistan Government personnel and refugees to Pakistan. His Chief of Staff, H. L. Ismay, subsequently referred to a report from the Governor of the Punjab giving details of a Sikh plot to paralyze train movements to Pakistan.[25] Thereupon, it was decided, with the consent of all parties, that before the transfer of power all ring leaders, including Master Tara Singh, be rounded up. However, Mountbatten procrastinated and eventually reversed the decision at Patel's instance. Jinnah was of the view that, had the Viceroy acted firmly and put the consensual decision into effect, the trouble might not only have been contained but "nipped in the bud".[26]

Gandhi was also told by Brij Lal Nehru of organised attacks by armed gangs on convoys and trains of Muslim refugees on their way to Pakistan, inflicting heavy losses in men and material.[27] They related horrific and harrowing tales of murder and mayhem, rape, abduction, arson and looting wantonly committed by armed hordes of Sikhs and Hindus, abetted by troops of the princely States in East Punjab. In fact, the situation in East Punjab and elsewhere thoroughly exposed both the unwillingness and the incapacity of the Indian Government to protect unarmed and defenceless Muslims.[28] Indian Army personnel and Police also joined in the orgies of murder and plunder.

Communal riots erupted in Delhi as well. The situation in adjoining areas also quickly worsened. High Commissioner Zahid Husain was sending regular reports to Karachi on the rapidly deteriorating situation. Writing of the massacre in Delhi, Zahid Husain stated that it was a "greater calamity even than that which befell the Muslim world when the Mongol invasion took place".[29] He regretted that "today, we are witnessing one of the foulest crimes committed in human history against mankind".[30] By 8 September, the city had virtually been besieged

by rampaging mobs. The beleaguered Muslim residents, as well as the Government employees who had opted for transfer to Pakistan but were stranded in Delhi, started flocking for safety to the High Commission which was quickly filled to capacity.[31] There was scarcely any food available for the incoming refugees; nor did the employees of the High Commission venture to go out and risk probable death. The premises had "become a refugee camp without any facilities in respect of food and sanitation".[32] The High Commissioner was "in the position more or less of a prisoner except that the prisoners are assured of food and protection".[33] There was no street in the Muslim quarter of the city which was not full of dead bodies "whom there is no one to move and who are being eaten by crows and vultures".[34] According to Zahid Husain, what was being enacted in Delhi was "one of the greatest tragedies in the history of Islam...".[35] Those who somehow escaped the knife or the bullet of the assassin fell prey to hunger and disease.[36] In the Purana Qila camp on the outskirts of Delhi, there were more than 50,000 refugees "packed like sardines" rendering both ingress and egress virtually impossible.[37] The mass of huddled humanity, half-clad and half-starved, living in abject squalor and want, presented a stark picture of human suffering and misery.

In a rather desperate message telegraphed to London on 12 September, Liaquat Ali Khan informed Prime Minister Attlee as well as the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa that the pervasive and endemic communal violence in East Punjab constituted a planned and organised attempt by the Sikhs, in collusion with the Hindus, to liquidate the entire Muslim population and bring in Sikhs and Hindus from West Punjab instead. He reported that the civil administration in East Punjab had failed to act and that partisan Sikh troops from Patiala and Faridkot had fuelled violence. Urging Britain and other Commonwealth nations to try and save the grim situation, which could lead to a dreadful catastrophe beyond conceptualization, he stated that Pakistan might even be compelled to consider recalling its beleaguered High Commissioner from Delhi.[38]

The percipient Jinnah saw the widespread anti-Muslim violence in India as more than a plot to decimate the Muslim minority. He could perceive powerful elements across the border aiming at the reunification of India and Pakistan by force of arms. Gandhi had threatened that "if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error ..., the India Government would have to go to war against it".[39] Ironically, this threat was hurled soon after an inter-Dominion agreement deprecating war "not merely on moral grounds" but also because war would be disastrous for both countries.[40] This sparked a strong protest from

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru, however, attempted rather fecklessly to describe the news report about Gandhi as "misleading," reiterating India's adherence to the no-war declaration.[41] Pakistan later proposed to India that they both request the United Nations to post neutral observers in the two countries to study and report on the communal situation. India, however, expressed strong opposition to the proposal.[42]

* * * *

As shown in the Introduction to Volume II, as well as in the Introduction to Appendix I to the present volume, Radcliffe did not prove to be fair and impartial as Jinnah had hoped he would. Major J.M. Short, who had served as Personal Assistant to Stafford Cripps while the latter was a Member of the British Cabinet Mission to India, writing to him on 3 August, appeared to share the "obstinate popular belief that Radcliffe will award as H.E. [Mountbatten] dictates".[43]

In the wake of the communal holocaust came the palpably unjust awards of the Boundary Commissions like a bolt from the blue to the fledgling State. They were received with a sense of shock and indignation. Taking "perverse" advantage of the provision made for "other factors" for demarcation of boundaries in the terms of reference of the Boundary Commissions, Chairman Radcliffe, against all canons of equity and good conscience, awarded[44] contiguous Muslim majority areas such as Gurdaspur, Ferozepore, Zira and a few other such areas to India.

The Bengal Boundary Award gave India the entire Muslim majority district of Murshidabad, two-thirds of the Muslim majority Nadia district, the whole of Malda, and two *thanas* of Jessore, which had been included in Pakistan notionally. The Award provided India also with a corridor to Assam from West Bengal (Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri) through Dinajpur (East Bengal). To compound the injustice, Calcutta, too, was denied to Pakistan, even though it was vital to the economy of East Bengal, which produced all the raw jute for the mills in Calcutta. Recourse could, justifiably, be had to the provision for "other factors" to include Calcutta in Pakistan. After all, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepore and Zira had been awarded to India pretty much on the same basis, albeit with far less justification.

As far as Sylhet was concerned, East Bengal was deprived of the adjacent Muslim majority areas of Goalpara, Cachar and Nowgong, besides three *thanas* of Sylhet itself. Chittagong Hill Tracts was, however, included in East Bengal; it had in any case to go to the Dominion

that included the Chittagong District itself.[45] The *Dawn* of 21 August editorialized:

> Pakistan has been cheated of large portions of the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet which inalienably belonged to it.

Subsequent evidence goes to substantiate what Short had feared. By far the most authentic and magisterial account in this behalf is that of Christopher Beaumont, Radcliffe's Secretary, as incorporated in the Introduction to Appendix I of this volume. The British historian, Andrew Roberts, who in 1994 wrote the *Eminent Churchillians*, in the chapter titled 'Lord Mountbatten and the Perils of Adrenalin,' quotes Philip Ziegler, the author of *Mountbatten: The Official Biography*, as saying, "the nugget of doubt that remained about Mountbatten's impartiality," had, after he [Ziegler] had seen Mr. Beaumont's statement, "now become a boulder".[46]

No wonder that Radcliffe had seen fit to destroy his papers so that the real truth might never transpire.[47] In her book, *India, Pakistan and the Unfinished War*, Victoria Schofield, the British writer, states that when Z. H. Zaidi "questioned Radcliffe in 1967, he said that he had destroyed his papers, in order 'to keep the validity of the award' ".[48] For good reason, Jinnah termed the Radcliffe Award as "unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse" and not "a judicial but political Award".[49]

There is strong evidence to suggest that both Mountbatten and Radcliffe had acted in league with the Congress leadership which was hell-bent on making Pakistan as "small and unattractive"[50] as possible. The "popular belief" about Radcliffe awarding "as H.E. dictates"[51] had turned out to be well-founded. The Boundary Commission Award on the partition of Punjab had been finalized by Radcliffe about a week before the partition; it was then gerrymandered in favour of India and to the detriment of Pakistan.[52]

However, Jinnah as a gentleman had already given his word of honour that the Muslim League would abide by the awards.[53] He, therefore, kept his word and counselled acquiescence even though the Awards were unjust and perverse, political rather than judicial.

* * * *

As if the problems arising from the partition were not daunting enough, Jinnah had to contend also with the difficulties posed by such recalcitrant elements as the Red Shirts in the NWFP who had, in concert with the Indian National Congress, opposed the partition and were pressing for the establishment of Pathanistan. The Ministry of Dr Khan Sahib, following the thumping verdict of the Referendum held in July in favour of

Pakistan, had lost all moral authority to govern the Province and ought to have resigned voluntarily, at least when Pakistan had actually come into being. Their boycott of the flag-hoisting ceremony on 15 August[54] was clearly tantamount to defying the new political dispensation. Instead the Red Shirts, in fact, hoisted Pathanistan flags at various places. This act was regarded also by the American Consul at Karachi, Gordon Minnigerode, as an "apparent manifestation of disloyalty to the Pakistan Government".[55] They, thus, left Governor Cunningham with no alternative but to sack the Ministry, which he did on 22 August after consultation with Jinnah.[56] Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the Leader of the Opposition, was invited by the Governor to form a new Ministry.

Afghanistan cast the solitary vote against Pakistan's admission to the United Nations on 30 September.[57] In a bid to mend fences with that none-too-friendly country, Jinnah sent Saidullah Khan as his Personal Representative to Kabul, who was asked by the Afghan Prime Minister, at their very first meeting:

> ... will it be too much if I were to ask you to give us the whole of North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas, as by doing so you will give a proof of your large-heartedness as it will add enormously to the existing strength of Afghanistan.[58]

Saidullah Khan retorted that it should rather be Afghanistan, being much the smaller of the two countries, that should join Pakistan and make the latter stronger. Unfazed by the Afghan Premier's rather unexpectedly aggressive and unfriendly demarche, Saidullah Khan was to continue his tortuous and ticklish negotiations with the Afghan Government. He did, eventually, succeed in persuading them to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.

* * * *

Unswayed by any feeling of revenge or retaliation for the heart-rending sufferings inflicted on Muslims in India, Jinnah urged full protection of the life, honour and property of Hindus and other minorities in Pakistan. Stating how humane and tolerant Muslims had always been towards the non-Muslim minorities, he recalled that the Holy Prophet "not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians ... with the utmost ... respect for their faith and beliefs".[59] He fervently appealed to the Muslims:

> Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfill their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.[60]

The minorities, too, assured their allegiance to the new State. I. P. Mall, General Secretary, Indian Christian Association of Sind, assured

Jinnah of the unflinching loyalty of Sind Christians to Pakistan.[61] Many a non-Muslim citizen of Pakistan deprecated and deplored the persecution of Indian Muslims. D. Nath, a retired Hindu official, conceded that "due to the cooperation of prominent personalities of the adjacent Muslim villages," his own village in Rawalpindi District had not been pillaged during the recent disturbances.[62]

In his *'Id* message on 18 August, Jinnah rightly did not forget "the Muslim minority" in the "sub-continent who ... carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan". He paid a glowing tribute to them as "pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle...".[63]

Jinnah was determined to deal firmly and relentlessly with miscreants indulging in violence and plunder, as evidenced by his instructions to the Baluchistan authorities. As a result of the adoption of firm measures, peaceful conditions were soon restored in Baluchistan.[64]

C. E. Gibbon, a prominent Christian leader, assured Jinnah that

> the grief and sorrow which fills your heart is shared by my community. We are doing all that is humanly possible to relieve distress and help the administration in restoring law and order.[65]

However, Jinnah exhorted Muslims in Pakistan to refrain from taking reprisals, "such action being contrary to Islamic teachings,"[66] adding:

> it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Musalmans who happen to be minorities in Hindustan or elsewhere in the sub-continent.[67]

He emphatically urged his fellow-countrymen

> to temper their sentiments with reason and to be aware of the dangers which may well overwhelm their newly-won State, should they allow their feelings of the moment to gain mastery over their actions.[68]

The ground swell of outrage in West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan over the genocidal killings in East Punjab reached a crescendo as widespread reprisals against non-Muslims erupted. In fact, Pathan tribes also importuned Jinnah for permission to retaliate.[69]

Jinnah was equally appalled by the killing and maiming of non-Muslims in West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan. He had earlier urged Mountbatten to be ruthless in suppressing trouble in Lahore and Amritsar, saying: "I do not care whether you shoot Muslims or not, it has got to be stopped".[70] There were tragic incidents in West Punjab, as well as in Sindh and Baluchistan, ranging from violent attacks on non-Muslim evacuee trains to killing, looting and arson.[71] The Sind Governor and the Provincial Muslim League were, later, to appeal to non-Muslims not to emigrate.[72]

The poignant and untold sufferings of the huge mass of refugees had a deeply disturbing effect on Jinnah's sensitive mind.[73] On 1 September,

when he was in Lahore addressing himself to the problems of the homeless and impecunious refugees, and overseeing the measures adopted for their redressal, he was informed of the death of his brother Ahmed Ali.[74] He heard the news with great fortitude, almost stoically, but had no time to mourn his personal loss. He had so identified himself with the pain and suffering of the unfortunate refugees that, to him, their grief was more poignant than his own.

The prodigious burden of feeding and caring for millions of destitute Muslim refugees proved to be a Herculean task for the nascent State. In order to supplement the available scarce resources, Jinnah constituted the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, appealing for generous donations for the relief and rehabilitation of the impoverished and needy.[75] He made an impassioned appeal to his fellow-countrymen:

> Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life, and let the money, foodstuff and clothing thus saved, be brought to this common pool for relief of the stricken.[76]

The appeal elicited a massive response and the donations, starting with an initial collection of over 350,000 rupees,[77] eventually reached the rather staggering 30-million mark.[78]

* * * *

Jinnah had always been keen on the economic and industrial development of Muslim India. As far back as December 1943, he had appointed a committee to prepare a "comprehensive five-year programme for the economic and social uplift of the proposed Muslim State".[79] He was keen to eradicate the evil of illiteracy in Pakistan as quickly as possible and stressed the imperative of providing the best possible training for technicians, scientists, businessmen, doctors and civil servants[80] with a view to human resource development for accelerating economic growth. Realizing that Pakistan had virtually no industrial base, he was keen on giving impetus to industrial development and stressed the supreme need of trained manpower to help attain that end. He welcomed Aga Khan's offer of four million rupees for setting up two institutions in Pakistan, on the lines of the famous Zurich Polytechnic, for providing higher scientific and technical education and hoped to raise another crore of rupees internally for the same purpose.[81]

Archibald Rowlands, who had been Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council until 1946 and possessed vast experience of public

finance and economic management, was appointed[82] by Jinnah as his Adviser at the end of August, to study and recommend measures to put the economy of the nascent State on a sound footing. Jinnah had launched, even before independence, a number of projects such as the Mohammadi Steamship Company, the Orient Airways, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, and a few banks. Soon after independence, while laying the foundation-stone of Valika Textile Mills in Karachi, Jinnah observed:

> If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world....[83]

With the economic and industrial development of Pakistan very much in his mind, Jinnah wrote to Attlee,[84] Churchill[85] and Macmillan[86] to introduce Mir Laik Ali, a reputed industrialist of Hyderabad, who was due to stop over in London *en route* for New York. Jinnah, who believed that Laik Ali could greatly help in Pakistan's industrial development, assigned him to engage in exploratory talks in London towards that end.

* * * *

On top of the inequitable Boundary Awards, Pakistan had to grapple with the ticklish problem of the accession of States. During its struggle for independence, the Muslim League had not been able to formulate a well-thought-out and coherent policy towards the States. Jinnah and his lieutenants were overwhelmingly engrossed with matters pertaining to the demand for Pakistan. The British policy with regard to the future of the States was also rather ambiguous and dithered between independence for them and their accession to one or the other Dominion, following the lapse of paramountcy. This policy did not seem to be predicated on *realpolitik*. The Congress approach, on the other hand, was purely pragmatic. They were implacably opposed to independence and insisted that each State had to accede to either India or Pakistan.

As it turned out, most States cast their lot with one Dominion or the other, except for Hyderabad, Kashmir, Junagadh, and Kalat. The Nizam of Hyderabad did not accede to either Dominion but, according to press and other reports, had assumed independent sovereign status.[87] India, however, kept insisting on accession and was, eventually, to annex Hyderabad by military invasion in the wake of Jinnah's passing away in September 1948.

On 15 September 1947, the Nawab of Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, but India refused to recognise the accession and demanded retraction against

the backdrop of a steady arms build-up and concentration of troops around the State.[88]

On the other hand, the Maharaja of Kashmir, presiding over the destiny of 85 per cent Muslim population, entered into a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan. But Sardar Patel continued to bring pressure to bear on Kashmir to accede to India.[89]

Muslims in some areas of Kashmir, particularly Poonch, who had been subjected to ruthless persecution and savage violence since before the transfer of power, had appealed[90] to Jinnah to intervene and save them from continuing tyrannical suppression by the State troops. This led large numbers of them to flee their homes and seek refuge in Pakistan.

In the meantime, India took steps to establish telecommunication and land links with Kashmir.[91] Rajput and Sikh armed bands infiltrated the State,[92] which remained in a state of turmoil uneasily awaiting an amicable resolution of the stalemate.

The States within the orbit of Pakistan were inclined to accede to it, except Kalat which had been recognized by Jinnah as an "independent sovereign State" with a "status different from that of India States."[93] Las Bela[94] and Kharan[95], smaller States in Baluchistan, though willing to accede to Pakistan, claimed themselves to be independent of Kalat State.

* * * *

The All-India Muslim League and Jinnah had been ardent and steadfast supporters of Muslim causes, especially Palestine. In May 1947, the United Nations set up a Special Committee to examine the Jewish and Arab claims on Palestine following the termination of the British mandate. India was represented on that committee by Justice Abdur Rahman of the Lahore High Court. His report[96] recommended, *inter alia*, the termination of British mandate and grant of independence to Palestine, the Jews having one-third and the Arabs two-thirds of the seats in the State Legislature. He opposed the partition of Palestine with due regard for the legitimate aspirations of Palestinian Arabs.

Amin al-Hussaini, Grand Mufti of Palestine, in a telegram to Jinnah described the U.N. Committee's Report on Palestine as "prejudiced, unfair and one-sided" and sought strong support for the cause of Palestinian Muslims. Jinnah, in his reply on 11 September, assured him that:

> Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan are whole-heartedly with you in the realisation of Arab national demands. We will stand by you and help in every possible way.[97]

However, Palestine was eventually partitioned as recommended by

the UN Committee. The partition was, of course, rejected by the Arabs and Pakistan lent its full support to the Arab stance.

* * * *

Jinnah was endowed with uncanny foresight and perspicacity. He had the great quality of assessing and evaluating any given situation entirely on merits. He advisedly did not lend support to the Congress "rebellion" of 1942 that was designed to paralyze the British war effort and force them to quit India. The success of the Quit-India Movement might have translated into the entry of the Japanese forces into India, "... with Subhas Chandra Bose at the head of a Caste Hindu State under the Japanese, which would have meant a worse position for the Muslims...".[98] Nor was he prepared to buy the theory that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, with the support of Sikh terrorist organisations, were out to overthrow the Indian Government. In an interview with H.L. Ismay, he described the theory as an "ingenious fiction designed to magnify the difficulties, and excuse the impotence of the Government of India." He perceived Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, as a "figurehead," the "real and almost absolute power" being wielded by Sardar Patel, "actively aided and abetted by Gandhi". Jinnah had the perspicacity to see that Gandhi as well as the Government of India "are determined on the destruction of Pakistan".[99] He continued:

> While outwardly preaching brotherly love and tolerance, Gandhi was intent on destroying Pakistan. In every one of his speeches, there is a drop of poison. *You*, of course, can't detect this poison, but the Hindus for whose edification it is instilled, have no difficulty in grasping his meaning and nor do I, who know him inside out".[100]

* * * *

Jinnah had always been a stickler for financial discipline. To him, no one was an exception to the general principle of prudence, circumspection and due economy in public spending. He applied this principle stringently across the board. He reprimanded Mahmood Hasan of *Dawn* for delay in the rendering of account and directed that it be submitted to him without any further delay.[101] He did not spare even prominent leaders such as Khwaja Nazimuddin and Feroz Khan Noon who were asked to render a complete account of the money advanced to them in connection with the relief operation in Bihar.[102]

An enormously rich, self-made man, by dint largely of his prodigious legal practice and shrewd business investments, Jinnah had always been careful and circumspect in the management of his personal financial resources. Realizing that the new State had had to start off with extremely meagre resources, he as Head of State was particularly mindful of the imperatives of economy and austerity. The Director, Food and Civil Supplies, Sind, urged the Comptroller, Governor-General's Household, to restrict the requirement of sugar for official parties to the minimum because it was in short supply.[103] Personally reviewing the strength of staff at the Flagstaff House, Jinnah ordered the retention only of the most essential staff, thereby effecting a saving of Rs. 110 per month.[104] The staff of Government House was reviewed by him as well, and its sanctioned strength of some 230 persons, working in the household, office, garages and gardens, was reduced to 143.[105] The menu at official parties was, usually, restricted to relatively less expensive items. Umbrellas were borrowed from the local YMCA to protect the guests from the sun at an at-home given at the Government House.[106] These instances demonstrate how conscious the first Head of State was of the paramount need of economy and austerity. The expensive and sumptuous parties thrown by most subsequent rulers of Pakistan present a stark and painful contrast. Their extravagant and ostentatious spending of public money has stultified, as it were, Jinnah's meticulous and scrupulous regard for expending public funds honestly and economically.

* * * *

The epic struggle for freedom and Pakistan against overwhelming odds had all but exhausted Jinnah physically and he richly deserved respite and eventual retirement from public life. But the unusual travail that attended the birth of Pakisan and the baffling and formidable problems that confronted the new State would not let him take rest, much less retire. As he had himself said in August in an interview with Weldon James of the *Collier's Weekly* magazine, "Pakistan is an infant in the family of nations, and it will require nursing for some time. I would like to take a vacation, to retire, now, but there is too much work—too much nursing—to be done".[107] He did, however, "hope to step down as soon as the country is well organized and has settled down under the new constitution".[108] As it turned out, however, his successors dallied away and failed to frame a constitution until some nine years later.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Notes

[1]Indian Independence Act, 1947, No. 164, *TP*, XII, Section 1(1), 234. Also see Enclosure to No. 1, Vol. III, Section 1 (1), 4.
[2]Press Release, 15 August, 1947, No. 2.
[3]Their portfolios were: Liaquat Ali Khan: Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations, and Defence; I.I.Chundrigar: Commerce, Industries & Works; Ghulam Mohammed: Finance; Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: Communications; Ghazanfar Ali Khan: Food, Agriculture & Health; Jogendra Nath Mandal: Law & Parliamentary Affairs; Fazlur Rahman: Interior, Information & Education.
[4&5]See note 2 ante.
[6]Lyndon B. Johnson to Jinnah, 25 August 1947, No. 103.
[7]Harold Macmillan to Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 10.
[8]Pethick-Lawrence to Jinnah, 26 August 1947, No. 125.
[9]Habib Bourguiba to Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 15.
[10]Mohammad Amin Al-Hussaini to Jinnah, 18 September 1947, No. 253.
[11]Prince Faisal to Jinnah, n.d. August 1947, No. 185.
[12]Hasan Albanna to Jinnah, 30 August 1947, No. 171.
[13]Denis Shaw to Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 8.
[14]Hero of Risorgimento, the nineteenth century movement for Italy's unification and independence.
[15]Venezuelan patriot, known as the Liberator of South America.
[16]Mehdi Foroobar to Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 16.
[17]Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, vii.
[18-21]Broadcast by Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 1.
[22]Note on Weldon James's interview with Jinnah, 25 August 1947, No. 112.
[23]T. W. Rees to Claude Auchinleck, 21 August 1947, Appendix III. 1; Frank Messervy to Claude Auchinleck, 25 August 1947, Appendix III. 2; Liaquat Ali Khan to Mountbatten, 27 August 1947, Appendix III. 3; C. M. Trivedi to Swaran Singh, 4 September 1947, Appendix III. 7; F. Mudie to Jinnah, 23 September 1947, Appendix III. 23.
[24]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 2 September 1947, Appendix III. 43. Also see Appendix III. 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19-21, 27-8.
[25&26]Note by H. L. Ismay, 5 October 1947, Enclosure to US National Archives, 845.00/11-47. Not printed. Also see Evan Jenkins to Mountbatten, 9 August 1947, Vol. IV, Appendix III. 14, 424-5.
[27]Brij Lal Nehru to Gandhi, 18 September 1947, Enclosure to No. 281.
[28]Ibid. Also see Mian Abdul Aziz to M. Ikramullah, 16 September 1947, Appendix III. 20.
[29&30]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 8 September 1947, Appendix III. 10.
[31&32]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 8 September 1947, Appendix III. 12.
[33]Ibid., 8 September 1947, Appendix III. 12.
[34&35]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 9 September 1947, Appendix III. 14.
[36&37]Mian Abdul Aziz to M. Ikramullah, 16 September 1947. Appendix III.20.
[38]Liaquat Ali Khan to Attlee, 12 September 1947, No. 225.
[39]Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru, 29 September 1947, No. 316.
[40]Annex I to ibid.
[41]Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan, 1 October 1947, F. 111-GG/2. Not printed.
[42]*Pakistan Times*, 30 September 1947.
[43]J. M. Short to Stafford Cripps, 3 August 1947, Appendix I. 1.
[44]Radcliffe to Mountbatten, 12 August 1947, Annexes I & II to No. 30.
[45]Radcliffe to Mountbatten, 12 August 1947, Annex II to No. 30, para 8 (7) & Appendix I.
[46]Andrew Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians*, London, 1994, 96.
[47]Ibid., 97.
[48]Radcliffe's reply to a question by Z. H. Zaidi, 1967, quoted by Victoria Schofield, *India, Pakistan and the Unfinished War*, London, 2000, 38. Also see note 52 below.
[49]Broadcast by Jinnah, 31 August 1947, No. 175.
[50]George Abell to V. P. Menon, 5 February 1946, Draft about Demarcation of the Pakistan Areas, Enclosure to Appendix XII. 50, Vol. I, Part II, para 9, 560-3.

[51]See note 43 ante.
[52]George Abell to S. E. Abbott, 8 August 1947, Appendix I. 3, note 1.
[53]Press Note by Partition Council, 22 July 1947, Annexure to Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, 960-2.
[54]George Cunningham to Jinnah, 15 August, 1947, Annexure to No. 5.
[55]Memorandum by H. Gordon Minnigerode, 16 September 1947, Annex II to No. 74.
[56]George Cunningham to Jinnah, 22 August 1947, No. 74.
[57]Note by Saidullah Khan, 1 October 1947, F. 188/13-4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[58]Note by Saidullah Khan, 30 September 1947, No. 331.
[59]Jinnah's reply to Viceroy's address, 14 August 1947, No. 257, Vol. IV, 361-2.
[60]Broadcast by Jinnah, 15 August 1947, No. 1.
[61]I.P. Mali to Jinnah, 15 August 1947, F. 30-GG/271. Not printed.
[62]D. Nath to Jinnah, 16 August 1947, No. 19.
[63]Message by Jinnah, 18 August 1947, Appendix IV. 1.
[64]Telephonic instructions by Jinnah to Geoffrey Prior. See Prior to Jinnah, 22 August 1947, No. 78.
[65]C.E. Gibbon to Jinnah, 29 August 1947, No. 158.
[66&67]Statement by Jinnah, 17 September, 1947, Annex II to No. 166.
[68]Statement by Jinnah, 24 August 1947, Appendix IV. 2.
[69]Malik Akbar Khan & Malik Wel Khan to Jinnah, 29 August 1947, No. 157.
[70]Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins, 24 June 1947, Appendix II. 21, Vol. II, 829.
[71]Francis Mudie to Jinnah, 23 September 1947, No. 281. Also see J.B. Kripalani to Jinnah, 25 September 1947, No. 291 & Geoffrey Prior to M.Ikramullah, 20 August 1947, No. 51.
[72]See Mahomadali to Jinnah, quoting *Dawn* of 10 October 1947, F. 664/16, *QAP*. Not printed.
[73]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, Karachi, 1987, 11.
[74]M. A. Chaiwala and Hassanaly P. Ibrahim to Jinnah, 1 September 1947, No. 187.
[75&76]Appeal by Jinnah, 12 September 1947, No. 223.
[77]Press Note by Z. A. Khan, 22 September 1947, F. 80(A)-GG. Not printed.
[78]Press Note by Z. A. Khan, 5 September 1950, F. 80(9)-GG. Not printed.
[79]Resolution II of 31st Session of AIML, 25 December 1943. See Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 467-70.
[80]Note on Weldon James's interview with Jinnah, 25 August 1947, No. 112.
[81]Aga Khan to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 4 September 1947, Enclosure to 227.
[82]M. Hashim to Accountant General, Pakistan Revenues, Karachi, n.d. August 1947, No. 183.
[83]Speech by Jinnah, 26 September 1947, Appendix IV. 4. Also see Introduction to Vol. II, xxxvi-xxxix.
[84]Jinnah to Attlee, 11 September, 1947, No. 219.
[85]Jinnah to Churchill, 11 September 1947, No. 220.
[86]Jinnah to Macmillan, 11 September 1947, No. 221.
[87]*Pakistan Times*, 23 August 1947. Also see R.E.B. Bower to George Marshall, 23 August 1947, Appendix V. 24 and Memorandum by the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, 12 September 1947, Appendix V. 43.
[88]Mountbatten to Jinnah, 22 September 1947, Appendix V.57.
[89]Vallabhbhai Patel to R. C. Kak, 3 July 1947, Appendix VII. 1, Vol. III, 963.
[90]Muslims of Poonch to Jinnah, 29 August 1947, Appendix V. 28 & Muslims of Bagh Mallot to Jinnah, 29 August 1947, ibid., V. 29.
[91]Hari Singh to Vallabhbhai Patel, 2 October 1947, Durgadas (ed.), *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1, Ahmedabad, 1971, 42-3.
[92]Note by Anonym, September 1947, Annexure to Appendix V. 47.
[93]Press Communique, 11 August 1947, Annex to No. 201, Vol. IV, 310-1.
[94]Ruler of Las Bela to Jinnah, 18 August 1947, Appendix V. 11.
[95]Ruler of Kharan to Jinnah, 21 August 1947, Appendix V. 18.
[96]Report to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine by Abdur Rahman, 14 August 1947, Appendix VII.
[97]*Pakistan Times*, 13 September 1947.
[98]Note on Weldon James's interview with Jinnah, 25 August 1947, No. 112.
[99&100]Note by H. L. Ismay, 4 October 1947, PRO, Prem 8/558. Not printed.

[101]Jinnah to Mahmood Hasan, 27 August 1947, No. 131.
[102]Nazimuddin to Jinnah, 29 September, 1947, No. 315.
[103]R.R. Pearce to S.V. McCoy, 8 August 1947, No. 186, Vol. IV, 284.
[104]Note by S. V. McCoy, 8 September 1947, F. 1113/55-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[105]See note on Nominal List of Servants, 18 September 1947, F. 1113/84-8, *QAP*. Not printed.
[106]Note by S. V. McCoy, 7 September 1947, No. 209.
[107&108]See note 98 ante.

Abbreviations

ADC	Aide-de-Camp
AFA	Assistant Financial Adviser
AIML	All India Muslim League
API	Associated Press of India
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
CBE	Commander (of the Order) of the British Empire
CBR	Central Board of Revenue
DCGS	Deputy Chief of the General Staff
EAC	Extra Assistant Commissioner
FOA	*Foreign Office Archives*
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GS	General Staff
INA	Indian National Army
IOR	*India Office Records*
JP	Justice of the Peace
KBE	Knight Commander (of the Order) of the British Empire
KCIE	Knight Commander (of the Order) of the Indian Empire
KCSI	Knight Commander (of the Order) of the Star of India
KCVO	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
MC	Military Cross
MSGG	Military Secretary to the Governor-General
MSQ	Military Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam
NWR	North Western Railway
PBF	Punjab Boundary Force
PWD	Public Works Department
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
QAPP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
QARF	Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund
RAEC	Royal Army Education Corps
RAG	Royal Afghanistan Government
RTC	Round Table Conference
TP	*The Transfer of Power, 1942-7*
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Commission on Palestine

All India Muslim League Working Committee
1947

President
Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Secretary
Liaquat Ali Khan

Treasurer
Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan
(Raja of Mahmudabad)

Assam
Abdul Matin Chaudhury

Baluchistan
Qazi Mohammed Isa

Bengal
M.A.H. Ispahani
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mohamed Akram Khan
Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Bihar
Syed Hossain Imam
S.M. Lateef-ur-Rahman

Bombay
I.I. Chundrigar

Central Provinces and Berar
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Madras
Haji Abdul Sattar H. Essak Sait

North-West Frontier Province
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan

Punjab
Mian Bashir Ahmed
Sheikh Karamat Ali
Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Sind
Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

United Provinces
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman

Principal Holders of Office

Governor-General	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Private Secretary to the Governor-General	M. W. Abbasi (up to 24 September 1947) S. M. Yusuf (from 25 September 1947)
Military Secretary	Colonel E. St. J. Birnie

Cabinet

Liaquat Ali Khan	Prime Minister; Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Defence
I. I. Chundrigar	Commerce; Industries and Works
Ghulam Mohammed	Finance
Abdur Rab Nishtar	Communications
Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Food and Agriculture; Health
Jogendra Nath Mandal	Law and Labour
Fazlur Rahman	Interior; Information and Education

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

M. A. Jinnah	President
M. B. Ahmad	Secretary

Joint Defence Council[1]

Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan Baldev Singh

Claude Auchinleck

[1]Set-up by the Governor-General with effect from 15 August 1947 under Gazette Notification No. G.G.O.2, 11 August 1947 (Joint Defence Council Order, 1947). Prior to 15 August, the Partition Council had also functioned temporarily as the Joint Defence Council. See Enclosure to No. 235, Vol. III, Case No. PC/82/8/47, 692.

Governors

East Bengal	Frederick Bourne
West Punjab	Francis Mudie
Sind	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
N.W.F.P.	George Cunningham

Agent to the Governor-General

Baluchistan	Geoffrey Prior

Chief Ministers

East Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin
West Punjab	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
N.W.F.P.	Abdul Qaiyum Khan (from 23 August 1947)

Chronology of Important Events
15 August to 30 September 1947

August 15 — Jinnah sworn in as first Governor-General of Pakistan; appoints a seven-man federal cabinet headed by Liaquat Ali Khan; greets the nation in a broadcast on the emergence of Pakistan.
Provincial Governors and Chief Ministers of East Bengal, West Punjab and Sind appointed.
Independence celebrations marred by huge influx of Muslim refugees from East Punjab.
Frontier Congress Ministry boycott flag-hoisting ceremony at Peshawar.
Greetings pour in from around the world on the achievement of independence as well as on Jinnah's appointment.
Jammu & Kashmir State's proposal for a Standstill Agreement accepted.
Hyderabad "assumes independent sovereign status" while India refuses "to consider any settlement short of accession".
Junagadh announces intention to accede to Pakistan.

16 — Liaquat and Fazlur Rahman attend meeting of Joint Defence Council at Delhi; they attend another meeting at which it is decided to publish the awards of the Boundary Commissions.

17 — Awards of the Boundary Commissions published in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary;* the awards trigger general resentment and criticism.
Liaquat and Nehru hold a meeting at Ambala to discuss the deteriorating communal situation with governors and ministers of the two Punjabs and also visit Lahore.

18 — Jinnah greets the nation on the occasion of *'Id;* pays tribute to Muslims in Hindustan as "pioneers in the vanguard of our historic struggle for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan".
Liaquat and Nehru visit Amritsar to help restore law and order.

19 — Governments of West and East Punjab issue a joint appeal for peace in their respective provinces.

20 — Communal riots break out in Quetta and spread to some other towns of Baluchistan; measures taken to bring situation

under control speedily.
Jinnah's house in Delhi, though sold to Dalmia, requisitioned by Government of India.

21 The Nizam issues a *Firman* pledging constitutional reforms.
Muslim optees for service in Pakistan stranded at Delhi complain to Jinnah about forcible eviction from their homes; request supply of food, financial aid, and military escort for transportation to Pakistan.
Jinnah approves appointment of Judges of East Bengal High Court.

22 Frontier Congress Ministry dismissed by Governor; Abdul Qaiyum Khan invited to form ministry.
Mamdot meets East Punjab Premier in connection with the communal situation there.

24 Jinnah grieved by colossal loss of Muslim lives in East Punjab but counsels Pakistani Muslims to temper their outrage with restraint and reason, and "in spite of all provocation to preserve intact the peace of Pakistan for the sake of Pakistan".

25 Jinnah received by Mayor and Councillors of Karachi Municipal Corporation who present him an address of welcome.

26 Standstill Agreement executed between Pakistan and Jammu & Kashmir for continuation of existing arrangements; similar agreement also concluded with Bahawalpur State.

27 Liaquat draws Mountbatten's attention to the grave communal situation in East Punjab; suggests immediate use of Air Force against Sikh *Jathas* or an emergent meeting of Joint Defence Council to consider the situation.

28 Jinnah arrives in Lahore to coordinate measures for relief and rehabilitation of refugees.

29 Jinnah and representatives from India and Pakistan attend Joint Defence Council meeting at Lahore which decides to

disband Punjab Boundary Force and directs both Central Governments and Governments of East and West Punjab to restore peaceful conditions.
Poonch Muslims seek Jinnah's intervention to stop brutal oppression by Jammu & Kashmir State Forces.
Jinnah greets the Indonesian Republic and hopes for enduring friendly relations between the two States.

30 Liaquat and Nehru undertake a 4-day tour of the riot-stricken areas in East and West Punjab.

31 Jinnah in a broadcast urges maintenance of law and order at all costs; characterizes the Boundary Commission awards as "unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse" but counsels acquiescence.

Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani appointed Pakistan Ambassador to the U.S.A.

September

2 Communal riots erupt in Delhi; situation in Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hissar Districts also worsens.

3 Constituent Assembly adopts the Provisional Constitution Order.

5 Birnie informs Jammu & Kashmir Government of Jinnah's desire to visit the State in a private capacity.

6 Delhi stormed by rampaging mobs; Muslim residents hounded out and killed or wounded, their properties looted and houses occupied.

7 Sind Minorities Association demand adequate representation of minorities at the Centre and in the Provinces.

8 Communal situation in Delhi deteriorates further.

9 Jinnah chairs an emergency meeting of the Cabinet which finalises terms of Instrument of Accession for States wishing to accede to Pakistan.

11 Jinnah deputes Mir Laik Ali to meet Attlee and Churchill and discuss prospects of trade and commerce between Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

12 Jinnah reminds the nation of the crisis resulting from the savage persecution of Muslims in East Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere; inaugurates Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and appeals for generous contributions; urges observance of austerity.
Liaquat sends a message to Attlee accusing Sikhs of complicity with Hindus to liquidate Muslims in East Punjab and bring Sikhs from West to East Punjab instead; urges Britain and other Commonwealth nations to intervene.

13 Oppression of Poonch Muslims by Jammu & Kashmir State Forces continues.

14 During his stopover in London, Zafrullah Khan, leading Pakistan's delegation to U.N., slams anti-Muslim violence in East Punjab; warns of agitating the matter at international level if Government of India fails to stop the genocide.

15 Jinnah sympathizes with Muslim victims of Delhi riots; urges authorities there to curb lawlessness.
Appoints Saidullah Khan as Personal Representative in Kabul.
Junagadh State accedes to Pakistan.

16 Reiterating his stand, Zafrullah Khan asserts that since Government of India had failed to control the disturbances, Pakistan might be obliged to take the matter to the United Nations.

17 Jammu & Kashmir Government tell Birnie that time was not appropriate for Jinnah's visit to the State.
Jinnah and Miss Jinnah pay a surprise visit to the refugee camps at Karachi.

18 Jinnah asks Mountbatten to clarify the reported concentration of Indian troops along borders of Junagadh and other Kathiawar States which had acceded to Pakistan; seeks assurance that Junagadh territory would not be violated.

19-20 Liaquat and Ghulam Mohammed attend an inter-Dominion conference in New Delhi to consider the position of minorities in the two countries. Both governments declare any India-Pakistan conflict to be repugnant not only on moral grounds but also because such conflict would be ruinous for both.

21 Jinnah and Kripalani discuss exodus of non-Muslims from Sind.

22 Pakistan offers to submit the issue of communal disturbances to inquiry by an impartial body.
Mountbatten admits sending a small force to areas around Junagadh; affirms that India would not acquiesce in Junagadh's accession to Pakistan against the wishes of the Hindu majority in the State.

24 Manavadar accedes to Pakistan.

25 Jinnah tells Mountbatten that India's objection regarding Junagadh's accession was untenable; urges that the State be left alone and in peace.
Liaquat protests to Nehru against the statement of Jam Sahib of Nawanagar condemning Junagadh's accession and announcing despatch of troops to neighbouring Gondal and Jetpur; declares that accession of Babriwad and Mangrol to India was invalid as both were integral parts of Junagadh; warns that any attack on them would be tantamount to invasion of Pakistan.
Samaldas Gandhi forms a "provisional government" of Junagadh at Bombay.

26 Jinnah inaugurates Valika Textile Mills at Karachi; urges rapid industrialization to reduce dependence on outside world; stresses provision of residential accommodation and other amenities for workers so as to have "contented labour".

27 Jinnah appeals to the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Aga Khan for contributions to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

29 Liaquat protests to Nehru about Gandhi's threat of war against Pakistan.
Mountbatten reiterates Indian stance on Junagadh's acces-

sion to Pakistan; suggests holding a referendum.

30 Pakistan admitted to the United Nations.

Transvaal Muslims form Pakistan Central Relief Committee for refugee relief; offer services of South African Indian doctors.

No.	Description	Date August 1947	Summary	Page
1	Broadcast by Jinnah	15	Congratulates the nation on the Independence Day which happened to be *Jumu'at al-Wada'* as well; recalling the sacrifices for the creation of Pakistan, urges the people to strive for peace and reassures minorities of their rights; asserts Pakistan's friendly intentions towards its neighbours and the world at large; asks all Muslims to thank God and seek His guidance for making Pakistan great.	1
2	Press Release	15	Notifies that Quaid had been sworn in as Governor-General by Justice Abdur Rashid, Chief Justice of Lahore High Court, in the presence of a distinguished gathering including the Prime Minister, Members of the Pakistan Cabinet, Diplomats and Services Chiefs; states that the ceremony began with a recitation from the holy *Qur'an* and that messages were also read from the Chinese and French Governments; adds that with Governor-General's permission, seven Ministers were also sworn in.	2
3	Note by E. St. J. Birnie	15	Gives detailed programme of that evening's ceremony for the unfurling of Pakistan Flag by Quaid at the Parade Ground.	9
4	Frederick Bourne to Jinnah Letter	15	Reports his oath-taking as Governor of East Bengal.	10
5	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	15	Reports his oath-taking as Governor of the NWFP.	11
6	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	15	Informs him of the outcome of his talk with Dr Khan Sahib who, while refusing to resign, had assured loyalty to Pakistan, undertaken to make no declaration about an independent Pathanistan, and promised to go into opposition if he could not reconcile himself to the new constitution; suggests that Khan Sahib be left in power until the next general elections although he had weakened his position by failure to attend the flag-hoisting on 15 August.	12
7	Eileen Bond to F. Amin Letter & Enclosure	15	Thanks for his prompt response to No. 113, Vol. IV, and encloses letter from the local Government making an offer for buying her property in Quetta; also sends photographs of the house and a list of furniture.	13
8	Denis Shaw to Jinnah Letter	15	Congratulates him on his achievement; admires his single-mindedness in achieving a near-impossible task; ranks him with great liberators like Garibaldi	14

			and Bolivar; requests an autographed picture; offers best wishes for Pakistan's prosperity.	
9	Ali Yavar Jung to Jinnah Letter	15	Hopes Pakistan would grow into a modern state under his leadership; praises his contribution to reviving the self-confidence of Indian Muslims who had attained independence through his efforts; recalls meeting him at a student lunch in London when he was there in connection with the Skeen Commission; hopes Pakistan would continue to benefit from his guidance and ideals.	15
10	Harold Macmillan to Jinnah Letter	15	Recalls their last meeting; informs that he had conveyed his message to Churchill and others; felicitates him on assuming his office and wishes Pakistan success.	16
11	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	15	Felicitates him on the emergence of Pakistan on behalf of the people of Baluchistan.	17
12	F. Amin to H. M. Ahson Letter	15	Refers to No. 226, Vol. IV; conveys Jinnah's acceptance of his Reception for 25 August.	17
13	F. Amin to S. Osman Letter	15	Conveys Jinnah's appreciation of the portrait sent by him; informs that an autographed copy was being sent to him and requests two more.	18
14	Li Ta Chao to Jinnah Letter	15	Conveys congratulations, on behalf of members of Chinese Kuomintang residing in Hong Kong and Macao, on the emergence of Pakistan; hopes for reciprocal collaboration in the fields of culture, politics and economics between China and Pakistan for the cause of democracy and durable peace.	18
15	Habib Bourguiba to Jinnah Telegram	15	Sends greetings and good wishes of the people of Tunisia on Independence Day.	19
16	Foroobar to Jinnah Letter	15	Conveys congratulations of the Government of Iran; hopes for strong friendly and neighbourly ties between Pakistan and Iran.	20
17	F. Amin to T. J. Bhojwani Letter	15	Refers to No. 212, Vol. IV; informs that Quaid had consented to receive the civic address of welcome to be presented by the Municipal Corporation, Karachi on 25 August.	20
18	T. J. Bhojwani to F. Amin Letter	16	Refers to No. 17; thanks him for conveying Jinnah's willingness to receive an address of welcome from the Karachi Municipal Corporation.	21
19	D. Nath to Jinnah Letter	16	Refers to their earlier meeting and congratulates him on taking over as Governor-General; appreciates his speech of 11 August in the Constituent Assembly and lauds the symbolic content of the design of the national flag; praises the	21

			cooperation of neighbouring Muslim villages during the disturbances and assures him of the loyalty of the minority community.	
20	M. W. Abbasi to Branch Manager, Army & Navy Stores, Bombay Letter	16	Refers to item 77 on page lxx, Vol. IV; encloses a specimen of the Pakistan Flag published in the *Dawn* of 10 August 1947.	22
21	N. H. Choudhury to Jinnah Telegram	16	Informs about the joyous Pakistan Independence Day celebrations in Thakurgaon, Dinajpur.	23
22	Mountbatten to Jinnah Telegram	16	Conveys best wishes on Pakistan's independence on behalf of Malcolm MacDonald, Governor-General of Malaya.	23
23	T. Motandas to M. W. Abbasi Letter	16	Invites Jinnah to the Sind Minorities Association's dinner.	24
24	A. Y. Alavi to F. Amin Letter	16	Thanks for his reply; expresses gratitude to Quaid and Fatima Jinnah for accepting his invitation to an at-home.	25
25	D. M. Malik to Jinnah Letter	16	Refers to No. 258, Vol. IV and subsequent discussion with Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan regarding the Muslims of Mewat; requests an urgent interview in that connection.	26
26	A. H. Cadinouche to Jinnah Letter	16	A Gujerati Muslim, based in France, complains about the Pakistan Flag having not been hoisted in Paris; suggests that more Pakistani students, especially women, be sent for higher studies to France; congratulates him on the achievement of Pakistan and on his declaration that merit would be promoted in the country.	27
27	Jinnah to Estate Officer, New Delhi Telegram	16	Informs that he had sold his New Delhi house to J.D. Dalmia and agreed to give him possession and remove the furniture etc. by end of August.	28
28	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	16	Forwards the minutes of the Joint Defence Council meeting of even date as well as a situation report by the Supreme Commander.	28
29	Minutes of the meeting between Mountbatten and Representatives of Pakistan and India	16	Record the proceedings of a meeting chaired by Mountbatten and attended by representatives of Pakistan and India regarding the Awards of the Boundary Commissions and the decision to publish them.	33
30	*The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*	17	Publishes for general information the Award given by the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions.	37
31	F. Amin to Secretary, Municipal Committee, New Delhi Letter	17	Sends a cheque for Rs. 111 on Quaid's behalf against a bill; requests acknowledgment.	51

32	Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter & Enclosure	17	Thanks for his note and expresses pleasure that Sir Archibald Rowlands was coming out as his Adviser.	51
33	L. Grafftey-Smith to Jinnah Letter	17	Thanks for No. 32.	53
34	Abdul Khaliq Khan to F. Amin Letter	17	Conveys Nawab Jogezai's thanks to Jinnah for consenting to see him; also requests an interview for himself.	53
35	J. G. Agha to E. St. J. Birnie Letter	17	Sends M. Aslam with his father's (Amiruddin's) pipeband from Sialkot to be presented to Jinnah.	54
36	Buxali Jooma to Jinnah Letter	18	Refers to his congratulatory telegram, on behalf of the Aga Khan's Shia Imami Ismailia Council for Iraq and Iran, on the achievement of Pakistan and on his appointment as Governor-General.	55
37	Beverley Nichols to Jinnah Telegram	18	Refers to No. 246, Vol. IV; apprises him of his forthcoming lecture tour to America; promises to disseminate the truth about Pakistan.	55
38	King Abdullah to Jinnah Telegram	18	Sends congratulations and *'Id* greetings.	56
39	M. A. Abasi to M. W. Abbasi Letter	19	Informs of the celebrations held at Thatta, Sind, to mark the Independence Day.	56
40	E. St. J. Birnie to M.W. Abbasi Letter & Enclosure	19	Forwards a letter from Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur referring to a request from Fakhruddin for Jinnah to lay the foundation stone of Valika Textile Mills.	57
41	L. Grafftey-Smith to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	19	Encloses photograph and write-up from *The Times*, regarding Independence Day ceremonies in London.	58
42	G. J. Shivdasani to M. W. Abbasi Letter	19	Seeks an audience with Jinnah for a deputation of the Sind Assembly Congress Party in connection with the Sind Landholders Mortgages Bill.	60
43	Secretary to Governor, East Bengal, to M. W. Abbasi Telegram	19	Forwards East Bengal Governor's recommendation regarding appointment of Thomas Ellis, Amiruddin Ahmad and Amin Ahmad as High Court Judges.	60
44	M. Y. Akbary to Jinnah Letter	20	Refers to No. 230, Vol. IV; offers to help Pakistan; also offers his fleet of trucks for use; shows interest in establishing business in Karachi; requests advice.	61
45	T. J. Bhojwani to F. Amin Letter	20	Refers to their telephonic conversation; forwards an advance copy of the Karachi Municipal Corporation's address of welcome to Jinnah.	62
46	Estate Officer, Govt. of India, New Delhi, to Jinnah Requisition Order	20	Issues notification requisitioning Quaid's Delhi residence.	63
47	Bertram Stevens to Jinnah Letter	20	Conveys best wishes for Pakistan; inquires about his health; assures of Australian goodwill.	63

48	F. L. de Vivero to Jinnah Telegram	20	Felicitates him on behalf of the Peruvian Chamber of Deputies on independence of Pakistan.	64
49	M. W. Abbasi to Sultan Shahriar Telegram	20	Thanks him on Jinnah's behalf for his message of congratulation.	65
50	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	20	Refers to No. 6; requests urgent orders.	65
51	Geoffrey Prior to M. Ikramullah Telegram	20	Reports outbreak of communal riots in Quetta; informs that troops had been called out to control what he suspected was "organised" lawlessness.	65
52	L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin Letter	20	Refers to their recent conversation; intimates date of departure of Rowlands and conveys his appreciation for Jinnah's offer of hospitality.	66
53	Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	20	Refers to No. 41; thanks for his letter and for the photograph from *The Times*; looks forward to meeting Archibald Rowlands.	67
54	Rasheeduddin Ahmed Khan to Jinnah Letter	20	Refers to the significance of independence and of the emergence of India and Pakistan as new nations; introduces himself as a student of Nizam College, Hyderabad; requests his message for the college magazine.	67
55	King Farouk to Jinnah Telegram	20	Sends *'Id* greetings.	68
56	Fakhruddin Valibhai to E. St. J. Birnie Letter	20	Informs of the plan to establish Valika Textile Mills, the first in Karachi; requests that Jinnah lay its foundation.	69
57	F. Amin to Managing Agents, Valika Textile Mills Letter	21	Acknowledges No. 56; informs of Jinnah's inability to lay the foundation of his textile mill; wishes him the very best in his ventures.	70
58	F. Amin to Yusuf A. Haroon Letter	21	Refers to No. 245, Vol. IV; informs that Jinnah would be pleased to receive address of welcome by Muslim Chamber of Commerce; requests confirmation of time and date and wants to know venue.	70
59	Jinnah to Henry Holland Letter	21	Refers to No. 255, Vol. IV; looks forward to seeing him and Lady Holland in Karachi.	71
60	M. W. Abbasi to Secretary to Governor, East Bengal Telegram	21	Refers to No. 43; conveys Governor-General's approval to appointment of High Court judges.	71
61	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	21	Acknowledges No. 187, Vol. IV; expresses willingness to meet Admiral Palliser in January 1948.	72
62	Relieved Muslim Employees, Delhi, to Jinnah Telegram	21	Voice the deprivation and distress they had been forced to live in with families after vacation of their quarters and the hazards and hardships of journeying to Pakistan; request food relief, pecuniary	72

			aid and military escorts to transport them safely to Pakistan.	
63	D. M. Malik to Jinnah Letter	21	Acknowledges his letter of 17 August; reports on his recent trip to Delhi and the refugee situation prevailing there as well as in Alwar State; awaits an interview.	73
64	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	21	Requests authority to keep the Minister in Kabul informed on NWFP and tribal affairs.	74
65	Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Karachi, to Jinnah Letter	21	Acknowledge receipt of US $ 114 from Muddassir Ali Shamsee, New York.	75
66	Bashir El Saadawi to Jinnah Telegram	21	Congratulates him, on behalf of the National Council for the Liberation of Libya, on the creation of Pakistan and on its admission to the UN.	75
67	Abdur Rahman to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Informs that he had represented India on the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP); gives details of meetings he had had with Arab leaders and his findings; fears that following the Indian partition, the pro-Jewish lobby might manoeuvre his removal; wishes to record his views on behalf of the Arabs and encloses a copy of his secret report; requests that an application be made to the UN Security Council on behalf of Pakistan; hopes for a just resolution of the Palestine issue and requests guidance.	76
68	Editor, the *Shaheen*, Kutiyana, to Jinnah Letter	21	Requests a message for the *Shaheen* magazine for its second issue.	78
69	Qazi Abdur Rashid to Jinnah Telegram	21	Voices popular approval of the rumoured dissolution of the Frontier Government.	79
70	Pakistan High Commissioner, London, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations, Karachi Telegram	22	Informs that Listowel would be stopping over in Karachi on 30 August *en route* to Rangoon; suggests that he be treated as a state guest.	80
71	F. Amin to A. A. Yousuf Letter	22	Acknowledges No. 178, Vol. IV, and conveys Jinnah's appreciation.	80
72	F. Amin to Shankerseth Wadi Letter	22	Refers to his request for an interview with Jinnah regarding setting up various industries in Pakistan; suggests that he contact the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.	81
73	F. Amin to K. N. Swamy Letter	22	Acknowledges his gift of pencils on Jinnah's behalf.	81
74	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	22	Informs of the dismissal of Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry and of his invitation to Abdul Qaiyum Khan to form a new one.	82
75	George Cunningham to Jinnah Telegram	22	Refers to Frontier Govt. request to the Central Food Ministry and urges the need to avoid food shortage in NWFP; asks for help.	85

76	L. Grafftey-Smith to E. St. J. Birnie Letter	22	Sends, at Jinnah's request, a copy of the cypher code for correspondence with the King; also gives the necessary instructions.	85
77	Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	22	Acknowledges No. 76.	86
78	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	22	Gives a report on the situation in Baluchistan; concludes that order and normalcy were gradually being re-established.	86
79	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	22	In continuation of No. 78 gives further analysis of the situation.	87
80	G.H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	22	Informs that at his request the Aga Khan had donated Rs. 25,000 for flood relief in Chittagong; suggests that he thank him.	88
81	B. Bromhead to Jinnah Letter	22	Offers congratulations for achieving Pakistan after a 'long' struggle; reminds him of their earlier meeting in Quetta; comments on the role of tribal areas in Pakistan.	89
82	Salma Tassaddaque Hussain to Jinnah Letter	22	Introduces herself as Secretary of the Central Punjab Muslim League Relief Committee; describes the situation in Punjab and urges that he use his influence to save Muslim girls abducted by Sikhs.	90
83	S. H. Raza to F. Amin Letter	22	Encloses a copy of the rules of the Sind Minorities Association stating its aims and objects; suggests that Jinnah accept the invitation extended by the Association.	90
84	M. S. Advani to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests an autograph for his album.	92
85	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	22	Refers to his talk with him and Liaquat regarding the forthcoming Exhibition of Indian Art in London; says he was informing the organisers that he (Jinnah) would be glad to accept their invitation to be an Honorary President of the Exhibition and that he agreed that, without changing the title thereof, it should be formally explained that exhibits from Pakistan were also included; adds he was also asking that Pakistan High Commissioner be invited to become Honorary Vice-President.	92
86	George Cunningham to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 74; reiterates dismissal of Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry in NWFP and its replacement by Abdul Qaiyum Khan; proposes that Habibullah Khan, be included in the new cabinet; discards Pir of Zakori as an option.	93
87	Abdul Rahim to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	23	Submits a copy of a resolution passed by the Young Muslims Association, Polayatode, Quilon, Kerala on the establishment of Pakistan.	94

88	F. Amin to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf Letter	23	Acknowledges receipt of the books presented to Jinnah.	95
89	S. A. Rahman to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	23	Encloses a resolution of the General Meeting of the Muslims of Shimoga (Mysore) felicitating him on attainment of Pakistan and taking over as Governor-General; also encloses a resolution moved by him in the Mysore Legislative Council; recalls that he had been a member of the All India Muslim League Council and Personal Secretary to Liaquat; reminds that he had moved the 1944 resolution to confirm expulsion of Khizar Tiwana from the League.	96
90	Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	23	Acknowledges his letter of the same date; informs that he would be able to meet Listowel only at dinner with him on 30 August.	97
91	Jinnah to Moosa Dinath Telegram	23	Thanks the Muslims of Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa, for their good wishes.	98
92	Jinnah to Evelyn Wrench Letter	23	Thanks for his message of felicitation on achieving Pakistan.	99
93	R. A. Harris to M. W. Abbasi & Others Minutes	23	Gives details of a meeting with Syed Maratib Ali regarding derequisitioning of Jinnah's bungalow in Lahore.	100
94	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	23	Refers to No. 79; reports more rioting and killing of Hindus in Fort Sandeman, Loralai, Chaman, Sibi and Nushki; informs that Nishtar had arrived safely; complains about gross misrepresentation of facts by the *Sind Observer*.	102
95	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	23	Sends latest report on the situation in Baluchistan; focuses on the serious trouble in Pishin, Bostan and other places; appreciates assistance provided by the military in dealing with the disturbances.	103
96	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	24	In continuation of No. 94, reports developments in Baluchistan; informs that visits by Nishtar and Gen. Akbar had had positive effects.	104
97	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	24	Reports on the disturbances and killings in Quetta, Pishin, Bostan and Sibi.	105
98	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to Jinnah Telegram	24	Asks for military vehicles for transporting food to refugees in West Punjab; also requests Muslim guards for convoys travelling from Delhi to Karachi.	105
99	F. Amin to Amiruddin Letter	24	With reference to No. 35, thanks for the pipe band presented to Jinnah.	106
100	A. K. Sadri to Jinnah Letter	24	Refers to his previous meeting when he discerned the promise of freedom as a result of his (Jinnah's) efforts; prays for his life to ensure prosperity of Muslims in Pakistan and elsewhere.	106

101	Address by H. M. Ahson & Enclosure	25	Welcomes Jinnah to Karachi on behalf of the Municipal Corporation and citizens; takes pride in Karachi having the "double honour" of being the capital of Pakistan as well as Jinnah's birthplace; speaking for all citizens of Karachi, declares allegiance to Pakistan; vows to strive for the goals of peaceful coexistence, tolerance and economic prosperity; outlines plans for welfare and beautification of Karachi and requests more generous grants from Government for furtherance of those aims; concludes with prayers for Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah, and the nation.	107
102	Jinnah's Reply to the Address	25	Thanks Karachi for its cordial welcome; expresses joy at meeting the citizens of his birthplace, which he says was also the birthplace of Pakistan; enumerates the natural, civic and commercial advantages the city enjoyed; praises its spirit of communal harmony; points out its new and increased responsibilities as the Capital; stresses the need to develop and prosper in a fraternal, liberal and egalitarian atmosphere.	111
103	Lyndon B. Johnson to Jinnah Letter	25	Congratulates him on achieving independence; praises his efforts.	113
104	Jinnah to B. R. Bhat Letter	25	Thanks for his letter of 7 August and for sending him literature on the imports and exports of India and Ceylon; informs that copies of his letter had already been forwarded to the Commerce and Information Ministries of Pakistan.	113
105	G.H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	25	Acknowledges his letter of 14 August and informs having announced the Quaid's donation of Rs. 1000, towards Chittagong Relief Fund.	114
106	Mayor of Colombo to Jinnah Letter	25	Informs of a resolution passed by the Citizens' Council of Colombo greeting the new nation; offers his own felicitations as well.	114
107	Ardeshir H. Mama to M.W. Abbasi Letter	25	Refers to his conversation with him and M.E. Kandawala; expresses the wish of the Parsis in Karachi to present an address to Jinnah; gives details of the proposed function and requests response.	115
108	Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, to F. Amin Letter	25	Refers to No. 58; thanks Jinnah for consenting to receive their address; requests particulars of personal staff etc. for issuance of invitations; intimates venue.	116
109	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	25	Reports that Quetta was quiet, that all communications were functioning normally, that shops had reopened, and that Hindu railway staff was safe having been collected at Jacobabad.	117

110	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	25	Refers to No. 163; confirms estimates of casualties in Baluchistan for 24 August; informs that the Marri and Bugti tribes had promised support; reports that Hindu railway staff of Sibi had decamped; says he was appalled by the exodus of skilled Hindus from Baluchistan.	117
111	Mohamed el Attar to Jinnah Letter	25	Confirms despatch of a letter and parcel containing an illustrated historical album.	118
112	Note by F. Amin	25	Refers to Jinnah's interview by Weldon James, published in the US magazine *Collier's Weekly*; gives quotations from the interview on various issues.	118
113	Jinnah to G. T. Meshram Letter	25	Refers to No. 243, Vol. IV, and Nos. 27 & 46; says he had already sold the Delhi house to Jaidayal Dalmia and instructed that the furniture etc. be removed by 30 August before handing possession; apropos of requisition order fixing 22 August for the handover, hopes every facility would be provided for removal of the furniture etc. and trusts a few days more would not matter.	122
114	Pakistani Staff, Central PWD, New Delhi, to Jinnah Telegram	26	Lament their plight and appeal for immediate evacuation.	123
115	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	26	Refers to No. 205, Vol. IV; regrets that he could not make use of Leonard Stone's services in the capacity of Chief Justice of Pakistan.	123
116	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	26	Refers to No. 259, Vol. IV; thanks for the souvenir photographs.	124
117	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	26	Acknowledges No. 85 regarding the Exhibition of Indian Art in London; criticises the epithet "Indian" and wants it amended; shows willingness to preside at the exhibition only if his suggestion was implemented.	124
118	Jinnah to Syed Wajid Ali Letter	26	Refers to No. 227, Vol. IV; thanks for his good wishes; inquires about his own property matters and gives instructions.	125
119	F. Amin to S. M. Abdullah Letter	26	Thanks for his gift of furniture but declines it, not wanting to set an undesirable precedent.	125
120	F. Amin to D. M. Malik Letter	26	Refers to No. 63 regarding Mewat; regrets that Jinnah was too busy to grant an interview.	126
121	F. Amin to Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Health Letter	26	Refers to No. 75; conveys Jinnah's orders regarding supply of wheat to the Frontier Province.	127
122	Edward Phelan to Jinnah Telegram	26	Invites Pakistani representation on the ILO Asian Regional Conference; outlines agenda; lists expected delegations and gives other guidelines.	127

123	S. V. McCoy to Secretary, Works, Mines and Power Dept. Letter	26	Conveys Jinnah's wish to use Governor-General's hut at Sandspit, Karachi; asks for repairs and calls for an estimate.	128
124	Trilok Nath to Jinnah Telegram	26	Bemoans the plight of the West Punjab minorities in the wake of the partition; urges efforts to restore peace; requests a visit to Lyallpur.	129
125	Pethick-Lawrence to Jinnah Letter	26	Sends best wishes for him and Pakistan; expresses confidence in his leadership; hopes for fruitful relations between Pakistan and Britain.	129
126	M. N. Kotwal to Jinnah Memo	26	Gives account of expenses concerning his property.	130
127	Secretary, Hindu-Sikh Relief Committee, Chakwal, to Jinnah Telegram	26	Expresses dismay at the rumoured replacement of existing Military force with Muslim troops; requests replacement of existing force with non-Muslim troops.	131
128	Jan Massarik to Jinnah Telegram	26	Conveys warmest greetings on independence on behalf of UN Associations of twenty-five countries meeting in Czechoslovakia in the plenary assembly of World Federation of UN Associations.	131
129	B. El Khoury to Jinnah Telegram	26	Conveys good wishes of the people of Lebanon for the prosperity of Pakistan.	132
130	Jinnah to George Cunningham Letter	27	Refers to Nos. 64 & 86; asks him and Qaiyum to await his return from Lahore, prior to considering political developments in NWFP.	132
131	Jinnah to Mahmood Hasan Letter	27	Says he was still awaiting the accounts of *Dawn*, which should have been audited long ago; asks for those accounts immediately along with regular fortnightly reports.	133
132	K. H. Khurshid to J. C. Mehta Letter	27	Encloses No. 184, Vol. IV from Brijmohan Lakshminarayan claiming dividend on shares; asks him to look into the matter.	133
133	K. H. Khurshid to B. Lakshminarayan Letter	27	Refers to No. 184, Vol. IV; informs that his claim to the disputed share dividend had been passed on to the brokers who would communicate with him after due examination.	134
134	F. Amin to Manzar Quraishi Letter	27	Conveys Jinnah's thanks for the stamp designs sent by him; informs that his letter had been forwarded to Secretary, Communications.	134
135	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	27	Says Hindu Government servants were trying to leave Baluchistan *en masse* without orders from Partition Office; suggests that the Indian authorities be requested to broadcast a warning that those moving without orders would not be employed.	135
136	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	27	Refers to No. 135; reports situation in Baluchistan with particular reference to Military, Police and Scout raids and exodus of Hindus and Sikhs.	135

137	E. C. Bhatty to M. W. Abbasi Letter	27	Requests an interview with Jinnah on 4 September 1947.	136
138	Editor, *Chenetha* Weekly, Nidubrolu, to Jinnah Letter	27	Informs that the magazine would commence publication from Madras on 21 September; describes its aims and requests a message.	137
139	C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to Jinnah Letter	27	Introduces T.K. Matthew, a planter and businessman keen to undertake commercial ventures in Pakistan.	137
140	Alan Lascelles to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	27	Sends Letters Patent constituting the offices of Governor in West Punjab and East Bengal; also sends Commissions of Appointment of Governor-General and of Governors of Sind, NWFP, West Punjab and East Bengal.	138
141	N. M. Mandviwala to Jinnah Letter	27	Informs that he was leaving for Bombay and apologizes for not being able to see him; discusses a proposal regarding steamer and airline services and sends some photographs.	141
142	M. W. Abbasi to M. A. Hassan Ispahani Telegram	27	Informs that the UN General Assembly was due to meet on 16 September.	142
143	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	28	Reports that Quetta, rather the whole of Baluchistan, had been peaceful over the past few days.	142
144	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	28	Reports that he had asked West Punjab Govt. to restrain Punjabi refugees from coming to Baluchistan.	142
145	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	28	Refers to No. 143; reports growing confidence among the Hindus in Baluchistan.	143
146	Frank Stanton to Jinnah Letter	28	Thanks for consenting to broadcast from CBS; regrets previous recordings were unsuccessful and hopes it would be possible to record his talk later.	143
147	M. Shahabuddin Khan of Jandol to Jinnah Letter	28	Paying his respects, volunteers the services of *Mujahideen* of Jandol, Malakand, to defend the Muslims in East Punjab.	144
148	Ahmad Said to Jinnah Telegram	28	Voices concern over the tragic events in East Punjab; requests to choose "best men" for Pakistan's Cabinet.	145
149	A. Hamid to K. H. Khurshid Letter	28	Requests acknowledgment of receipt of a sola hat sent for Jinnah.	145
150	Lakhshmi Commercial Bank, Rawalpindi, to Jinnah Telegram	28	Reports burning of the Bank's branches at Hafizabad and Wazirabad; requests military protection for the endangered branches at Sambrial, Kamoke and Mandi Bahauddin.	146
151	Alan Lascelles to Jinnah Telegram	28	Conveys King's approval for appointment of M. A. Hassan Ispahani as His Majesty's Minister for Pakistan in U. S. A.	146
152	S. Mohamed Zacharia to Jinnah Letter	28	Submits a copy of his Tamil magazine *Khadhiravan* and requests a message from him.	147

153	H. Miscerghi to Jinnah Telegram	28	Sends felicitations from the youth of Libya on independence, and wishes prosperity to Pakistan.	147
154	Communique by Joint Defence Council	29	States that a special meeting of the Joint Defence Council was held in Lahore with Mountbatten in the chair, among the attendees being the Prime Ministers, Ministers, and Army and Civil officials of Pakistan and India; states further that the communal disturbances in Punjab were discussed and decisions taken to control them, safeguard minorities, provide relief to refugees, and strengthen liaison between the two governments.	148
155	Malik Abdul Rahim to Jinnah Telegram	29	Informs that the Boundary Force in Sujrabwald (Gujranwala), Punjab, was carrying out mass killing of innocent people with the connivance of Hindu and Sikh officers; requests their removal forthwith.	150
156	Telegraph Staff, Rawalpindi, to Jinnah Telegram	29	Convey the deep concern of staff members whose families had been trapped in East Punjab and Delhi; request their urgent evacuation; plead inability to attend to their work in the circumstances.	151
157	Malik Akbar Khan and Malik Wel Khan to Jinnah Telegram	29	Express shock at the savage killing of East Punjab Muslims by Sikhs; offer their own and their tribes' services.	151
158	C. E. Gibbon to Jinnah Letter	29	Welcomes him to Lahore on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community of Pakistan; shares his distress and grief over the Punjab tragedy; requests that he address a meeting of Anglo-Indians on 31 August.	152
159	Residents of Chuadanga to Jinnah Telegram	29	Inform of the acute shortage of rice and other foodstuffs in the area; request urgent supply.	153
160	President, Minorities Association, Multan, to Jinnah Telegram	29	Requests that he visit Multan urgently to restore peace.	153
161	Pritam Singh Seth to Jinnah Telegram	29	Informs that non-Muslims in Gujar Khan were in grave danger and that the few survivors were also likely to be killed.	153
162	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	29	Reports that Baluchistan had been peaceful over the past twenty-four hours.	154
163	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	29	Reports regarding the loyalty of the tribal Maliks and the mischief of some border elements.	154
164	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	30	Says Baluchistan had been peaceful over the past week; informs of discontinuation of further reports unless necessary.	155

165	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	30	Refers to No. 164; reports that 330 dead bodies had been recovered in Baluchistan, including 147 in Quetta; reports further that the fruit trade had been disrupted; promises a detailed report on disturbances.	155
166	Malik Zardast Khan Afridi to Nawab of Teri Telegram	30	Assures whole-hearted support of the Afridi tribe against the enemies of Pakistan.	156
167	F. Amin to Victor Turner Letter	30	Refers to message from the India Office regarding Rowlands' appointment as Adviser to Governor-General; says he was arriving that day; adds that a car had to be provided for his use in any case as per terms of his oppointment.	157
168	Ahmadis of Dera Ghazi Khan to Jinnah Telegram	30	Appeal for saving Qadian, their headquarters in Gurdaspur, from destruction.	158
169	D. D. Puri to Jinnah Telegram	30	Seeks protection for the property of Punjab Textile Mills after the winding-up of Boundary Force.	158
170	Jinnah to C. E. Gibbon Letter	30	Acknowledges No. 158; regrets inability to accept the Anglo-Indian Association's invitation.	159
171	Hasan Albanna to Jinnah Letter	30	Congratulates Jinnah on the establishment of Pakistan; informs about formation of a Pakistani organisation in Cairo with aim of keeping in touch with Muslim bodies in Egypt and to cooperate in cultural, Islamic and economic fields.	160
172	Yar Mohammad Khan to Baz Mohammad Khan Telegram	30	Volunteers services of tribesmen for Pakistan's defence.	161
173	Hafiz Sanaullah to Nawab of Khattak Telegram	30	Expresses indignation of the Kohat Muslim League and of Pathans in general on the killing of Muslims in East Punjab; seeks instructions about reprisals.	161
174	Jinnah to Nawabzada R. A. Khan Letter	30	Says he was unable to grant interviews to individuals or groups during his short stay in Lahore because he would be fully preoccupied with assisting in the implementation of the decisions made at the Special Joint Defence Council meeting held on 29 August.	162
175	Broadcast by Jinnah	31	Grieves over the harrowing events in Punjab; regrets that the achievement of Pakistan was being tarnished by savagery; criticises the Boundary Award but asserts that Pakistanis must abide by it as honourable people; urges courage and fortitude, exhorting all Muslims to work ceaselessly and unitedly to make Pakistan great.	162
176	Alan Lascelles to Jinnah Telegram	31	Confirms the King's approval of M. A. Hassan Ispahani's appointment as Ambassador to Washington.	168
177	Mukhi Mangharam & Others to M.W. Abbasi Telegram	n.d.	Report huge influx of Muslim and Hindu refugees, posing a potential menace to Hyderabad (Sind).	168

178	Dayalji D. Naik to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Recalls that he last wrote to him when he escaped a murderous attack in 1943; feels certain that Pakistan would flourish under his guidance; prays for his health.	169
179	A. G. Khan & G. M. Khan to Jinnah Telegram	n.d.	Demur at Qaiyum's leadership in the NWFP; urge him to be neutral in the election of the ML Party Leader in the Provincial Assembly.	170
180	Jinnah to Muslim Society, Bulawyo Telegram	n.d.	Thanks for No. 236, Vol. IV; gives specifications of the Pakistan flag.	170
181	Ruler of Kharan to Jinnah Telegram	n.d.	Inquires about his health and prays for his long life.	171
182	M. Salim to Jinnah Telegram	n.d.	Informs of a meeting of Pakistanis in Rangoon; requests posting of a High Commissioner with experience of Burmese affairs.	171
183	M. Hashim to the Accountant General, Pakistan Revenues, Karachi Letter	n.d.	Conveys sanction to the post of Adviser to Governor-General.	172
184	Note by S. M. Huda & Enclosure	n.d.	Provides detailed statistics about Pakistan vis-a-vis its area and population, agriculture, minerals and industries.	173
185	Prince Faisal to Jinnah Telegram	n.d.	Sends felicitations on behalf of Govt. of Saudi Arabia and himself on the emergence of Pakistan; informs of the decision to recognise the new State; expresses readiness to develop intimate relations with Pakistan.	195
186	I. S. Oghli to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Conveys greetings and good wishes on behalf of the Turks and prays for prosperity of Pakistan.	196
		September		
187	M. A. Chaiwala & Hassanaly P. Ebrahim to Jinnah Telegram	1	Regret to inform that brother Ahmad Ali had expired.	196
188	Hassan A. Shaikh to Fatima Jinnah Telegram	1	Informs of her brother Ahmad Ali's death and expresses his condolences.	197
189	Soedarsone to Jinnah Letter	1	Indicates Indonesia's intent to establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan; states the position as to how Indonesia, still under Dutch rule, would appoint its representatives abroad.	197
190	Shah Pasand Khan & Others to Jinnah Telegram	2	State that South Waziristan tribes were shocked at atrocities on East Punjab Muslims; offer thousands of fighters at the Jinnah's call; support Nawab of Tank for a seat in the NWFP Cabinet.	199
191	Ataullah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Letter	2	Encloses three cheques amounting to Rs. 40,000 for relief of East Punjab refugees.	201
192	F. Amin to Mohamed el Attar Letter	2	Refers to No. 111; informs that the album sent by him had not been asked for	202

			and was, therefore, treated as complimentary.	
193	Hassanally A. Rahman to M. W. Abbasi Letter	2	Regrets delay in acknowledging receipt of Rs. 5,000 donated by Jinnah to Sind Madressah Girls School.	202
194	Hasan Albanna to Jinnah Telegram	2	Says Akhwan-al-Muslimeen were mourning for the Muslims martyred in India; counsels patience and fortitude; states that he had telegraphed Mountbatten, Gandhi and Nehru blaming them for failure to forestall the massacre; adds that the embassies in Cairo had been briefed.	203
195	M. Hayaud Din to Jinnah Letter	3	Sends a cheque for the Pakistan Fund from Pakistanis who had celebrated independence on board a ship returning from the U. K.	203
196	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	3	Refers to No. 61; states that he had informed Admiral Palliser that Jinnah would meet him during his visit to Karachi.	204
197	T. S. Padmanabhan to Jinnah Letter	3	Condoles the death of Jinnah's brother Ahmad Ali.	205
198	B. M. Koyatty & Others to Jinnah Letter	3	Felicitates Jinnah and his comrades on the establishment of the largest Muslim State; forwards a resolution from the Young Muslim Association, Calicut, paying homage to Muslim League leadership and eulogising their achievement.	205
199	Helen J. Sioussat to Jinnah Letter	4	Refers to Nos. 103 & 232, Vol. IV; while thanking him, requests another opportunity for recording his speech as the previous recording was of poor quality.	207
200	M. M. Jung to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	4	Sends final draft of parts IV and V of his book titled *Democracy in Islam* and *A Code of Good Government of Mankind* for perusal; encloses his profile.	207
201	Lloyds Bank, London, to Jinnah Letter	4	Informs of the latest position of his accounts with the Bank.	208
202	Hubert Rance to Jinnah Telegram	4	Informs of the tour programme of Listowel and his entourage; asks for confirmation of arrangements.	209
203	Mountbatten to Jinnah Telegram	5	Intimates arrangements for arrival of Listowel and party in Karachi.	209
204	A. Y. Alavi to Jinnah Letter	5	Offers condolences to him and Fatima Jinnah on the demise of their brother Ahmad Ali who was his (Alavi's) classmate and friend.	210
205	Note by S. V. McCoy & Enclosure	6	Lays down a frugal scale of meals etc. for lower staff of Governor-General's House.	210
206	Hamidul Haq Chaudhary to M. W. Abbasi Letter	6	Requests interview with Quaid regarding serious food shortages in East Bengal.	212
207	Archibald Rowlands to K. H. Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	6	Forwards a letter from Alexander Aikman, a former leader of the European Group in Central Assembly, admiring Quaid's	212

			qualities of courage and determination.	
208	F. Amin to M. Y. Akbary Letter	6	Refers to No. 230, Vol. IV; asks for details of the vehicles he had offered to Quaid.	213
209	Note by S. V. McCoy	7	Suggests serving arrangements and lists refreshments to be offered at Jinnah's "At Home" party on the day.	214
210	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Telegram	8	Instructs transfer of his account from Bombay to Karachi.	214
211	M. S. Shunmugasundaram to Jinnah Letter	8	Intimates programme of Dravidian Separation Conference, drawing strength from creation of Pakistan; requests a message for the occasion.	215
212	S. V. McCoy to Jinnah Letter	8	Gives details of the servants employed in Flag Staff House; suggests employment of the cooks on the establishment of the Government House and the rates to be paid to them.	216
213	Mountbatten to Jinnah Telegram	8	Refers to No. 117 and with due regard to his concern over the name of the proposed Arts Exhibition in London, suggests an alternative name: "Exhibition of Arts from Dominions of India and Pakistan".	217
214	Jinnah to Mountbatten Telegram	9	Refers to No.213; consents to become President of the "Exhibition of Arts from Dominions of India and Pakistan".	217
215	G. A. Browne to M. W. Abbasi Letter	9	Seeks interview with Jinnah.	218
216	Note by E. St. J. Birnie with Enclosure	10	Refers to a request from US Embassy for purchase of Govt. land for construction of Embassy building; advises that such land was not to be disposed of without clearance from Governor-General's House.	218
217	D. H. Daruvala to F. Amin Letter	10	Recommends a Mr. Taylor, formerly an engineer of PWD, Quetta, for work regarding evaluation of property located there.	220
218	Randolph S. Churchill to Jinnah Letter	10	Says he was disappointed that he could not see him while in Karachi; thanks him for sending his Military Secretary to see him; sends his good wishes.	220
219	Jinnah to Clement Attlee Letter	11	Introduces Mir Laik Ali attending the UN session as Pakistan's delegate; requests to meet him in London to discuss matters relating to trade and commerce between Britain and Pakistan.	221
220	Jinnah to Winston Churchill Letter	11	Introduces Mir Laik Ali, an industrial magnate of Hyderabad, attending UN session as Pakistan's delegate; requests to meet him to discuss matters of trade and commerce between England and Pakistan.	222

221	Jinnah to Harold Macmillan Letter	11	Introduces Mir Laik Ali, saying he was bound to play a grand role in the industrial future of Pakistan; hopes he would help him to establish contacts with leading men in the commercial, financial and political circles in England.	222
222	F. Amin to Archibald Rowlands Letter	11	Refers to No. 207; conveys Quaid's thanks for forwarding Aikman's letter.	223
223	Appeal by Jinnah	12	Describes the grave crises arising from sufferings inflicted on Muslims in East Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere in India; declares the determination of the State to mobilise its sources to the fullest possible extent; institutes Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and appeals to the Nation to come forward with generous contributions to that fund; urges observance of austerity.	223
224	L. Grafftey-Smith to Jinnah Letter	12	Conveys regrets of British Govt. for inability to make Lancaster House available for housing Pakistan High Commission in the U. K.	225
225	U. K. High Commissioner, New Delhi, to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations Telegram	12	Requests transmission of Liaquat Ali Khan's message to Attlee and its repetition to Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; Liaquat says that communal violence, which was sporadic during the previous one year, had escalated rapidly since the attack by Sikhs on the Karachi-bound train carrying Pakistan Government employees on 9 August; claims rampant violence, murder, rape, arson and plunder in East Punjab constituted an organised attempt by Sikhs, in collusion with Hindus, to liquidate the entire Muslim population and bring in Sikhs from West Punjab instead; says the feckless civil administration in East Punjab had failed to act and that partisan Sikh troops from Patiala and Faridkot had fuelled violence; urges Britain and other Commonwealth nations to try and save the situation which could lead to a catastrophe beyond conceptualization; also says Pakistan might be compelled to consider recalling its beleaguered High Commissioner in Delhi.	226
226	Central Relief Committee, Hyderabad, Sind, to Jinnah Telegram	13	Reports refugee influx in the city with horrowing tales of atrocities in Hindu States; requests posting of rehabilitation personnel; complains about inadequacy of medical supplies and essential service and of removal of rationed items and arms by evacuees.	229

227	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	13	Forwards Aga Khan's letter regarding setting up of technical institutes in West and East Pakistan for his consideration.	230
228	H. I. Rahimtoola to M. Ikramullah Letter	13	Informs about having opened negotiations with Arthur Henderson for acquisition of the Lancaster House, London and of the latter's promise to convey that request to the Cabinet but doubts if it would be agreed to.	231
229	J. C. Mehta to K. H. Khurshid Letter	13	Refers to No. 132; informs that as the shares in question have been sold off by Jinnah, the surplus dividend thereon, if received, needs to be refunded.	232
230	R. Gerard to Jinnah Letter	14	Compares new flags of India and Pakistan and endorses the green as holy colour of Islam and Hajj; sends sketches showing the position of the crescent in relation to the flagstaff, which he deems to be of good omen.	233
231	Jinnah to George Cunningham Letter	14	Refers to No. 130; regrets that he had had no time to decide on the matter of the third Minister; says he would ask Secretary General, Pakistan Govt., to inform the British Minister in Kabul of change of Ministry in NWFP; agrees that the Governor might inform the Minister of political developments in the NWFP and tribal areas and keep him (Jinnah) posted.	234
232	Jinnah to Othman Woo Letter	14	Thanks for his message of felicitations.	235
233	Margaret Bourke-White to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Sends a copy of her book; hopes that his photographs taken by her had been received by him; given the great interest in America in Pakistan, *Life* proposed to run a series of photographs on the "Birth of a Nation"; says she would like to have his suggestions on her next visit.	236
234	Jinnah to Margaret Bourke-White Letter	15	Refers to No. 233; acknowledges receipt of her book and hopes to see her soon.	236
235	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	15	Thanks for his and Miss Jinnah's warm hospitality during his stay with them; says he had taken up the question of an RAF Dakota for his use; mentions his meeting with Mian Abdul Aziz and promises all help to him; hopes to visit again and prays for peace in the subcontinent.	237
236	F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	15	Acknowledges No. 224; conveys Jinnah's thanks for his efforts to procure Lancaster House for the Pakistan High Commission.	238
237	Mian Abdul Aziz to Jinnah Letter	15	Thanks for appointing him officiating High Commissioner in Delhi.	238
238	Pir Ishaqjan Sirhindi to Jinnah Telegram	15	Offers the services of one thousand men, who needed training and arms, for the Pakistan Military.	239

239	Z. H. Burney to H. I. Rahimtoola Letter	16	Conveys Jinnah's acceptance of Honorary Presidentship of the Arts Exhibition in London provided it was named "Exhibition of Art from the Dominions of India and Pakistan"; advises that he also accept Hon. Vice-Presidentship.	239
240	M. Ikramullah to F. Amin Letter	16	Forwards for Jinnah's perusal advance copy of proposals made by Governor Cunningham regarding Frontier States and Tribal Areas pending submission through the Cabinet.	240
241	M. Ikramullah to F. Amin Letter	16	Forwards a telegram conveying Afghan Government's approval of the appointment of Saidullah Khan; also forwards a copy of No. 228.	241
242	Abdul Razak Abdulla to Jinnah Letter	16	Intimates his move from Bombay to Karachi and requests an appointment; conveys his mother's greetings to him and Miss Jinnah.	241
243	E. St. J. Birnie to S. G. Murtaza Letter	16	Confirms that Jinnah would see him along with Brown the following day.	242
244	M. H. S. Dakhan to M. W. Abbasi Letter	16	Places his services at Quaid's command for the benefit of the Muslim riot victims; says that he had renounced his title at Quaid's call.	242
245	Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, to M. W. Abbasi Letter	16	Informs of receipt of Rs. 26,020-3-4 from their Bombay branch for credit to Quaid's Account No.2; requests return of forms, duly signed, for opening Quaid's account.	243
246	M. Yunus to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	17	Sends a copy of his letter to Nazimuddin, Premier, East Bengal, and a report on education, requesting funds for the defence of Bihar Muslims being prosecuted on false charges as well as for the education of riot-hit students; suggests a panel for the proposed Committee.	244
247	F. Amin to D. H. Daruvala Letter	17	Refers to No. 217; intimates date and time agreed to by Jinnah for a meeting.	246
248	S. Rasool & Co., to K. H. Khurshid Letter	17	Inform of the arrival of Qadri as a refugee from Delhi; request payment of fee of Rs. 700 to him for the audit of Bihar Relief Fund and ML National Fund because he needed immediate help.	246
249	B. L. Ramchandani to Jinnah Letter	17	Forwards a resolution passed by the Ismailia Scouts Council offering their services to the Pakistan Government for the relief of refugees and riot victims.	247
250	Pakistan Optees from UP, Bihar, CP, etc. to Jinnah Letter	18	Referring to the tragic loss of life, property and honour of Muslims in Punjab and Delhi, point out that Muslims in U. P., Bihar, C. P., etc., particularly the families of employees who had opted for Pakistan, faced a similar threat; urge speedy and safe arrangements for evacuation of such families to Pakistan.	248

251	Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence Letter	18	Refers to No. 125; thanks for his good wishes for the people of Pakistan; appreciates the kind references to his person.	250
252	Sardar Allahdad Jafar to Jinnah Telegram	18	Offers services of 500 armed tribesmen for protection of Muslims in Punjab.	250
253	Mohammad Amin Al-Hussaini to Jinnah Letter	18	Says Muslims of the Arab world were proud of the establishment of Pakistan and felicitated him and Muslims of the Subcontinent for attainment of independent statehood; informs of the formation of Pakistan Association at Cairo by Muslims of the subcontinent for promotion of cultural, economic and social ties with Egypt and other Muslim countries; assures of cooperation and collaboration with the Association.	251
254	M. A. Khuhro to Jinnah Letter	18	Seeks advice regarding promulgation of the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance and the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance.	252
255	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	19	Informs of selection of a building for Pakistan Chancery in Washington costing $ 150,000; reports projection of Sikh atrocities against Muslims in the British and American press; sends a copy of his speech to be made on presentation of credentials.	252
256	Ali Mohammad to Jinanh Telegram	19	Seeks help for the three lakh uprooted Muslims in the Nakodar (Jullundur) Camp.	255
257	Young Muslims Union, Mirpur Khas, to Jinnah Telegram	19	Reports on the plight of three thousand Muslims stranded at Luni Junction in Jodhpur and seeks redress.	256
258	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	19	Informs that a Dakota plane was being placed at his disposal, which would reach Karachi in a week.	256
259	G. M. Khan to Jinnah Telegram	19	Requests a message on the occasion of Pakistan Celebration dinner at Singapore.	257
260	S. G. Mohatta to Jinnah Letter	19	Thanks for granting an interview; discusses the land and structures of Mohatta Palace, Clifton, Karachi.	257
261	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	19	Seeks instructions regarding the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947 he proposes to promulgate.	258
262	Jinnah to G. H. Hidayatullah Letter	19	Instructs him to promulgate the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947.	259
263	Fakhruddin Valibhai to K. H. Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	20	Requests Jinnah to perform the foundation-laying ceremony of Valika Textile Mills on 26 September; says the mill was the first complete textile mill in Pakistan with a capital of Rs. 75 lakh and comprised 25,000 spindles and 500 looms.	259

264	M. A. Mufti to Jinnah Telegram	20	Requests immediate protection and evacuation of Pakistan employees stranded at Sonepat.	261
265	M. A. Burney to Jinnah Letter	20	Counsels him and his team to take inspiration and guidance from the holy *Qura'n* in tackling the crisis facing the new state.	261
266	Francis Mudie to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Encloses an appeal by the Bishop of Lahore for return to sanity and restoration of peace.	262
267	Khwaja Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Requests that he persuade Ali Nawaz Jung, an expert on hydro-electric projects, to join the East Bengal Government as adviser for the Kurnaphuli Hydro-electric Project which was indispensable for future prosperity; points to the critical rice situation in East Bengal and urges that at least one more shipload of rice leave Karachi before end of September.	263
268	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	20	Seeks instructions regarding the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947, he proposed to promulgate.	265
269	Jinnah to G. H. Hidayatullah Letter	20	Refers to No. 268; instructs him to promulgate the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947.	265
270	J. B. Kripalani to Jinnah Letter	21	Requests an interview to discuss communal harmony.	266
271	Jinnah to J. B. Kripalani Letter	21	Refers to No. 270; agrees to request for an interview.	266
272	Note by S. Shamsul Hasan	21	Authorises Maqsood Raza Khan of AIML despatch furniture and other assets as well as arrange transfer of Staff of AIML Central Office from Daryaganj, Delhi to Karachi.	267
273	Mohamed el Attar to Jinnah Letter	22	Refers to No. 192; requests payment on account of an album of photographs sent earlier, stating that the amount would be used for Farouk First Historical Museum.	267
274	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Bombay Telegram	22	Asks for telegraphic transfer of his current account balance to their Karachi branch.	268
275	S. Rasool & Co. to M. W. Abbasi Letter	22	Refers to No. 248; requests payment of Rs.700 as fee for auditing the accounts of Bihar Relief and Muslim League Funds to Qadri who had arrived from Delhi penniless.	268
276	L. Grafftey-Smith to Jinnah Letter	22	Conveys a message from the British Prime Minister saying that Rowlands could not be spared for more than three months and for appointment as Governor, East Bengal.	269
277	F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	22	Informs of Jinnah's willingness to see him the next day.	270

278	F. Amin to S. M. Abdullah Letter	23	Conveys Jinnah's instructions that furniture from the Flag Staff House be removed urgently.	271
279	Douglas Brown to F. Amîn Letter & Enclosure	23	Introducing himself as the new Resident Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, London, requests an interview with Jinnah; adds that he bore a letter for Jinnah from his father whom Jinnah knew as a life long friend of Muslim India; encloses a questionnaire for Jinnah's response.	272
280	Jinnah to Francis Mudie Letter	23	Acknowledges No. 266.	274
281	Francis Mudie to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	23	Describes the political turmoil and lawlessness rampant in East Punjab; criticises failure of Mamdot Ministry in effectively tackling the situation; describes the difficulties faced by the refugees and the chaos resulting from mass migration.	274
282	Mohamad Ali to F. Amin Letter & Enclosures	23	With reference to No. 240, encloses Cunningham's memorandum and Messervy's comments on Frontier Policy as well as Cunningham's review in the light of Messervy's comments for Jinnah perusal prior to Liaquat's interview with him that evening.	285
283	J. P. Gulraj to Jinnah Letter	24	Requests to write for his paper, *Sind Herald's* special Annie Besant Centenary issue.	310
284	Malik Ghulam Haider & Others to Jinnah Telegram	24	Offer services of tribes of Lower Zhob Valley for Pakistan.	311
285	Jinnah to E. G. Brown Letter & Enclosures	24	Sends pre-receipted bill for Bungalow No. 241, Staff Lines as requested; asks him to send cheque for Rs. 7065-1-0.	311
286	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Karachi Letter	24	Sends demand draft for Rs. 396-8-0 received from Transvaal with request to credit the amount, after realization, to Bihar Relief Fund.	313
287	Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Karachi Letter	24	Sends demand draft for Rs. 1278-11-6 with request to credit the amount, after realization, to his current account No. 2.	313
288	D. H. Daruvala to Jinnah Letter	24	Informs that he had sighted some landed property; describes its good location and states expected price; suggests that he purchase it for own use.	314
289	F. Amin to Fakhruddin Valibhai Letter	25	Asks for an advance copy of the address of welcome to be presented to Jinnah at the ceremony scheduled for 26 September to mark the founding of the Valika Textile Mills.	314
290	Clement Attlee to Jinnah Letter	25	Refers to No.219; says he had enjoyed meeting Mir Laik Ali and had had a "most interesting talk" with him; hopes that the difficulties besetting the new	315

			Dominion would be overcome soon so that its people might live in peace.	
291	J. B. Kripalani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	25	Recalling his interview on 21 September, when he (Jinnah) had told him that complaints in the press about non-Muslim emigrants from Sind being subjected to humiliating searches had been found baseless after investigation, he had informed him (Jinnah) that, apart from press reports, he had the evidence of eyewitnesses to the searches at Karachi seaport and airport as well as at Hyderabad railway station; encloses a corroborative report from Mrs Kripalani who had been to Karachi port and Hyderabad herself.	316
292	Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, to PS to Jinnah Letter	25	Advise having received (a) Rs.58,210-11-10 from their New Delhi Branch for credit to Jinnah's Account No. 2 and (b) a message that funds in Account No. 1 were insufficient for transfer.	321
293	Francis Mudie to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	25	Refers to No. 281; encloses copies of a dispatch from Col. Sher Khan of the Military Evacuation Organisation Headquarters, Amritsar, on the grave situation in East Punjab, stating that the Provincial administration was totally ineffective and warning that reprisals in West Punjab would make evacuation of refugees from East Punjab extremely difficult.	321
294	Douglas Brown to F. Amin Letter	25	Refers to No. 279; states he was glad of the opportunity given to him of an audience with Jinnah.	325
295	L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin Letter	25	Informs that Archibald Carter was due to arrive in Karachi on 2 October and that if Jinnah wished to meet him, he would be only too happy; informs also that Nathan, British Civil Aviation Secretary, and a British parliamentary delegation to China were also due in Karachi the same day.	325
296	F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	26	Thanks him for No. 295; says he had been desired to inform that Jinnah would be glad to meet Archibald Carter, Nathan and the Parliamentary delegation to China; says further that interviews could be arranged at mutual convenience.	326
297	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter	26	Refers to No. 235; says Miss Jinnah and he were both happy to learn that he had enjoyed his stay in Karachi; looks forward to meeting him and Lady Ismay whenever they came to Karachi; invites them to stay with him.	327
298	Jinnah to H. L. Ismay Letter	26	Refers to No. 258; says that Air Marshal Blucke had brought a plane to Karachi	327

			which was not fitted the way he had wished, and he had been told that it would take another ten days for the desired changes to be made; urges that top priority be given to put the other plane in order; asks him to thank Air Marshal Walmslay for his assistance in the matter.	
299	Telegraphists Committee, Comilla, to Jinnah Telegram	26	Expresses dissatisfaction with Pay Commission's Report and demands better pay scales commensurate with the technical qualifications and night duties of the telegraphists.	328
300	Editor, the *Observer*, Cuttack, to K. H. Khurshid Letter	26	Informs that his paper had been fighting for the cause of Muslims of Orissa; says further that the paper was being muzzled by the Congress government; requests material for publication with a view to answering malicious propaganda of the Congress press.	329
301	M. Yaqub to PS to Jinnah Letter	26	Requests compensation for the terrible losses of life and property he and his family had had to suffer during communal violence in Delhi, his son having been brutally murdered, his body mutilated and his head severed and hung on the front door of the house, inscribed with words to the effect that that was the fate of those who had demanded Pakistan.	329
302	S. M. Yusuf to Alan Lascelles Letter	26	Refers to No. 140; acknowledges the receipt of Commission of Appointment of the Governor-General of Pakistan as well as of the Governors of Sind, NWFP, West Punjab and East Bengal, together with Letters Patent of the office of Governor in the last two provinces.	331
303	M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Requests a provisional allocation of $6,000 to meet the cost of Governor-General's Cadillac due for delivery by 15 November; promises to write about his aeroplane in a couple of days.	332
304	Jinnah to Geoffrey Prior Telegram	27	Informs that Dundas, his (Prior's) successor, would reach Quetta on 2 October to relieve him; thanks him and appreciates his services.	333
305	H. M. Sayeed to Jinnah Telegram	27	Grieves over the massacre of Muslims in Delhi and Punjab; offers thousands of armed volunteers to defend them.	334
306	H. L. Ismay to Jinnah Letter	27	Suggests that if Hubert Rance, Governor of Burma, was to be considered for the office of Governor of East Bengal, the Secretary of State for Burma be consulted through the U. K. High Commissioner in Karachi.	334

307	S. H. Raza to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	27	Encloses copies of the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947, and the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947, promulgated by the Governor of Sind pursuant to Jinnah's direction in Nos. 262 & 269.	335
308	M. Y. Akbary to F. Amin Letter	27	Refers to No. 208; donates a truck to Govt. of Pakistan for transportation of refugees; offers to provide more if required.	336
309	Jinnah to G. H. Hidayatullah Letter	27	Refers to No. 227; lauds the Aga Khan's plan to set up one institution each in West and East Pakistan, on the lines of the famed Zurich Polytechnic, for engineering and scientific education and research; says if the Aga Khan donated 20 lakh rupees for each institution, as proposed, he hoped to be able to raise another one crore himself; says further that the capital cost of the project would be met out of the Aga Khan's donation while the Pakistan Government would defray the expenses on upkeep; adds that the Aga Khan should first define the character and the aims and objects of the institutions.	337
310	L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin Letter	27	Refers to No. 296; informs that both Carter and Nathan would be in Karachi on 3 October and suggests that Jinnah might see them at any time convenient to him that day; suggests also that, if possible, Jinnah might receive the British Parliamentary delegation to China on 2 October and the Parliamentary delegation to Japan on 6 October.	338
311	F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith Letter	28	Acknowledges No. 310; informs that Jinnah would see Carter and Nathan on 3 October, the Parliamentary Delegation to China on 2 October, and the Delegation to Japan on 6 October; asks to be informed of the names of the delegates.	339
312	M. A. Khadim to Jinnah Letter	28	Appeals in the name of Indian Muslims, threatened with liquidation by Hindus, to prepare the nation to meet the crisis; bemoans lack of far-sightedness and organisational talent in ML; urges that Jinnah take Army Chiefs into confidence; suggests guidelines for reorientation of League policy.	340
313	S. L. Dewan to Jinnah Telegram	28	Welcomes him to Lahore on behalf of Northern Indian Film Producers Association and Pancholi Art Pictures; pledges allegiance to Pakistan; requests an interview.	343
314	Abdul Majid to Jinnah Telegram	29	Urges protection and evacuation of forty thousand Muslims stranded in Gurgaon District.	343

315	Khwaja Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter	29	Encloses account of the money given jointly to him and Noon from the Bihar Relief Fund; says the Central Committee had done all it could to provide relief to refugees but admits failure to rehabilitate them; proposes giving a monthly grant of Rs.5,000 to help needy students, providing legal aid for defence of the accused and prosecution of miscreants, and meeting the expenses of Technical Institutes set up for imparting technical training to refugees; suggests that a committee be set up to formulate schemes for refugee rehabilitation; enquires whether funds would be made available for the purpose.	344
316	Liaquat Ali Khan to Nehru Telegram	29	Protests at Gandhi's statement holding out threat of war; says it ran counter to their declaration at the New Delhi Conference of 19 September ruling out war between India and Pakistan; urges reiteration of their intent to adhere to the declaration.	347
317	S. M. Yusuf to Khwaja Nazimuddin Letter	29	Refers to No. 267; says before considering securing services of an expert to advise the East Bengal Govt., Jinnah desired full particulars of the Karnaphuli Hydro-Electric Project; also says the concerned Ministry had been asked to consider supply of more rice to East Bengal.	351
318	Shambonath Mulraj to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	29	Forwards the resolution of the Sind Minorities Association urging immediate inclusion of Hindus in the Central and Sind Cabinets in order to check the migration of Hindus from Sind.	351
319	Malcolm MacDonald to Jinnah Letter	29	Thanks for enquiring after his health; recalls the First Round Table Conference in London at which he (Jinnah) had represented Indian Muslims; wishes him success in his great task.	353
320	S. N. Sayed to Jinnah Letter	29	Felicitates on birth of Pakistan which he says was rightly regarded as a rising star in the Muslim world; requests an audience to explain problems agitating his mind; encloses letters from Colonial Secretary, Trinidad and British Guiana.	353
321	Liaquat Ali Khan to Lord Chamberlain, London Telegram	29	Thanks for His Majesty's invitation to the wedding of Princess Elizabeth on 20 November; says he would be happy to attend if the desperate situation in East Punjab and Delhi, where Muslims were suffering tragic losses of life, property and honour on a vast scale, permitted.	354
322	Geoffrey Prior to Jinnah Telegram	29	Thanks for his kind remarks; says he would have been glad of more than five	355

			days notice for relinquishing charge of his office.	
323	Jinnah to Geoffrey Prior Letter	30	Refers to No. 315; says he had no objection if Prior needed more than five days at Quetta to settle his affairs; advises consultation with Dundas when the latter arrived there to relieve him.	356
324	Pat Boeck to Jinnah Letter	30	Requests a message for the *1948 Yearbook* as an expression of his people's perception of the imperatives of world peace and understanding.	356
325	Charles C. Pearl to Jinnah Letter	30	Requests his autographed photograph along with his own handwritten letter.	357
326	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	30	Informs that the new train facility was meant exclusively for the East Punjab Muslim evacuees who had moved into UP.	358
327	S. M. Yusuf to Ministry of Food & Agriculture Letter	30	Refers to an extract of No. 267 from Chief Minister, East Bengal, requesting urgent suppy of rice.	358
328	L. Graffty-Smith to F. Amin Letter & Enclosure	30	Refers to No. 311; encloses lists of members of two British parliamentary delegations due on 2 & 6 October and thanks Jinnah for agreeing to receive them.	358
329	Jinnah to Angelo Bros., Calcutta Letter	30	Inquires about dividend warrants of his shares to make sure he had not lost any during disturbances.	359
330	Jinnah to Steel Corporation of Bengal, Calcutta Letter	30	Inquires dividend warrants of his shares to make sure he had not lost any during disturbances.	360
331	Note by Saidullah Khan	30	Reports on his interview with Shah Wali Khan the acting Prime Minister of Afghanistan; responded positively to his first question whether Pakistan wished to see Afghanistan rich and prosperous; to his second question whether Pakistan could give the whole of NWFP along with tribal areas to Afghanistan to make the latter stronger, he retorted that it should rather be Afgharistan, being the smaller country, that should join Pakistan, the larger Muslim nation; to the question why an Englishman had been appointed Governor of NWFP, he replied that Jinnah was the best judge in the matter and his integrity was beyond any question; says that the Prime Minister was quite satisfied with his answers.	361
332	M. A. Sattar Khan to Jinnah Telegram	30	Informs that Muslims at Udaipur were unsafe and requests an interview for their representative.	
333	Jinnah to Lloyds Bank, Karachi Letter	30	Encloses instructions from the Nawab of Bhopal to the Chartered Bank, Karachi, to credit £5,000 to his Current Account No. 2 by debit to the Nawab's Current Acount.	371 371

334	The Bombay Gas Co., to PS to Jinnah Letter	30	Return the cheque for Rs. 14-10-6 received from him on account of gas bills for April to July 1947 as payment had been made by Messrs Mahomed Alli & Co., Bombay.	372
335	King Abdullah Ibn Elhusain to Jinnah Telegram	30	Expresses grief over the communal disturbance in sub-continent and hopes that steps would be taken to restore peace and goodwill between the two countries.	373
336	N. L. Gupta to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Encloses a self-addressed envelope and requests Jinnah's autograph.	
337	M. R. Khan to Chief Commissioner, Delhi Letter	n.d.	Says the Central Office of AIML in Delhi had been raided by miscreants, which showed the hazards it was exposed to; requests that the office be taken into protective custody until its affairs were wound up.	373 374
338	H. M. Sayeed to Jinnah Telegram	n.d.	Informs about the deep concern of Orakzai tribe over East Punjab disturbances; apprehends uncontrollable situation if peace not restored; assures readiness of the tribe to obey Jinnah's orders.	375
339	Note by F. Amin	n.d.	Informs about arrangements for reception of refugees in Karachi, their registration and transfer to the refugee camps in the city.	375
340	G. A. K. Ajmeri to Jinnah & Others Letter	n.d.	Suggests measures for accelerating the pace of industrial and commercial development in Pakistan; urges special attention to be given to education and publicity.	376

No.	*Description*	*Date August 1947*	*Summary*
1	Dhyan Singh to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/120)	15	Calls independence a great achievement; congratulates him on taking over as Governor-General; prays for his long life.
2	Elizabeth Farmer to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/182-3)	15	Expresses her good wishes and invokes God's blessings for his new role as Governor-General; says she had avidly followed the struggle which, under his leadership, had culminated in the emergence of Pakistan.
3	Polak to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/96)	15	Congratulates him on the achievement of Pakistan.
4	Resolution by the Iranian residents of Bombay (F. 30-GG/186)	15	Send greetings to the new Muslim State; assure cooperation of their community residing in Pakistan.
5	S. M. Yunus to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/258-9)	15	Felicitates him as architect of an independent Muslim State; says he had followed his long career and found him a dauntless soldier of Islam; also says he had served as a diplomat under King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan and had since settled in America; offers his services in any way deemed fit; urges the need for Muslim unity and solidarity.
6	Muhammad Ali to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/205-10)	15	Congratulates him on the achievement of Pakistan; reports details of Independence Day celebrations in Kurram under Kurram Agency Muslim League Working Committee; stresses the need for unequivocal allegiance to Pakistan, regardless of caste, colour and creed.
7	Irineu Fernandes to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/327)	15	Sends heartiest greetings and prays for the peace and prosperity of Pakistan.
8	I. P. Mall to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/271)	15	Sends felicitations on behalf of the Indian Christians Association of Sind; assures loyalty of the Christian community to Pakistan, hoping for fair treatment.
9	Gulzari Mall to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/211)	15	Felicitates him, on behalf of the Kashyup Rajput Mahasabha, on the achievement of his mission, with power being transferred to a democratic government; encloses a copy of Memorandum from his community requesting concessions for alleviating their poverty, illiteracy and humiliation; pledges loyalty and support.
10	Riazuddin Farouki to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/51)	15	Sends good wishes on behalf of the Indian Union in Cairo.
11	Usman Hami to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/302)	15	Felicitates him on the establishment of Pakistan; prays for progress and prosperity of the new nation; remembers the sacrifices made for freedom; hopes Pak-

			istan would support the Muslims of the Middle East and thereby promote world peace; prays that *Allah* bless him with success.
12	M. Usman to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/56)	15	Felicitates him on assumption of office of Governor-General of Pakistan; wishes him a happy *'Id*.
13	Chairman, Sind Branch, European Association, to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/18)	15	Sends good wishes of the British community in Sind; looks forward to his long and successful stint as Governor-General, leading Pakistan towards prosperity; seeks an opportunity for the Association to meet him and offers full co-operation.
14	S. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/213-5)	15	Greets him on the dawn of independence; praises his leadership for liberation from foreign yoke; as a member of the younger generation, pledges readiness to assume the new national responsibilities; greets him on assuming office of Governor-General; declares that the nation was ready to move forward at his bidding.
15	A. El Fassy to Jinnah Telegram (FOA, 0/346)	15	Sends congratulations and wishes prosperity to the people of Pakistan, on behalf of the Moroccan Independence Party, on Independence Day.
16	S. A. Brelvi to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/202)	16	Felicitates him on appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan; wishes progress and prosperity to both India and Pakistan despite his earlier opposition to Partition; praises Quaid's statesmanship and hopes common interests would be looked after under his guidance; prays for him and Pakistan.
17	Louis Mallitte to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/36-7)	16	Congratulates him on his taking over as Governor-General; recalls his discussions with her former employer V. J. Patel; requests a set of Pakistani stamps.
18	Muslims of Sixth Gurkha Regiment to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/74)	16	Congratulate him on the establishment of Pakistan and his appointment as Governor-General; also extend *'Id* greetings and prayers for him and Pakistan.
19	Deane Dickason to Jinnah Letter (F. 120(IV)-GG/215)	16	Congratulates him on the emergence of Pakistan; recalls preparing a film on him at Government House, Karachi; offers his services.
20	Hindustani Muslims Association, Burma, to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter (FOA, 0/346)	16	Send congratulations and good wishes to the leaders and people of Pakistan on the birth of the new nation; state that at a meeting of the Muslims of Rangoon held to celebrate the emergence of Pakistan, attended also by Burma's Foreign Minister and High Commissioner designate to Pakistan, a message from Premier of Burma was read; also state that

			prayers were offered in mosques and a holiday was observed by shopkeepers and businessmen.
21	M. Mukarram Ali Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/23-4)	17	Praises Jinnah's selfless leadership in achieving Pakistan; prays for his continued guidance.
22	Alb Zaoui to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/62)	17	Felicitates him on behalf of the Beja Muslims and expresses solidarity with Pakistan on independence.
23	7/1 Punjab Regt., Singapore, to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/72)	17	Send best wishes of all Muslim personnel; offer their services and pray for a prosperous Pakistan.
24	G. H. C. Lee to E. St. J. Birnie Letter & Enclosure (F. 30-GG/43)	17	Forwards a congratulatory cable on behalf of Chairman, BOAC, praying for peace and prosperity in Pakistan and hoping for stronger business relations between the two national airlines.
25	Widow of Muhammad Multani to Jinnah Letter (F. 861/141)	18	Contributes *Zakat* towards the nation-building task; congratulates him on achieving Pakistan and prays for him and the country.
26	Haji Mohamed & Haji Husain to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/28)	18	Felicitate him on the achievement of Pakistan; send contribution of Rs. 125 for the Pakistan Fund.
27	S.M.B.H. Qadri to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/189-90)	18	Recalls having attended the Lahore session of the Muslim League where the Pakistan Resolution was passed; acknowledges his achievement for the Muslim *Millat* and prays for him.
28	J. C. Fortunet to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/298)	19	Expresses joy on independence from colonial rule and highlights the spiritual significance of Eastern cultures.
29	Sue Weddell & Wynn Fairfield to Jinnah Letter (FOA, 0/346)	19	Convey congratulations on the attainment of self-government; assure continued support of the Christian Churches and the people of North America to Pakistan and its people; pray for the grant of wisdom and strength to meet the new responsibilities.
30	C. R. Palairet to Jinnah Letter (F. 502/7)	20	Recalls their meeting in the year 1922 at Indore; congratulates him on the success of his mission.
31	A. Daoudbay to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/116)	20	Refers to previous telegrams from the Indian community in Madagascar; expresses happiness on independence; briefs him on official celebrations in Tananarive enclosing a copy of his own speech.
32	E. R. Ganpatsingh to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure (F. 30-GG/272)	20	Forwards a resolution on behalf of the East Indian community of New Amsterdam, British Guiana, offering congratulations on independence and praying for peaceful relations with India.

33	Gopaljee Samboo to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/299)	20	On behalf of the Indian Association of France, greets Quaid as one of the architects of freedom.
34	Qamar Bano to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/131-2)	21	Felicitates him on achievement of Pakistan; conveys the joy of millions of Muslim women on the occasion; prays for his health and long life.
35	P. G. Solanki to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/300-1)	21	Congratulates him on his heroic struggle for Pakistan; hails him as defender of Islam; prays for his health.
36	Kemal Ohri to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/150)	21	A former general of the Turkish Army, extols Quaid's achievement; felicitates him on independence attained during the holy month of *Ramazan*.
37	A. Hameed Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/293)	22	Congratulates him on achieving Pakistan; informs of anti-Muslim activities of the Education Minister of Madras.
38	S. G. Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/314-8)	22	Congratulates him, Liaquat, and the Muslim League on achieving Pakistan; extols his leadership; animadverts on Western concepts of industrial materialism comparing them with Islamic models of thought regarding universal laws, events and causes, and the place of humanity within the Divine Order; prays that he guide the nascent Pakistan State through all trouble and turmoil on the basis of these immutable principles.
39	E. N. Rao to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/127)	24	Felicitates him on having taken over as Governor-General of Pakistan; hopes the new State would strive for and attain the goals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity under his guidance.
40	Mrs. Roshan Barucha to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/171)	25	Congratulates him on behalf of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council on taking over as Governor-General.
41	F. Bomelli to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/119)	25	Congratulates him on the establishment of Pakistan and taking over as Governor-General; recalls that he (Jinnah) had attended his wedding in 1946; hopes to visit Karachi soon and open a Swiss restaurant there.
42	P. E. Thorne & C. C. Pande to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/95)	25	Pledges loyalty and service to Pakistan on behalf of Members of his Church in the new State.
43	Ratanji A. Dubash to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/313)	29	Congratulates him on having taken over as Governor-General; lauds his services for the Muslims of India.
44	Ishwardas Lakhshmidas to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/321)	29	Offers congratulations on his having taken over as Governor-General; feels proud to see his old friend in that exalted position; pays regards to him and Ms Fatima Jinnah.

45	Malik Sarmast Khan to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/323)	29	Congratulates him on the establishment of Pakistan; offers his services.
46	Pakistan Independence Day Committee, Kuwait, to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/324-5)	29	Felicitate him on the creation of Pakistan and pray for him as well as the nation.
47	Moor's Islamic Cultural Home, Colombo, to Jinnah Telegram (F. 30-GG/220)	n.d.	Felicitate him on his historic achievement.
48	H. Rizvi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure (F. 30-GG/253-4)	n.d.	Conveys his *salaams* and congratulates him for saving the Muslims; encloses a talisman showing various mystical symbols and charts foretelling good fortune and promising Divine protection to him and Pakistan.
		September	
49	W. C. Clingder to Jinnah Letter (F. 25(2)-GG/147)	1	Congratulates him on arrival in Karachi, introduces representatives of Henry Schroder Bank, New York, with a request to refer them to the concerned ministers.
50	J. A. Gill to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/163)	2	Offers hearty congratulations on achievement of Pakistan on behalf of the Christian community; expresses their deep loyalty to Pakistan.
51	M. A. Moray to Jinnah Letter (F. 120 (IV)-GG/339)	4	Requests admission to a faculty in Pakistan; felicitates on creation of Pakistan.
52	B. A. Joseph to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/139)	8	Congratulates him on his great achievement and assures of loyalty and support of the Hazara Christian Community.
53	Chairman, Urban Council, Chilaw, Ceylon, to Jinnah (F. 30-GG/147)	11	Sends copy of a resolution congratulating Jinnah on the attainment of Dominion Status.
54	H. A. Fazelbhoy & K. S. Littina to Jinnah (F. 30-GG/159)	12	Convey felicitations on Independence Day on behalf of Society of the Honorary Presidency Magistrates of Bombay.
55	Islamic Progressive Association, Adiyakkamangalam, to Jinnah Letter (F. 30-GG/134)	15	Felicitate him on the glorious achievement of Pakistan through his resolute struggle.
56	Ghulam Ishaq to M. W. Abbasi Letter & Enclosure (F. 216(VI)-GG/25-9)	15	Forwards a letter of greetings and felicitations from Nawab of Bajour to Jinnah.
57	M. S. Haq Gulchin to Jinnah Letter	26	Forwards resolution passed by postal employees of Lahore on 24 September congratulating him on establishment of Pakistan.

1

Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah[1]

15 August 1947

It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. August 15 is the birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It marks the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland.

At this supreme moment my thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more.

The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.

Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

MUSLIMS: A UNITED NATION

Muslims of India have shown to the world that they are a united nation, their cause is just and righteous which cannot be denied. Let us, on this day, humbly thank God for His bounty and pray that we might be able to prove that we are worthy of it.

This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and a noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.

To the freedom loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greetings and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly co-operation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honourably and let others live honourably.

BUILD UP PAKISTAN

Today is *Jum'a-tul-Wida'*, last Friday of the holy month of *Ramazan*, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast

sub-continent and for the matter of that throughout the world. Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all the mosques, bow in all humility before the Almighty and thank Him for His eternal kindness and generosity, seeking His guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great State and themselves into its worthy citizens.

Finally, let me tell you, fellow citizens, Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly.[2]

Pakistan Zindabad

[1]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements 1947-48*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 55-6.

[2]For the drafts of this broadcast including one by Z. A. Bokhari, Controller, Pakistan Broadcasting Service, see F. 1020/57-61, *QAP*. Not printed.

2

Press Release

F. 17-GG/20-2

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
OF PUBLIC RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
15 August 1947

QUAID-I-AZAM ASSUMES OFFICE AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL
Seven Cabinet Ministers sworn in at Government House[1]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was sworn in at 9.15 a.m. today as the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

The distinguished gathering which witnessed the colourful ceremony on the terrace of Government House included Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and his colleagues in the Pakistan Cabinet, Sir Lawrence Grafftey-Smith, British High Commissioner in Pakistan, Mr. Sri Prakasa, Indian High Commissioner, the Representative of China and other Foreign Consuls, Gen. Sir Frank W. Messervy, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army and Rear-Admiral Jefford, Naval Commander-in-Chief.

Troops of the 7th [Battalion]/10th Baluch Regiment and men of the Pakistan Navy were drawn up in a hollow square in the centre of which was the Flagstaff, from which the Pakistan Dominion Flag fluttered proudly after the swearing-in ceremony.

The assemblage rose to its feet as the Quaid-i-Azam, dressed in a silk *sherwani* and escorted by two A. D. Cs.[2] and his Military Secretary, Col. E. St. J. Birnie, entered and took up his position at the head of the steps where he received the salute from the Guards of Honour and returned to the dais.

RECITATION FROM *QUR'AN*

The ceremony began with a recitation from the holy *Qur'an* by Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Minister of Education, Sind Government.

The Secretary-General of the Cabinet, Mr. Mohamad Ali, then advanced and bowed to the Governor-General designate and asked:

> Have I Your Excellency's permission to read His Majesty's Commission under the Royal Sign Manual?[3]

The Quaid-i-Azam nodded assent, and the Secretary-General read the Commission, bowed and retired.

The Oath of Allegiance[4] and Office was administered by Justice Sir Abdur Rashid, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, after which His Excellency took his seat. The guests then resumed their seats.

PROCLAMATION

Mr. Mohamad Ali obtained orders from the Governor-General that a Proclamation[5] announcing His Excellency's assumption of office "shall be issued and published in *the Gazette of Pakistan;* that it shall be read at the head of the troops in the different Garrisons and at the principal Naval and Air Force stations; that it shall be communicated to all Ministries of the Government of Pakistan for information and the issue of necessary orders; and that it shall also be sent to the Provincial Governments of East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, and the Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan".

MESSAGES FROM CHINA AND FRANCE

Mr. Mohamad Ali read messages of congratulation on the creation of Pakistan, received by the Quaid-i-Azam from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek [President of China][6] and M. Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic.[7]

[SWEARING IN OF MINISTERS]

With the permission of the Governor-General, seven Ministers were sworn in. They were: Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. J.N. Mandal, and Mr. Fazlur Rahman.[8]

The Ministers, in turn, stood and read the Oath of Allegiance of Office and the Oath of Secrecy, and advanced to the dais to sign the Roll before returning to their respective seats.

The Governor-General then rose and walked to the head of the steps, where he received the Royal Salute as the Pakistan Dominion Flag broke from the Flagstaff, and the Governor-General's Flag was unfurled on [the] Government House.

Beyond the lawns, 31 guns roared in Salute, while a large crowd which had assembled outside [the] Government House raised cries of *Pakistan Zindabad* and *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*.

QUAID-I-AZAM GREETS GUESTS

After inspecting the Guards of Honour, the Governor-General left the parade in procession, to return a few minutes later and greet his guests. He moved slowly round the terrace with smiles and handshakes for his friends, who raised cries of *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*.

Shortly after re-entering [the] Government House, the Quaid-i-Azam appeared on the balcony which was a signal for a fresh burst of applause and cheers for the new Governor-General.

[1]Also see *Pakistan Times*, 17 August 1947.
[2]Flt. Lt. M. Ata Rabbani and Capt. Gul Hassan.
[3]See Annex I.
[4]The Oath of Allegiance and Secrecy for the Governor-General provided for "true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established". See Annex II. Also see Enclosure 1 to No. 202, Vol. IV, 311.
[5]See Annex IV.
[6]See Enclosure to No. 209, Vol. IV, 320-1.
[7]Not traceable.
[8]For distribution of portfolios of the Ministers, see Annex V.

Annex I to No. 2
Commission of Appointment of Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan under the Royal Sign Manual

F. Nil (S. No. 18)-GG/2-3

GEORGE THE SIXTH by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith

To Our Trusty and Well Beloved Mohamed[1] Ali Jinnah, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Greeting

I. We do by this Our Commission under Our Sign Manual appoint you the said Mohamed Ali Jinnah to be during Our pleasure Governor-General of Pakistan with all the powers, rights, privileges, and advantages to the said office belonging or appertaining

II. And We do hereby authorise, empower and command you to exercise and perform all and singular the powers and duties conferred and imposed upon Our Governor-General of Pakistan by and under the provisions of the Act passed in this the Tenth and Eleventh year of Our Reign, intituled the Indian Independence Act 1947

III. And We do hereby authorise and empower you in Our name and on Our behalf to grant to any offender convicted in the exercise of its criminal jurisdiction by any Court of Justice within Our territories in Pakistan a pardon, either free or subject to such lawful conditions as to you may seem fit

IV. And We do hereby further authorise and direct you to cause this Our Commission to be read and published in the presence of the Chief Justice or other Judge of the Federal Court, or in the presence of the Chief Justice or other Judge of the High Court of any of the Provinces in Our Dominion of Pakistan

V. And We do hereby further authorise and direct you to take the oath of allegiance and the oath for the due execution of the office of Our Governor-General of Pakistan in the form hereto appended,[2] which oaths the said Chief Justice of the Federal Court or other Judge of the said Court or the Chief Justice or other Judge of the High Court of any of the Provinces in Our said Dominion shall and is hereby required to tender and administer unto you

VI. And We do hereby further authorise and require you, by yourself or by any other person to be appointed by you in that behalf, to administer to every person appointed by you to hold office as a Minister and to every person appointed by you to be a Chief Commissioner the oaths of allegiance and office and of secrecy hereto appended[3]

VII. And We do further direct that every person who under this Commission shall be required to take an oath may make an affirmation in place of an oath if he has any objection to making an oath.

GIVEN at Our Court at Balmoral
this fourteenth day of August in the
Year of Our Lord one thousand nine
hundred and forty-seven and in the
eleventh year of Our Reign

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND
LISTOWEL[4]

[1]Spelling as in original. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted a resolution on 12 August 1947 to the effect that Jinnah was to be addressed as Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan. See Appendix IX. 3, item 2, Vol. IV, 543.

[2&3]Annex II.

[4]Secretary of State for India and Burma.

Annex II to No. 2

F. Nil (S. No. 18)-GG/4

FORM OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE FOR GOVERNOR-GENERAL

I, ..., do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan[1] as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George the Sixth, His Heirs and Successors, in the Office of Governor-General of Pakistan.

FORM OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND OFFICE FOR MINISTERS AND CHIEF COMMISSIONERS

I, ..., do solemnly affirm that in the Office of... I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Pakistan as by law established and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of Pakistan without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.

FORM OF OATH OF SECRECY FOR MINISTERS AND CHIEF COMMISSIONERS

I, ..., do solemnly affirm that I will not directly or indirectly communicate or reveal to any person or persons any matter which shall be brought under my consideration, or shall become known to me as ..., except as may be required for the due discharge of my duties as ....

[1]Annex III.

Annex III to No. 2

The Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order 1947[1]

[Extract]

CABINET SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
1 September 1947

WHEREAS by sub-section (2) of section 8 of the Indian Independence Act 1947[2] (hereafter in the recitals to this Order referred to as the said Act), it is provided that except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under sub-section (1) of the said section, each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the provisions of that Act shall so far as applicable and subject to any express provisions of the said Act and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section of the said Act, have effect accordingly.

AND WHEREAS by paragraph (e) of sub-section (1) of section 9 of the said Act it is provided that the Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient for making omissions from, additions to, and adaptations and modifications of the Government [of] India Act, 1935, in its application to the separate new Dominions;

AND WHEREAS by sub-section (4) of section 19 of the said Act it is provided that in the said Act, except so far as the context otherwise requires, references to the Government of India Act, 1935, include references to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act and in particular references to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946.

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred by the said provisions of the said Act, the Governor-General is pleased to make the following Order:

1 i. This Order may be cited as the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947.

ii. It shall come into force on the fifteenth day of August 1947, which day is hereinafter referred to as "the appointed day".

2 a. Where a provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been amended before the appointed day, a reference to that provision in the Schedule to this Order shall be read as referring to the provision as in force immediately before the appointed day.

b. The Interpretation Act 1889, applies for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3 i. As from the appointed day, the Government of India Act, 1935, including the provisions of that Act which have not come into force before the appointed day, and the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946, shall, until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, apply to Pakistan with the omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications directed in the following provisions of this paragraph and in the Schedule to this Order.

[*Subsequent paras omitted*]

[1]It was issued on 14 August and published in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 1 September 1947.

[2]Enclosure 1 to No.1, Vol. III, 2-25.

Annex IV to No. 2
Resolution by the Government of Pakistan[1]

CABINET SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
15 August 1947

Ordered that the following Proclamation be published in *the Gazette of Pakistan*:

Whereas Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has been appointed[2] by His Majesty to be the Governor-General of Pakistan, the said appointment is hereby notified and it is proclaimed that the said Governor-General of Pakistan has this day assumed his office.

Ordered that this proclamation be read at the head of the troops in the different garrisons and at all the principal naval, military and air force stations.

Ordered that a copy of the Proclamation and copies of the foregoing orders be sent for information to the Ministries of the Government of Pakistan, whence such orders as may be necessary will be issued forthwith.

Ordered that information of the accession of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the office of Governor-General of Pakistan be sent to the Provincial Governments of East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, the North Western Frontier Province and the Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan.

[1]Published in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 15 August 1947.
[2]See Annex I.

Annex V to No. 2
Notification by the Government of Pakistan[1]

CABINET SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
15 August 1947

The Governor-General has been pleased to make the following distribution of portfolios:

1. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister	(i) Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (ii) Defence
2. I. I. Chundrigar	Commerce, Industries and Works
3. Ghulam Mohammed	Finance
4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar	Communications
5. Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Food, Agriculture and Health

6. Jogendra Nath Mandal	Law and Labour
7. Fazlur Rahman	Interior, Information and Education

MOHAMAD ALI
Secretary-General

[1]Published in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 15 August 1947.

3

Note by E. St. J. Birnie

F. 17-GG/16-7

OFFICE OF THE MILI[TARY] SEC[RETAR]Y,
GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
15 August 1947

EVENING FLAG CEREMONY ON 15 AUGUST 1947[1]
UNFURLING OF PAKISTAN DOMINION FLAG ON THE PARADE GROUND

5.45 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. Dundas, General Sir Frank Messervy, Air Vice-Marshal [*sic* for Rear Admiral] Jefford, Capt. Chaudhri, Capt. Hamilton Dalrymple, A.D.Cs. 1, 2 and 3 leave for the parade
Mr. LeMesurier[2] has arranged seating and has kindly arranged to have them conducted to their seats

6.00 p.m. His Excellency the Governor-General and Miss Fatima Jinnah attended by M[ilitary] S[ecretary] Q[uaid-i-Azam] leave Government House in State (open car)

6.05 p.m. His Excellency the Governor-General and Miss Fatima Jinnah arrive at the Parade Ground and are met by His Excellency the Governor of Sind [Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah], General Sir Frank Messervy, C-in-C, Pakistan Army, and Major-General Moh[amma]d Akbar Khan, Commander, Sind Area.

6.07 p.m. Miss Fatima Jinnah attended by A.D.C. 3 is conducted to her seat by Mr. LeMesurier

6.10 p.m. His Excellency the Governor-General proceeds to the dais and faces Guards of Honour
Guards of Honour give a Royal Salute and present arms
Guards of Honour order arms
Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, and Area Commander remain near the dais

His Excellency inspects the Guards of Honour preceded by A.D.Cs. 1 and 2 and attended by M.S.Q.
Commanders of Guards accompany His Excellency during his inspection of their particular Guard
His Excellency now takes up his position in the centre of the square facing the Flag
The Flag is broken
Guards of Honour give a Royal Salute and present arms
The Battery fires a Royal Salute of 31 guns
Officers will salute only for the time the Pipe Band is playing
His Excellency proceeds to the dais for the March Past
Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, and Area Commander will only join His Excellency on the dais, remaining staff will take up their positions to the right and left of the dais
Guards of Honour March Past
R.I.A.F. Fly Past
His Excellency now leaves the parade and enters his car
A.D.C.3 will escort Miss Fatima Jinnah to the car
His Excellency the Governor-General and Miss Fatima Jinnah will leave in State attended by M.S.Q.
A.D.Cs. 1,2 and 3 will marshal cars for the return of House Party guests to Government House
All Government House cars detailed for guests will be lined up ready to start after His Excelleny's departure.

E. ST. J. BIRNIE
Colonel
Military Secretary to the Governor-General

[1]For the morning ceremony held the same day, see F. 17-GG/26-7. Not printed.
[2]Chief Secretary, Sind.

4

Frederick Bourne to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21-GG/1

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
DACCA,
15 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to report that I have on the forenoon of this day, the 15th August 1947, taken the oaths prescribed by the Instrument of

Instructions and entered upon the duties of the office of Governor of East Bengal.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
FREDERICK BOURNE
K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Governor of East Bengal

[1]Oath of Office as per the terms of the King's Commission under Royal Seal issued on 14 August 1947. See F. Nil (S. No. 18)-GG/12-3. Not printed.

5

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 21-GG/3-4

PESHAWAR,
15 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

I beg to report that as Governor of the NWFP I took the oath of allegiance to the King and the Constitution of Pakistan this morning. Thereafter at 9 a.m. I was present at the formal hoisting of the Flag of Pakistan—a most impressive ceremony attended by troops, Civil Armed Forces and large number of the public.[1]

[GEORGE CUNNINGHAM]
Governor of NWFP

[1]See Annex.

Annex to No. 5

INDEPENDENCE DAY CEREMONIES AND BOYCOTT BY RED SHIRTS

[*Extract*][1]

On 15th August, ceremonies were held in all large towns to celebrate the birth of the Dominion of Pakistan, watched by large and enthusiastic audiences. The Pakistan Flag was unfurled and saluted by representatives of the armed forces, civil officials, and the public. The ceremonies were boycotted by the Red Shirt organisation, and the Premier and other Ministers did not attend at Peshawar, where His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province was present.

[1]*The Referendum in NWFP–1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 280.

6

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/7

IMMEDIATE PESHAWAR,
15 August 1947

Personal for Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

I have had several long talks with Dr. Khan Sahib. Result briefly summarised is:

a. He has assured me solemnly that as long as he is a minister, he will work loyally under Pakistan and will do nothing injurious to its constitution.
b. He will not make any declaration about an independent Pathanistan.
c. If final constitution decided upon by the Constituent Assembly is one that he feels he cannot support, he will resign and go into constitutional opposition.
d. I have urged him to resign forthwith, but so far he has not responded.

2. I trust Dr. Khan Sahib's word and, if you felt it possible to leave him in power until the next general election under the new constitution, I personally would be very glad. For I believe that broadest interests of the province for co-operation of both parties in constitutional activities and dismissal of ministry at the present stage will make this unlikely for sometime to come.

3. But I appreciate the difficulties you feel in this matter and, if you decide to direct me to dismiss the ministry,[1] I shall fully understand. Decision of ministers this morning at the very last moment not to agree to the flag hoisting ceremony weakens their position. Khan Sahib's reason was genuine anxiety that ministers might suffer some indignity from the crowd. Qazi Attaullah probably inspired by Abdul Ghaffar Khan seemed to think their attendance would be derogatory to the ministry.

4. I have been urging Khan Sahib and through him Abdul Ghaffar Khan not to stultify themselves by allowing any violence. I think I have made some headway. Abdul Qaiyum with whom I have had full discussion and whose judgment I trust thinks that we can control situation if we have troops on the spot in three or four bad areas. For this reason I would be happier if I do not have to change the ministry before August 19th, as troop movements will be much easier after *'Id*. This slight

delay will not, I think, be any embarrassment to the provincial League leaders who are in excellent fettle. I have full confidence in the loyalty of the police and the provincial services.

[GEORGE CUNNINGHAM]
Governor of NWFP

[1]Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry was dismissed by the Governor of NWFP on 22 August 1947, who invited Abdul Qaiyum Khan to form the new Ministry. See No. 74.

7

Eileen Bond to F. Amin

F.16-GG/8

FIVE SPRINGS,
QUETTA,
15 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I must thank you also for so promptly attending to this matter—my husband and I are most grateful. Everything asked for has been enclosed; eleven photos,[1] 2 relative letters,[2] and a letter for Quaid-i-Azam.[3] Also a list of the furniture.[4] I am writing this letter on a very great and historic day. Please God for my husband and I may find it the beginning of hope and for his health [*sic*].

Yours sincerely,
EILEEN BOND

[1]Not traceable.
[2]F. 16-GG/11-2. Not printed.
[3]Enclosure.
[4]F. 16-GG/13-7. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 7
Eileen Bond to M. A. Jinnah

F.16-GG/9-10

FIVE SPRINGS,
RACE COURSE SPINNEY,
QUETTA,
15 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for the reply[1] to my letter, and thank you too for replying to it so quickly—speed means so much to us.

As requested by you I have sent you the letter (in original) received from Mr. [M.] Worth (Development Officer) conveying the Local Govt.'s estimated offer[2] for our property.

Also a D. O. [letter][3] from the same officer with regard to additional structures amounting to Rs.2,558 (as shown at the end of the specifications sent to you) erected after the making of the estimate, but as the matter is so urgent to us we leave it optional to you either to take them into account or to include them in the figure quoted in Mr. Worth's letter of 27th July 1946.

I also send ten photos I have with me at present and in case the furniture should be required (and if it could be taken over, it would be a great help as obviating any delay caused in disposing of it). I enclose a list.[4]

This letter to you is being written on an historic day, and though we feel diffident in adding our puny words to all the great ones you will have received, nevertheless it is with great sincerity that we do so. Words spoken to you at Karachi just lately occur to me, "you dreamed Pakistan and to you it has been given to see your dream fulfilled". That, to me, seems a very great thing.

Yours sincerely,
EILEEN BOND

[1]No. 211, Vol. IV, 322-3.
[2] He had quoted a net estimate of Rs. 90, 465. See F. 16-GG/11. Not printed.
[3&4]See F. 16-GG/12-7. Not printed.

8

Denis Shaw to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 30-GG/81-2

MALIR CANT.,
KARACHI,
15 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I add my congratulations to the thousands you have already received?

I came to India just over two years ago knowing little about her internal affairs. My posting to an Indian Military College as a senior English master soon cured me of both my ignorance and my apathy and I conceived the deepest admiration for the man who, single-handed,

was attempting to mould Muslim India into a State.

It seemed an impossible task at one time, but you have done it, and surely your name will be ranked by history with the names of Garibaldi,[2] [and] a Bolivar[3]—one of those who wrought nations from chaos.

My only fear is for the future of Pakistan, when it loses you, as it must, unhappily. For you have worked so unceasingly, have shown such devotion to your cause that you are become [*sic*] as a giant among little people and it is difficult to imagine your place being filled successfully by another. Anyway, I sincerely hope the question will not arise for a great many years.

I am so far presuming as to enclose a photograph[4] of you, which I should very much like you to sign, if you would be so kind.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Yours,
DENIS SHAW
Warrant Officer II, RAEC,
Attached 14 British Field Regiment,
Royal Artillery

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 23 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/84. Not printed.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 4, Vol. IV, note 4, 7.
[3]Simon Bolivar, a Venezuelan patriot called "The Liberator of South America".
[4]Not traceable.

9

Ali Yavar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F.30-GG/19

JUBILEE HILL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
15 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I feel I cannot but write this letter to you on this day when the new Dominion of Pakistan is born. You are the creator of that new State and we all feel confident that, under your guidance and leadership, it will gain flesh and blood and acquire the sinews of a modern and beneficent State. As leader of the Muslims in India, you gave them solidarity and self-respect as a people; to you now they owe the consolidation of their own home-land in India. I have had the privilege

to know you since the days when you visited London in connection with the Skeen Commission[1] and when you graced Sarwar Hasan's and my lodgings at Ealing to participate in a Students' Lunch, and at no time have I been prouder of the privilege of that acquaintance than today when, as an Indian Muslim, I find that you and you alone have won for our people a distinctive place of honour among the peoples of the world. I hope that Pakistan will long be spared of [*sic*] your leadership and guidance and will follow the ideals which you have always inculcated.

With my respectful regards to you,

Yours very sincerely,
ALI YAVAR JUNG
Member of Nizam's Executive Council for Constitutional Affairs

[1]Jinnah visited England in the summer of 1926 as a member of the Skeen Commission which was formed to study the feasibility of establishing a military college, like the Sandhurst, in India.

10

Harold Macmillan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/201

MACMILLAN & CO. LTD.,
ST. MARTIN'S STREET,
LONDON, W.C.2,
15 August 1947

Sir,

You may remember that I had the pleasure of an interview with you at your house near Karachi in February of this year. I was very much interested in what you told me and I duly reported to Mr. Churchill and my colleagues.

I take the opportunity on this day, the 15th August, of writing to you to send you my congratulations on your high office and my best wishes for your success and that of the Dominion of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD MACMILLAN

11

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/144-5

IMMEDIATE

QUETTA,
15 August 1947

His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Government House, Karachi

I [p]ray on this auspicious day and send Your Excellency, on behalf of the people of Baluchistan, our warmest greetings and congratulations upon the founding of the new dominion of Pakistan in which you have played so great and memorable a part.

GEOFFREY PRIOR
[*Agent to Governor-General of Baluchistan*]

12

F. Amin to Hakim Mohammad Ahson

F. 29-GG/2

15 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th August 1947[1] addressed to Mr. Abbasi, and I have to inform you that the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah are pleased to accept your Reception at 6.30 p.m. on Monday the 25th August 1947 at the Beaumont Lawn, Mahatma Gandhi Gardens. I hope this suits you. Will you please confirm?[2]

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN
Personal Assistant to Governor-General

Hakim Mohammad Ahson Sahib, J.P.,
Mayor of Karachi

[1]No. 226, Vol. IV, 337-8.
[2]Ahson conveyed confirmation on 16 August 1947. See F. 29-GG/3. Not printed.

13

F. Amin to S. Osman

F. 34-GG/2

15 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to refer to your letter dated the 12th of August 1947[1] enclosing his portrait, and to say that he deeply appreciates it. The unmounted copy has been autographed by him and is being sent to you separately by a registered cover.

The photograph has come out very well. I wonder if it is possible for you to send two more copies.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

S. Osman,
Deccan Studios,
Kingsway, Secunderabad

[1]No. 237, Vol. IV, 345.

14

Li Ta Chao to M. A. Jinnah[1]

FOA, O/346

HONG KONG,
15 August 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan

Sir,

There is a general passionate expression among the people in the world to loving [*sic*] freedom and righteousness, upon the great success of the independence of India. It is known that the activity of this movement had already put into action many years before [*sic*]. I, the undersigned, hereby tendering [*sic*] the warm-hearted congratulations on behalf of the Kuomintang members residing [in] Hong Kong and Macao.

Owing to the historical relationship between the two old nations, India and China, the friendship link of their people, as we know, are very closely, whether happiness or misfortune are influenced [*sic*]. Dr. Sun Yat

Sen, the late founder of Kuomintang and the Three People's Doctrine, his highest ideal and superior aim were for freedom, equality and general cooperation throughout all races in the world. These thoughts were adopted from the theory principle [*sic*] laid by the ancient Chinese sages.

It is sincerely hoped that the reciprocal aid and collaboration linking the Indian and Chinese people will henceforth tighten, so as to develop culture, politics, economics, etc., between the two nations for the development of democracy and the stability of the Far East peace.

As regards the abandonment of colonial policy we are [*sic*] deeply appreciate the Britain's attitude. I believe that the brilliant fruit of the world history will base on the democratic development.

With renewed appreciation and good wishes to you and your people,

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,
LI TA CHAO
Director,
Kuomintang Office,
Hong Kong and Macao Dist.

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 24 August 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

15

Habib Bourguiba to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[*Original in French*]

10 DARIB SAAD,
CAIRO,
15 August 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

On this memorable day which brings great hope to all peoples I send you the salutation of the people of Tunis, their congratulations and their good wishes for prosperity and power.

HABIB BOURGUIBA
President,
Destour Tunisian Party

[1]Acknowledged by M. W. Abbasi on 25 August. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

16

Foroobar to M. A. Jinnah

FOA, O/346

CONSULAT IMPERIAL DEL'IRAN,
KARACHI,
15 August 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi
May it please Your Excellency,

On this auspicious occasion when the new independent State of Pakistan is being declared to the people of the world, I take the opportunity to convey to Your Excellency, my respectful and sincerest congratulations and joy of the Imperial Government of Iran, on seeing this bright star.

It is hoped that under the guidance and leadership of Your Excellency, the friendly and neighbourly relations of the two Muslim Governments of Iran and Pakistan will get extremely strengthened.

I have the honour to subscribe,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
FOROOBAR
Consul for Iran

17

F. Amin to T. J. Bhojwani

F. 32-GG/3

15 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter No.G.200/20/47 dated the 11th of August 1947.[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam has very kindly consented to receive the civic address of welcome to be presented by the Municipal Corporation, Karachi, at 5.30 p.m. on Monday the 25th August 1947, in the Municipal Office grounds.

Will you please confirm if the time and date suit the Corporation.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

The Chief Officer,
Municipal Corporation, Karachi

[1]No. 212, Vol. IV, 323. Also see No. 12.

18

T. J. Bhojwani to F. Amin

F. 32-GG/4

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION,
KARACHI,
16 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter of 15th August 1947[1] intimating to me that Quaid-i-Azam has very kindly consented to receive the Civic Address of Welcome[2] and has fixed Monday, the 25th August 1947 at 5.30 p.m., in the Municipal Office grounds for the purpose. Yes, the time and date will suit the Corporation. Please convey our thanks to Quaid-i-Azam for his kindness in accepting the invitation.

Yours faithfully,
T. J. BHOJWANI
M.A., *J.P.*,
Chief Officer

[1]No. 17.
[2]See No. 12 for Mayor's reception.

19

D. Nath to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/179-80

MANGOT BRAHMNAN,
SUB-OFFICE SAGRI,
DIST. RAWALPINDI,
16 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I suppose you remember me having met you at Quetta in the year

1945. I now take the opportunity to congratulate you on your brilliant success in attaining the highest honour of Pakistan Dominion.

Your Excellency's speech[1] on 11th in Constitution Consembly [*sic*] was praiseworthy in general and for minorities in particular.

State Flag's symbolic design was highly appreciated and was hoisted on every building on the 15th, being the Pakistan Dominion Victory Celebration Day.

Finally, I may be permitted to add that since my retirement in 1946, I have established myself in the above village, which did not suffer any destruction during recent disturbances and it was all due to co-operation of all prominent personalities of the adjacent Muslim villages. The inhabitants of my village are all agriculturist Brahmans owning their own land.

I assure you that all will ever remain loyal to your State. We all [will] co-operate in your future happiness and prosperity.

Yours obediently,
D. NATH

[1]See Appendix IX. 2, item 4, Vol. IV, 535-8.

20

M. W. Abbasi to Branch Manager, Army & Navy Stores, Bombay

F. 57-GG/39

16 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 13th August 1947,[1] and to enclose herewith a specimen copy of the Pakistan National Flag[2] drawn on paper together with its details printed on the back side of the flag.[3]

This was published as a supplement to *Dawn* on August the 10th, and you can ask for more copies from the Manager of that paper.

Yours faithfully,
M. W. ABBASI
Private Secretary to
Governor-General

[1]See F. 57-GG/38. Not printed. Also see Summaries of Documents not included, item 77, Vol. IV, lxx.

[2]See illustration at the end of Vol. IV.

[3]Acknowledged by J. Williamson of Army and Navy Stores on 22 August 1947. See F. 57-GG/40. Not printed.

21

Nural Hoque Choudhury to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/89-91

THAKURGAON, DINAJPUR,
16 August 1947

Thakurgaon celebrated Independence Day[1] with due eclat. Pakistan Flag hoisted in morning on Gov[ernmen]t building[s], public institutions and Muslim houses. Subdivisional Muslim League hailed the establishment of Pakistan Gov[ernmen]t by five gunshots at 9 hours on 15th August and announced morning by 11 gunshots. National Guards and Muslim public parading the streets assembled *'Idgah*. Flag hoisting ceremony performed with due pomp and grandeur by 11 gunshots. National Guards marched past the Pakistan Dominion Flag. Special prayer offered at mosque afternoon. National Guards and *Azad Hind fouz* [*sic* for *Fauj*] showed demonstration[s] and public meetings attended by thousands. Evening illuminations Muslim houses and Gov[ernmen]t houses and fireworks. Great joy and enthusiasm made this day success.

NURAL HOQUE CHOUDHURY
Secretary, Subdivisional Muslim League

[1]Independence Day celebrations were held nation-wide.

22

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/162

[No.] 31/6/G

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 August 1947

My dear Governor-General,

I have been asked by Sir Ralph Hone[1] to convey the best wishes of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Governor-General of Malaya,[2] on this

historic occasion. MacDonald is unfortunately ill at the moment, and unable to send you this message.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]Secretary-General to Governor-General of Malaya.
[2]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 29 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/153. Not printed.

23

T. Motandas to M. W. Abbasi

F. 22-GG/1-2

STRACHAN ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I shall be most grateful if you would kindly request His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam to give me and members of the Working Committee of the Sind Minorities Association,[1] the honour and pleasure *of dining with us on any day which*[2] may suit him. No effort will be spared to make the dinner as worthy as possible of the great position of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Sind Minorities Association has among its members many of the ex-Mayors of the city of Karachi and highly influential persons of all minority communities—Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Jews, and Sikhs, etc. *The motto of this Association, as you will find on the top of this letter, is Conciliation, Cordiality and Cooperation;*[3] and this is the only organization of the minorities which is fully cooperating with the Government in a spirit of trust and goodwill and not in a spirit of bargaining, as almost all other minority organizations are doing. The Pakistan Independence Day celebrations were also organized chiefly by members of the Sind Minorities Association, and the Vice-Chairman of the Celebrations Committee was Dr. Hemandas R. Wadhwani, the President of this Association, the Chairman being His Excellency Sheikh Ghulam Hussain, the Governor of Sind.

We, therefore, earnestly hope that the Quaid-i-Azam will do us the

honour of accepting this invitation. You may kindly get us the date and time of the dinner, so that we may arrange accordingly.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
T. MOTANDAS
J.P.,
Vice-President,
Sind Minorities Association

[1]The letter was typed on the letterhead of Sind Minorities Association showing the names of Dr Hemandas R. Wadhwani, ex-Minister, as President, R.B. Shamboriath Mulraj, B.Sc., LL.B., J.P., ex-Mayor, as Honorary Secretary and Principal D.K. Jaisinghani, as Joint Secretary. "Long Live Pakistan" was stamped on the top left hand corner of the letter.

[2]Underlined in the original. F. Amin sought advice from Sind Governor's Secretary whether Jinnah should accept the invitation. See Annex to No. 83. There is no record about his acceptance.

[3]Sidelined in the original.

24

Adamali Y. Alavi to F. Amin

F. 31-GG/10

HAVELOCK ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for kindly sending me your reply of even date,[1] along with the copies of your letters of the 14th inst[ant], originals of which have not been received owing to the postal holidays.

I am pleased to learn that His Excellency and Miss Fatima have

accepted our invitation for an at-home on the 30th instant at 6 p.m.
I confirm the date and time.
With *Salaams*,

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
ADAMALI Y. ALAVI
Honorary Secretary,
Sir Abdullah Haroon Muslim Gymkhana

[PS.] I have just received the original letter.

[1]In his earlier letter dated 16 August 1947, F. Amin acknowledged A. Y. Alavi's letter of even date and forwarded copies of his letter dated 14 August, conveying acceptance by Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah of the invitation to at-home at 6 p.m. on 30 August. See F. 31-GG/9. Not printed. On 28 August, F. Amin informed Alavi that Jinnah had to leave for Lahore that morning and suggested that the at-home be deferred until some time next month. See F. 31-GG/11. Not printed.

25

D. M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52-GG/4

CASURINAUZ,
KARACHI,
16 August [19]47

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

In continuation of my letter of 14th instant[1] and in accordance with your instructions I discussed the problem of Musalmans of Mewat with Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. He is not in a position to guide me with regard to the feeding of refugees in Delhi and Mewat. He finds it extremely difficult to suggest any means of rehabilitation or of migration of these people.

Before leaving for Karachi I told those people that I was going to Karachi to report the matter and obtain necessary instructions for solving these problems.

These people must be awaiting my arrival very impatiently and are bound to approach me as soon as I reach Delhi.

As the matter is very urgent, and the fate of about half a million people is involved, I believe, I will be failing in my duty if I go back to Delhi without approaching you once again for the final instructions.

I have cancelled my today's passage and I am prepared to wait

indefinitely till I am granted an interview at your convenience.[2]

Anxiously awaiting your instructions.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
D. M. MALIK

[1]See No. 258, Vol. IV, 366-7.
[2]F. Amin informed him on 17 August 1947, that Quaid-i-Azam being extremely busy would not be able to see him until the end of next week. See F. 52-GG/5. Not printed.

26

Ahmed Hussain Cadinouche[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/181

40 RUE DE FLANDRE,
PARIS, FRANCE,
16 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I am [a] Muslim, my people come from Gujrat, and I was brought up in Mauritius where I was born. Yesterday, myself and another Muslim boy who comes from Kutch assisted the hoisting of the Indian Flag at 31 Rue de La Baume, Paris, by the Indian Trade Commissioner. Unhappily we did not see anything for us.

Anyhow we hope that something might be done in future here so that we can be satisfied. I have corresponded with London—Mr. Khoja, Pakistan House, Russell Square. We do not have so many students as in England but we suggest that our people should come here as many as possible, boys as well as girls. Our womenfolk should emancipate and take to professional studies as doctors in medicine, dentists, lawyers, chemists. As ■ matter of fact I made [*sic*] lectures on the subject, when I was lately in Mauritius, Reunion, Madagascar; and to work for the Pakistan's cause, there is [*sic* for are] quite a large number of Muslims in these places but many were shy to express their views on account of the Hindus, so as to avoid riots amongst Indians in these places.

We heartily congratulate you for the achievement and [are] please[d] to note your declaration[2] about jobs, creed, race, all will be treated alike and the system of *Bachshish* [*Bakhshish*] should be dropped altogether. Merit, honesty, straightforward characters only should be taken into

consideration. We need education, social welfare, hospitals [and] efficient men to do all these.

Khoda Hafiz

AHMED HUSSAIN CADINOUCHE
M. D. (PARIS)
Member of [the] British Legion

[1]Holder of Burma Star War Medal, 1939-45.
[2]See No. 1 and Appendix IX. 2, item 4, Vol. IV, 535-8.

27

M. A. Jinnah to Estate Officer, New Delhi

Telegram, F. 85/23

[GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
16 August 1947]

Estate Officer, Central P.W.D., New Delhi,

House[1] already sold Jai Dyal Dalmia brother of Seth Dalmia.[2] Have agreed give possession to the purchaser on or about end of August although the execution of sale deed has to be completed on or before 10th of January 1948. My furniture and other articles will be removed by the end of August.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]House No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, was sold for Rs. 300,000. See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 77, Vol. IV, 137.
[2]No. 243, Vol. IV, 350.

28

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 39-GG/1

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A meeting of the Joint Defence Council was held in the morning of which I enclose the Minutes.[1] The Supreme Commander made a report, of

which also I enclose a copy.[2] I am proceeding to Ambala tomorrow morning to attend a meeting at which Pandit Nehru, the Governors and Ministers of East and West Punjab and Major-General Rees, the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, will be present.

In the afternoon, Pandit Nehru and I will go to Lahore, stay the night there, and visit Amritsar the next day. I shall thus reach Karachi in the evening of 18th. The situation in the Punjab is very disturbing. I hope that the meeting in Ambala and the visit to Lahore and Amritsar will help in creating confidence and restoring law and order.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 28

F. 39-GG/2

Minutes of the Meeting of the Joint Defence Council

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 August 1947

PRESENT
Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan	Jawaharlal Nehru
Fazlur Rahman	Vallabhbhai Patel

Baldev Singh
Claude Auchinleck

The Supreme Commander made a verbal report on the situation in the Punjab, with particular reference to the part being played towards the maintenance of law and order by the Punjab Boundary Force. It will be recalled that the Commander of this Force, Major-General Rees, is responsible, through the Supreme Commander, to the Joint Defence Council itself.

The Council reached the following decisions:

1. That the military Force in the Punjab shall forthwith be reinforced.

2. That, in dealing with the situation in the Punjab, it was profitless at the present stage to pursue the origins of the disturbances. All present at the meeting considered that the time for mutual recriminations in connection with the events which took place before 15th August is past. The

efforts of all will be concentrated towards measures to put an immediate end to the lawless state of affairs which prevails.

3. That the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan would attend a meeting which is being held on 17th August at Ambala, at which the Governors and the Ministers of East and West Punjab will be present, and at which measures to deal with the situation will also be discussed. This meeting will also be attended by Major-General Rees, the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, and by Major-General Hawthorn, as representative of the Supreme Commander. The Sikh leaders, Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh, are also being invited to come to Ambala.

Enclosure 2 to No. 28

F. 39-GG/3-5

SUPREME COMMANDER'S NOTE ON SITUATION IN PUNJAB BOUNDARY FORCE AREA FOR THE JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL

SECRET *15 August 1947*

1. I visited Lahore on the 14th August on my way back to Delhi from Karachi and discussed the situation at length with Sir Evan Jenkins and Major-General Rees, the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force.

My conclusions are set out in the following paragraphs and represent my personal opinion based on my conversations at Lahore and intelligence reports received in the last week or ten days.

2. *Amritsar*[1] and vicinity. The strife here was started by the Sikhs who have formed armed bands of considerable strength which are carrying out raids on Muslim or preponderantly Muslim villages. Three or four such raids have been occurring nightly. These bands are well organised and often include mounted men who are used as scouts to reconnoitre for a favourable opportunity.

One such band is reliably reported to have killed 200 Muslims in one village a few days ago. The connivance of subjects of Sikh States is strongly suspected.

There are also Muslim bands organised for the same purpose, but these are fewer in number; smaller in size and less well organised apparently.

The Army has had some successful encounters with some of these bands and has caused considerable casualties in some instances where bands have been caught red-handed. The difficulty is always of course to catch the offenders in the act as lethal weapons cannot be used against apparently peaceful villagers unless these obstruct or themselves attack the troops as has happened in some cases.

Constant and continuous patrolling is being carried out, but the area is large and the troops are few in relation to it. There is no remedy for this, unless the troops are permanently posted in villages as armed police and this is neither practicable nor desirable.

In Amritsar City the casualties (predominantly Muslim apparently) were high and largely due to the emasculation of the City Police force by the disarming by a new Superintendent of Police of the Muslim members of it. This has since been rectified and the official replaced. Several houses were burning in Amritsar City as I flew over it and four or five villages within ten or fifteen miles of the City were apparently completely destroyed by fire and still burning. The Army is occupying the City in some strength.

3. *Lahore.* The aggression here is chiefly by Muslims, said to be in retaliation for the massacring of Muslims in Amritsar. The most disturbing feature here is the defection of the Police, particularly the Special Police, who are predominantly Muslim. There is very strong evidence that the Police are taking little notice of the orders of their officers (all the remaining European officers left yesterday) and that they have actually joined hands with the rioters in certain instances.

But for the presence of the Army there would by now be a complete holocaust in the City. Local Muslim leaders are trying to persuade the Muslim soldiers to follow the bad example of the Police—*so far* without apparent success.

Muslim League National Guards also appear to be acting in the furtherance of disorder.

It is estimated that as many as one tenth of the houses in Lahore City may have been destroyed by fire, or say about 15% of the total area of the City. Destruction to this extent was not readily apparent as I flew over the City but shells of burnt-out houses are not always easy to distinguish in a crowded city like Lahore. A large number of houses were still burning and a thick pall of smoke hung over the City. There were also many houses on fire in the neighbouring suburbs and villages. The roads and streets were practically deserted.

The civilian casualties in the Force Area up to the 13th were estimated to be about 1500 killed and wounded, all due to communal strife. The troops in their clashes with riotous mobs are believed to have killed or wounded over 200 Muslims and non-Muslims in the proportion of 1 : 2.

In some instances mobs or *jathas* have resisted the troops and fought back. The troops have captured mortars, tommy guns and rifles; and the Sikh bands, some of them, are armed with light machine guns.

Ex-I.N.A. [Indian National Army] personnel are known to have

been involved in the East Punjab and are said to have been recruited in the Police in the same area.

4. *Communications.* The usual police arrangements for the protection of the railways (village *chowkidars*) have completely broken down and the only safeguard now is patrolling by troops, but these are few to provide adequate protection.

Railway personnel are afraid to leave their houses to go to work, so a breakdown or at least a severe curtailment of railway services seems inevitable unless there is an immediate cessation of communal strife. Such a breakdown will naturally restrict the mobility of the Army and its power to move reserves rapidly to danger areas and will also largely put a stop to the process of Reconstitution of the Armed Forces.

5. *Boundary Commission.* The delay in announcing the award of the Boundary Commission is having a most disturbing and harmful effect. It is realised of course that the announcement may add fresh fuel to the fire, but lacking an announcement, the wildest rumours are current, and are being spread by mischief-makers of whom there is no lack.

6. *General.* The position is thoroughly bad and is getting worse, particularly as the trouble has now spread to Districts [of] Sialkot and Gujranwala, where trains have been attacked.

Large scale uncontrolled evacuation of Muslims is going on from Amritsar District.

On morning 15th August train held up three miles from Wazirabad, casualties estimated 100 killed 200 wounded by stabbing.

Train derailed at Sialkot and attacked by mob of 3000 which was dispersed by troops opening fire.

Fifteen passengers killed in another train near Wazirabad.

Trains also attacked near Rawalpindi and several killed. Train also attacked outside Lahore—nine killed.

N.W.R. has stopped running trains except Mails, Expresses and Military Mails. No Goods train running as crews not reporting for duty.

7. *Conclusion.* Two more brigades (one from India and one from Pakistan) and one mixed armoured regiment are being sent to reinforce Punjab Boundry Force, but no amount of troops can stop the indiscriminate butchery which appears to be going on, on both sides.

General Rees and his Brigade Commanders are doing all they can and so far the troops have been completely impartial and extremely well disciplined, in spite of baseless and mischievous stories to the contrary which are being spread, in some cases by people in responsible positions. Such stories do the greatest possible harm and may

well result in the troops ceasing to be impartial, in which event, the situation, bad as it is now, would become truly terrible.

So far as Lahore is concerned, Muslim League leaders are said to claim that after the 15th August they will be able to control the situation and stop the butchery and burning now going on. I hope that this is true and that the same may apply to the East Punjab Districts, because the Army is now stretched to its fullest extent and it is going to be most difficult if not impossible to find any more troops.

C. AUCHINLECK
Field Marshal

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

29

Minutes of the Meeting between Louis Mountbatten and Representatives of Pakistan and India

IOR, R/3/1/157

CONFIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
16 August 1947

PRESENT
Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan
Fazlur Rahman
Mohamad Ali
Jawaharlal Nehru
Vallabhbhai Patel
Baldev Singh
V.P. Menon
Erskine Crum

THE AWARDS OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

1. The meeting[1] considered the awards[2] of the Boundary Commissions, copies of which had been given to the Ministers after the Joint Defence Council meeting that morning.

BENGAL

2. Pandit Nehru said that he had never considered that the allocation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to East Bengal was possible under the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission. Eminent lawyers had confirmed this point of view. These Tracts were an excluded area, and were not represented in the Bengal Council. He and his colleagues had given assurances to petty chiefs from the Chittagong Hill Tracts who had come to see them, that there was no question of the territory

being included in Pakistan. The population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, though small (approximately 1/2 million) was 97% Buddhist and Hindu. There was not the least doubt that the people themselves would prefer to form part of India. On religious and cultural grounds the Chittagong Hill Tracts should form part of India. Sir Cyril Radcliffe had had no business to touch them.

3. The Governor-General [Louis Mountbatten] explained the reasons why Sir Cyril Radcliffe has [had] included the Chittagong Hill Tracts in East Bengal. He emphasized particularly the economic ties which bound Chittagong District and the Hill Tracts together. He stressed the importance to Chittagong Port of the proper supervision of the Karnaphuli River, which ran through the Hill Tracts.

4. Mr. Fazlur Rahman gave his opinion that the Chittagong Hill Tracts could not exist if separated from Chittagong District. In his view, the allocation of these Tracts to East Bengal was unquestionably permissible under the terms of reference. In fact the "contiguity" clause of the terms of reference would not have permitted their allocation to West Bengal.

5. The Governor-General said that it had been Sir Frederick Burrows' view that the whole economy of the Chittagong Hill Tracts would be upset if they were not left with East Bengal. However, he had confirmed that Sir Frederick had not expressed any view on this matter to Sir Cyril Radcliffe, so he could not be said to have influenced the decision.

6. The Governor-General suggested the possibility of a compromise whereby the upper waters of the Karnaphuli would be protected through the allocation of a strip of territory on either side of the river to East Bengal, while the administration of the rest of the Hill Tracts would be undertaken by India.

7. This was not considered a satisfactory solution by either party. Pandit Nehru's view was that India should undertake the administration of the whole territory; a strip on either side of the river allocated to Pakistan would cut the territory in two. If the Chittagong Hill Tracts were given to India, an agreement between the two Dominion Governments, whereby Pakistan would obtain all desired facilities, could well be made.

8. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he could not consider any suggestion of an adjustment in this territory alone. The awards of both Commissions must be looked at as a whole. If this was done, it would be found that Sir Cyril Radcliffe had completely ignored the fundamental basis of his terms of reference. Moreover, the Chittagong Hill Tracts were the only source of hydro-electric power in East Bengal.

9. The Governor-General then suggested that the two Governments

might agree on an exchange of territory, whereby the Chittagong Hill Tracts would go to India and some predominantly Muslim area which had been alloted by the Commission to India would go to Pakistan.

10. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan emphasized that the awards of the Commissions, taken as a whole, had been so unfavourable to Pakistan, that he could not consider any minor modification only, such as had been suggested.

11. Mr. Fazlur Rahman protested strongly against the allocation of the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri to India. In his view, Sir Cyril Radcliffe had violated the basic principle of his terms of reference in making this decision.

PUNJAB

12. Pandit Nehru said that he considered that the award of the Boundary Commission in the Punjab was likely to have a bad effect among the Sikhs, who presented a particularly difficult problem.

13. Sardar Baldev Singh also considered that the reaction to the award would be very unfavourable on the Sikh mind.

14. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that it would have a similarly unfavourable reaction among the Muslims. He emphasized that he, as Prime Minister of Pakistan, considered it his duty to stand up for the rights of the Sikhs in West Punjab as much as the India[n] leaders stood up for their rights in East Punjab. He emphasized that complete religious freedom would be allowed.

15. Sardar Patel's view was that the only solution to the Punjab award was the transfer of population on a large scale.

16. The Governor-General said that he had spoken to Mr. Jinnah about Nankana Sahib. Mr. Jinnah had stated that he had it in mind to give the Sikhs any religious assurances that were required in connection with their *Gurdwara* there. The Governor-General suggested that a specific statement on Nankana Sahib might be made by the Pakistan Government at the same time as the issue of the Boundary Commission award.

17. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he understood that it was Sir Francis Mudie's view that the Punjab Boundary Force should be separated and be put under the control of the two Governments rather than under joint control. It was agreed that this suggestion should be considered at the meeting at Ambala the following day.

18. Pandit Nehru suggested that he and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should also visit Lahore and Amritsar the following day, and this was agreed.

19. Pandit Nehru said that he had received particularly alarming reports from Lahore, where many hundreds of Sikhs and Hindus were gathered together in relief camps without proper protection and without

rations. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan undertook to get into touch with the Prime Minister of West Punjab and ask him to ensure that full measures were taken for the protection of refugees. He further suggested that the Punjab Boundary Force should be asked to assist in the evacuation of refugees.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE AWARDS

20. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that he was opposed to any suggestion that adjustments between representatives of the two Governments should be made at the present meeting. He considered that the awards of the Boundary Commission should be published as they stood.

21. The Governor-General suggested that in the communique stating that the awards had been considered by the Prime Ministers, it might be stated that they had come to the conclusion that there were certain unsatisfactory features which they proposed to take up forthwith on a government level. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was opposed to this suggestion. He considered, and it was agreed, that the communique should only make mention of the fact of the meeting, and not draw attention to any dissatisfaction, nor to any proposals for the transfer of population.

22. Pandit Nehru finally emphasized that he and his colleagues felt themselves to be in a moral impasse about the Chittagong Hill Tracts, because, throughout the previous two or three months, they had given countless assurances to the representatives of that territory that it could not be included in Pakistan. Furthermore, this action had been taken after consultation with lawyers.

23. It was agreed that the Governor-General should issue the awards in the form of *Gazette Extraordinary*[3] the following day, and that copies of the awards should be sent immediately to the Governors of East and West Bengal and East and West Punjab.

24. It was further agreed that a draft communique[4] handed round at the meeting should be issued that night, subject to certain amendments which were made.

VISITS OF MINISTERS OF ONE DOMINION TO THE OTHER DOMINION

25. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that instructions should be issued to all officials to the effect that when Ministers of one Dominion wished to visit the other Dominion, full information of their intentions should be given to all concerned. With this Pandit Nehru agreed.

[1]This meeting was held in response to a proposal made by Mountbatten on 13 August. See Appendix I. 13.
[2&3]See No. 30.
[4]Not traceable.

30

The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary

NO. 3 KARACHI,
17 August 1947

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

(CABINET SECRETARIAT)

The following Award given by the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions is published for general information.

MOHAMAD ALI
Secretary-General

Annex I to No. 30

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PUNJAB BOUNDARY COMMISSION

NEW DELHI,
12 August 1947

To

His Excellency the Governor-General

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, is represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General, dated the 30th of June 1947, Reference No. D-50/7/47-R.[1] The members of the Commission thereby appointed were—

Mr. Justice Din Muhammad
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir
Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and
Mr. Justice Teja Singh

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this Commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission,[2] as set out in the announcement, were as follows:

> The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 15th of August.

4. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsels on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly: but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleagues, and we entered upon discussions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the west and on the east respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors", which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B.[3] The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which States were interested in canals whose headworks were situated in the Punjab Province. I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those States has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headworks concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej Rivers on the one hand, and the River Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of those cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it: as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore Headworks and I find it

difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these headworks.

11. I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tahsil to the western border of the District of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar District boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme which supplies power in the Districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura, and Lyallpur [now Faisalabad]. I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways, and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.

12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned, and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.

CYRIL RADCLIFFE

Annexure A

1. The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall commence on the north at the point where the west branch of the Ujh River enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the western boundary of the Pathankot Tahsil to the point where the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur Tahsils meet. The tahsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh River shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

2. From the point of meeting of the three Tahsils above mentioned, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh River to its junction with the River Ravi and thereafter the line of the River Ravi along the boundary between the Tahsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the Tahsils of Batala and Shakargarh, the boundary between the Tahsils of Batala and Narowal, the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Narowal,

and the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the River Ravi where the District of Amritsar is divided from the District of Lahore. The Tahsil boundaries referred to, and not the actual course of the River Ujh or the River Ravi, shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

3. From the point on the River Ravi where the District of Amritsar is divided from the District of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the Tahsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the Tahsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore, to the point where the Tahsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-westward along the boundary between the Tahsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the north-east corner of Village Theh Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that Village to its junction with Village Chathianwala, turn along the northern boundary of that village, and then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with Village Waigal. It will then run along the eastern boundary of Village Waigal to its junction with Village Kalia, and then along the southern boundary of Village Waigal to its junction with Village Panhuwan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of Village Panhuwan to its junction with Village Gaddoke. The line will then run down the eastern border of Village Gaddoke to its junction with Village Nurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of Village Gaddoke to its junction with Village Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of Village Katluni Kalan to its junction with Villages Kals and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of Village Katluni Kalan to the north-west corner of Village Kals. It will then run along the western boundary of Village Kals to its junction with Village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the western and southern boundaries of Village Khem Karan to its junction with Village Maewala. It will then run down the western and southern boundaries of Village Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between Village Mahaidepur on the north and Villages Sheikhupura Kuhna, Kamalpuran, Fatehwala and Mahewala. The line will then turn northward along the western boundary of Village Sahjra to its junction with Villages Mahaidepur and Machhike. It will then turn north-eastward along the boundaries between Villages Machhike and Sahjra and then proceed along the boundary between Villages Rattoke and Sahjra to the junction between Villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the Villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of Villages Rattoke, Mabbuke, and Gajjal. From that point the line will run along the boundary be-

tween Villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn south along the eastern boundary of Village Mabbuke to its junction with Village Nagar Aimanpur. It will then turn along the north-eastern boundary of Village Nagar Aimanpur, and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with Village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of Village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the Tahsils of Kasur and Ferozepore.

For the purpose of identifying the villages referred to in this paragraph, I attach a map[4] of the Kasur Tahsil authorized by the then Settlement Officer, Lahore District, which was supplied to the Commission by the Provincial Government.

4. The line will then run in a south-westerly direction down the Sutlej River on the boundary between the Districts of Lahore and Ferozepore to the point where the Districts of Ferozepore, Lahore and Montgomery [now Sahiwal] meet. It will continue along the boundary between the Districts of Ferozepore and Montgomery to the point where this boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur State. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the Sutlej River, shall in each case constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

5. It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery District does not ensure this, I award to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as covers the headworks and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab Province as lies to the west of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraphs shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

[1]Announcement of composition and terms of reference of Boundary Commissions for Bengal and the Punjab. See No. 415, *TP*, XI, 755-6.

[2]See No. 312, Vol. II, 595-8.

[3]The original maps referred to herein and subsequently by Radcliffe are not traceable in *India Office Records*. See Appendix I to No. 488, note 20, *TP*, XII, 747. For East and West Punjab Boundary Map attached as Annexure B to Radcliffe Award dated 12 August 1947 and bearing his signature, see *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol. IV, Lahore, 1981, 7. The Map published in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary* dated 17 August, which is in a different scale has not been printed. However, see Map of Notional and Final Boundaries in the Punjab, at end of the Volume, as reproduced from *TP*, XII.

[4]See Map of the Kasur Tahsil annexed to Radcliffe Award dated 12 August 1947 and bearing his signature, in *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol. IV, Lahore, 1981, 6. This Map was not printed in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*.

Annex II to No. 30

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION

NEW DELHI,
12 August 1947

To
His Excellency the Governor-General

1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Bengal Boundary Commission, which, by virtue of section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, is represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission. This award relates to the division of the Province of Bengal, and the Commission's award in respect of the District of Sylhet and areas adjoining thereto will be recorded in a separate report.

2. The Bengal Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General dated the 30th of June, 1947, Reference No. D 50/7/47-R. The members of the Commission thereby appointed were:

Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjea
Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas
Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram and
Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this Commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement, were as follows:

> The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous [majority] areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.

We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 15th of August.

4. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. A very large number of memoranda and representations was received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Calcutta, and extended from Wednesday the 16th of July 1947 to Thursday the 24th of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 20th of July.

Arguments were presented to the Commission by numerous parties on both sides, but the main cases were presented by counsels on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and the New Bengal Association on the one hand, and on

behalf of the Muslim League on the other. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Punjab Boundary Commission whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Bengal Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings the remainder of the time of the Commission was devoted to clarification and discussion of the issues involved. Our discussions took place at Calcutta.

7. The question of drawing a satisfactory boundary line under our terms of reference between East and West Bengal was one to which the parties concerned propounded the most diverse solutions. The province offers few, if any, satisfactory natural boundaries, and its development has been on lines that do not well accord with a division by contiguous majority areas of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities.

8. In my view the demarcation of a boundary line between East and West Bengal depended on the answers to be given to certain basic questions which may be stated as follows:

1.To which State was the City of Calcutta to be assigned, or was it possible to adopt any method of dividing the City between the two States?

2. If the City of Calcutta must be assigned as a whole to one or other of the States, what were its indispensable claims to the control of territory, such as all or part of the Nadia River system or the Kulti Rivers, upon which the life of Calcutta as a city and port depended?

3. Could the attractions of the Ganges-Padma-Madhumati river line displace the strong claims of the heavy concentration of Muslim majorities in the Districts of Jessore and Nadia without doing too great a violence to the principles of our terms of reference?

4. Could the District of Khulna usefully be held by a State different from that which held the District of Jessore?

5. Was it right to assign to Eastern Bengal the considerable block of non-Muslim majorities in the Districts of Malda and Dinajpur?

6. Which State's claim ought to prevail in respect of the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, in which the Muslim population amounted to 2.42 per cent of the whole in the case of Darjeeling, and to 23.08 per cent of the whole in the case of Jalpaiguri, but which constituted an area not in any natural sense contiguous to another non-Muslim area of Bengal?

7. To which State should the Chittagong Hill Tracts be assigned, an area in which the Muslim population was only 3 per cent, of the whole, but which it was difficult to assign to a State different from that

which controlled the District of Chittagong itself?

9. After much discussion, my colleagues found that they were unable to arrive at an agreed view on any of these major issues. There were of course considerable areas of the Province in the south-west and north-east and east, which provoked no controversy on either side: but, in the absence of any reconciliation on all main questions affecting the drawing of the boundary itself, my colleagues assented to the view at the close of our discussions that I had no alternative but to proceed to give my own decision.

10. This I now proceed to do: but I should like at the same time to express my gratitude to my colleagues for their indispensable assistance in clarifying and discussing the difficult questions involved. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B.[1] The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

11. I have done what I can in drawing the line to eliminate any avoidable cutting of railway communications and of river systems, which are of importance to the life of the province: but it is quite impossible to draw a boundary under our terms of reference without causing some interruption of this sort, and I can only express the hope that arrangements can be made and maintained between the two States that will minimize the consequences of this interruption as far as possible.

CYRIL RADCLIFFE

Annexure A

1. A line shall be drawn along the boundary between the *Thana* of Phansidewa in the District of Darjeeling and the Thana Tetulia in the District of Jalpaiguri from the point where that boundary meets the Province of Bihar and then along the boundary between the *Thanas* of Tetulia and Rajganj; the *Thanas* of Pachagar and Rajganj, and the *Thanas* of Pachagar and Jalpaiguri, and shall then continue along the northern corner of the Thana Debiganj to the boundary of the State of Cooch-Behar. The District of Darjeeling and so much of the District of Jalpaiguri as lies north of this line shall belong to West Bengal, but the *Thana* of Patgram and any other portion of Jalpaiguri District which lies to the east or south shall belong to East Bengal.

2. A line shall then be drawn from the point where the boundary between the *Thanas* of Haripur and Raiganj in the District of Dinajpur meets the border of the Province of Bihar to the point where the

boundary between the Districts of 24 Parganas and Khulna meets the Bay of Bengal. This line shall follow the course indicated in the following paragraphs. So much of the Province of Bengal as lies to the west of it shall belong to West Bengal. Subject to what has been provided in paragraph 1 above with regard to the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the remainder of the Province of Bengal shall belong to East Bengal.

3. The line shall run along the boundary between the following *Thanas*:

Haripur and Raiganj; Haripur and Hemtabad; Ranisankail and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Kaliganj; Bochaganj and Kaliganj; Biral and Kaliganj; Biral and Kushmundi; Biral and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Kumarganj; Chirirbandar and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Balurghat. It shall terminate at the point where the boundary between Phulbari and Balurghat meets the north-south line of the Bengal-Assam Railway in the eastern corner of the *Thana* of Balurghat. The line shall turn down the western edge of the railway lands belonging to that railway and follow that edge until it meets the boundary between the *Thanas* of Balurghat and Panchbibi.

4. From that point the line shall run along the boundary between the following *Thanas*:

Balurghat and Panchbibi; Balurghat and Joypurhat; Balurghat and Dhamairhat; Tapan and Dhamairhat; Tapan and Patnitala; Tapan and Porsha; Bamangola and Porsha; Habibpur and Porsha; Habibpur and Gomastapur; Habibpur and Bholahat; Malda and Bholahat; English Bazar and Bholahat; English Bazar and Shibganj; Kaliachak and Shibganj; to the point where the boundary between the two last mentioned *Thanas* meets the boundary between the Districts of Malda and Murshidabad on the River Ganges.

5. The line shall then turn south-east down the River Ganges along the boundary between the Districts of Malda and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and Nadia; to the point in the north-western corner of the District of Nadia where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off from the River Ganges. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the River Ganges, shall constitute the boundary between East and West Bengal.

6. From the point on the River Ganges where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off, the line shall run along that channel to the northern most point where it meets the boundary between the *Thanas* of Daulatpur and Karimpur. The middle line of the main channel shall constitute the actual boundary.

7. From this point the boundary between East and West Bengal shall run along the boundaries between the *Thanas* of Daulatpur and Karimpur; Gangani and Karimpur; Meharpur and Karimpur; Meharpur and Tehatta; Meharpur and Chapra; Damurhuda and Chapra; Damurhuda and Krishnaganj; Chuadanga and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Ranaghat; Maheshpur and Bongaon; Jhikargacha and Bongaon; Sarsa and Bongaon; Sarsa and Gaighata; Gaighata and Kalaroa; to the point where the boundary between those *Thanas* meets the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas.

8. The line shall then run southwards along the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas, to the point where that boundary meets the Bay of Bengal.

[1]The original map referred to here is not traceable. However, see *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 17 August 1947 for East and West Bengal & Sylhet Boundary Map, not printed. See Notional and Final Boundaries Map of Bengal and Assam, reproduced from *TP*, XII, at end of the Volume.

Annex III to No. 30

REPORT RELATING TO SYLHET DISTRICT AND THE ADJOINING DISTRICTS OF ASSAM

NEW DELHI,
13 August 1947

His Excellency the Governor-General,

1. I have the honour to present the report of the Bengal Boundary Commission relating to Sylhet District and the adjoining districts of Assam. By virtue of Section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the decisions contained in this report become the decision and award of the Commission.

2. The Bengal Boundary Commission was constituted as stated in my report dated the 12th of August 1947[1] with regard to the division of the Province of Bengal into East and West Bengal. Our terms of reference were as follows:

> The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors. In the event of the referendum in the District of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam.

3. After the conclusion of the proceedings relating to Bengal, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by parties interested in the Sylhet question. A number of such memoranda and representations was received.

4. The Commission held open sittings at Calcutta on the 4th, 5th and 6th days of August 1947, for the purpose of hearing arguments. The main arguments were conducted on the one side by counsel on behalf of the Government of East Bengal and the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues; and on the other side, by counsel on behalf of the Government of the Province of Assam and the Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Assam Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. I was not present in person at the open sittings as I was at the time engaged in the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission which were taking place simultaneously, but I was supplied with the daily record of the Sylhet proceedings and with all material submitted for the Commission's consideration. At the close of the open sittings, the members of the Commission entered into discussions with me as to the issues involved and the decisions to come to. These discussions took place at New Delhi.

5. There was an initial difference of opinion as to the scope of the reference entrusted to the Commission. Two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission had been given authority to detach from Assam and to attach to East Bengal any Muslim majority areas of any part of Assam that could be described as contiguous to East Bengal, since they construed the words "the adjoining districts of Assam" as meaning any districts of Assam that adjoined East Bengal. The other two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission's power of detaching areas from Assam and transferring them to East Bengal was limited to the District of Sylhet and contiguous Muslim majority areas (if any) of other districts of Assam that adjoined Sylhet. The difference of opinion was referred to me for my casting vote, and I took the view that the more limited construction of our terms of reference was the correct one and that the "adjoining districts of Assam" did not extend to other districts of Assam than those that adjoined Sylhet. The Commission accordingly proceeded with its work on this basis.

6. It was argued before the Commission on behalf of the Government of East Bengal that on the true construction of our terms of reference and section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the whole of the District of Sylhet at least must be transferred to East Bengal and the Commission had no option but to act upon this assumption. All my colleagues agreed in rejecting this argument, and I concur in their view.

7. We found some difficulty in making up our minds whether, under our terms of reference, we were to approach the Sylhet question in the same way as the question of partitioning Bengal, since there were some differences in the language employed. But all my colleagues came to the conclusion that we were intended to divide the Sylhet and adjoining districts of Assam between East Bengal and the Province of Assam on the basis of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, but taking into account other factors. I am glad to adopt this view.

8. The members of the Commission were however unable to arrive at an agreed view as to how the boundary lines should be drawn, and after discussion of their differences, they invited me to give my decision. This I now proceed to do.

9. In my view, the question is limited to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, since of the other districts of Assam that can be said to adjoin Sylhet neither the Garo Hills nor the Khasi and Jaintia Hills nor the Lushai Hills have anything approaching a Muslim majoirty of population in respect of which a claim could be made.

10. Out of 35 *thanas* in Sylhet, 8 have non-Muslim majorities; but of these eight, two—Sulla and Ajmiriganj (which is in any event divided almost evenly between Muslims and non-Muslims), are entirely surrounded by preponderatingly Muslim areas, and must therefore go with them to East Bengal. The other six *thanas* comprising a population of over 530,000 people stretch in a continuous line along part of the southern border of Sylhet District. They are divided between two sub-divisions, of which one, South Sylhet, comprising a population of over 515,000 people, has in fact a non-Muslim majority of some 40,000; while the other, Karimganj, with a population of over 568,000 people, has a Muslim majority that is a little larger.

11. With regard to the District of Cachar, one *thana*, Hailakandi, has a Muslim majority and is contiguous to the Muslim *thanas* of Badarpur and Karimganj in the District of Sylhet. This *thana* forms, with the *thana* of Katlichara immediately to its south, the sub-division of Hailakandi, and in the sub-division as a whole Muslims enjoy a very small majority being 51 per cent, of the total population. I think that the dependence of Katlichara on Hailakandi for normal communications makes it important that the area should be under one jurisdiction, and that the Muslims would have at any rate a strong presumptive claim for the transfer of the Sub-division of Hailakandi, comprising a population of 166,536 from the Province of Assam to the Province of East Bengal.

12. But a study of the map shows, in my judgment, that a division

on these lines would present problems of administration that might gravely affect the future welfare and happiness of the whole District. Not only would the six non-Muslim *thanas* of Sylhet be completely divorced from the rest of Assam if the Muslim claim to Hailakandi were recognised, but they form a strip running east and west whereas the natural division of the land is north and south and they effect an awkward severance of the railway line through Sylhet, so that, for instance, the junction for the town of Sylhet itself, the capital of the district, would lie in Assam, not in East Bengal.

13. In those circumstances I think that some exchange of territories must be effected if a workable division is to result. Some of the non-Muslim *thanas* must go to East Bengal and some Muslim territory, and Hailakandi must be retained by Assam. Accordingly I decide and award as follows:

A line shall be drawn from the point where the boundary between the *thanas* of Patharkandi and Kulaura meets the frontier of Tripura State and shall run north along the boundary between those *thanas*, then along the boundary between the *thanas* of Patharkandi and Barlekha, then along the boundary between the *thanas* of Karimganj and Barlekha, and then along the boundary between the *thanas* of Karimganj and Beani Bazar to the point where that boundary meets the River Kusiyara. The line shall then turn to the east taking the River Kusiyara as the boundary and run to the point where that river meets the boundary between the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar. The centre line of the main stream or channel shall constitute the boundary. So much of the District of Sylhet as lies to the west and north of this line shall be detached from the Province of Assam and transferred to the Province of East Bengal. No other part of the Province of Assam shall be transferred.

14. For purposes of illustration a map marked A is attached[2] on which the line is delineated. In the event of any divergence between the line as delineated on the map and as described in paragraph 13, the written description is to prevail.

CYRIL RADCLIFFE

[1]Annex II.
[2]Not traceable.

31

F. Amin to the Secretary, Municipal Committee, New Delhi

F.684/454

17 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a cheque (No. BB 75407 dated 17 August 1947) for Rs. 111 (Rupees one hundred and eleven only) from Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in full payment of Bill No. 1733 and 1777 P dated 5.8.47, which is also enclosed herein.

Will you please acknowledge receipt?

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

32

M. A. Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 18-GG/2

IMMEDIATE *17 August 1947*

Dear Sir Laurence,

I thank you for the note[1] which you sent to me, and I am glad that Sir Archibald Rowlands[2] is able to come out as Adviser to me for a maximum period of three months.

The terms mentioned in paragraph 3 of your note are acceptable to me.

Please communicate to him my confirmation and convey my very great appreciation for his having offered his services, and I shall welcome him.

Please also communicate to him that on his arrival at Karachi he would be my guest for a few days until he is suitably accommodated

in his own house.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
British High Commissioner,
Palace Hotel,
Karachi

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Adviser to the Governor-General on financial and economic affairs. See No. 158, Vol. III, 411.
[3]The para was sidelined "A" and brought to the attention of Military Secretary to Governor-General by F. Amin.

Enclosure to No. 32

F. 18-GG/1

INDIA OFFICE,
[LONDON,]
Undated [*August 1947*]

NOTE FROM INDIA OFFICE [FOR GRAFFTEY-SMITH]

Please inform Mr. Jinnah, with reference to his conversation with Lord Mountbatten on August 14th, that Sir Archibald Rowlands will come out as Adviser to Mr. Jinnah for a maximum period of 3 months. He will arrive at Karachi about August 28th if this suits Mr. Jinnah. Precise date subject to confirmation as soon as air passage has been booked.

2. When proposal [that] Sir Archibald Rowlands should come out, was under discussion at an earlier stage, following terms were suggested by him.

3. As regards terms Sir Archibald Rowlands suggests salary Rs.5,500 per month of which Rs. 1,500 per month would be a tax-free expenses allowance. He also asks for £ 400 sterling to cover cost of transit both ways and outfit. He requires free use of car and driver. He assumes suitable accommodation at a reasonable cost would be found for him in Karachi. These terms would only just allow Sir Archibald Rowlands to break even.

4. It is presumed that these terms which were mentioned in Secretary of State for India's telegram to Viceroy dated the 22nd July 1947[1] were at time communicated to Mr. Jinnah by Ismay or Lord Mountbatten but this is not known in London for certain.

5. Sir Archibald Rowlands assumes Mr. Jinnah accepts these terms.

Please confirm. Early reply requested.

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 158, Vol. III, 411.

33

L. Grafftey-Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 18-GG/3

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSION
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM IN PAKISTAN,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, WOOD STREET,
KARACHI,
17 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful for your letter of to-day's date[1] and for your kindness in enabling me to reply so speedily to the telegram about Sir Archibald Rowlands' service here.

Yours sincerely,
LAURENCE GRAFFTEY-SMITH

[1]No. 32.

34

Abdul Khaliq Khan to F. Amin

F. 25 (2)-GG/77-8

BALUCH MESS,
244 ELPHINSTON STREET,
KARACHI,
17 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired to ask you kindly to convey to Quaid-i-Azam, the Nawab Sahib's sincere thanks for granting the interview and to confirm that the time and date fixed for the purpose suits the Nawab Sahib alright.

2. It is generally believed that tomorrow will be *'Id al-Fitr* — will it still be convenient for the Quaid-i-Azam to see the Nawab Sahib at 11 a.m. tomorrow?

Supposing the interview is postponed to next day viz.19th on account

of *'Id al-Fitr* how would the Quaid-i-Azam like to be greeted on this auspicious occasion in person? The Nawab and myself would both very much desire to do so. May I have a reply on this point too if not inconvenient?

3. Could it be convenient for the Quaid-i-Azam to grant me only 5 minutes interview tomorrow after the Nawab Sahib?[1] To introduce myself to you, I may inform you that besides being Secretary to the Nawab Sahib, I am the Vice-President of Baluchistan's "Local Muslim Association", a political body which rightly claims to have considerable influence among the people of Baluchistan—I must add that I had the honour of paying my respects to our beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam twice; once on 17.1.47 in Karachi in company with the General Secretary, Baluchistan Muslim League, and again on the 22nd February 1947 at Malir with the deputation of the Baluchistan *Sardars*.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL KHALIQ KHAN
Secretary to Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai[2]

[1]F. Amin informed him the same day that Jinnah being very busy would only be able to see Nawab Sahib at 11 a.m. on Monday, 18 August 1947. See F. 25(2)-GG/75. Not printed.
[2]Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly. See Enclosure to No. 232, Vol. III, 677.

35

J. G. Agha to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 76-GG/18

KARACHI,
17 August 1947

Dear Col. Birnie,

Under instructions from H. E. the Governor, I am sending Mr. Mohammad Aslam to you. This gentleman's father Mehar Din [*sic* for Amiruddin] of Sialkot has sent a full pipe band to be presented to H. E. the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. AGHA
Captain
Military Secretary to
Governor of Sind

36

Buxali Jooma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/128

ASHAR,
BASRAH, IRAQ,
18 August 1947

May it please Your Lordship,

I, the President, duly directed by the Shia Ismailia Council, Iraq and Iran, that I should send Your Lordship a telegram congratulating Your Lordship for the achievement of Pakistan and being its Governor-General [*sic*].

The telegram[1] was sent as under:

Hearty congratulations for appointment to Exalted Lordship.
President Ismailia Council

And I hope that the same must have been received by Your Lordship.

It is very much enjoying [*sic*] for our Ismailia Jama'at in particular, that Your Lordship has been raised to such [a] distinct position.

We pray that your prosperity will be for long time and your long life in particular [*sic*].

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship,
The most obedient and humble servant,
BUXALI JOOMA
President, Shia Imami Ismailia Council
for Iraq and Iran

[1]Not traceable.

37

Beverley Nichols to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1-GG/7

ASHTEAD, [SURREY, ENGLNAD,]
18 August 1947

Deeply touched by telegram.[1] Shortly touring America lecturing

Pakistan. Please trust me to spread the truth. Greetings and homage.

BEVERLEY NICHOLS

[1]No. 246, Vol. IV, 352.

38

King Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[Original in Arabic]

MAKAR, AMMAN,
18 August 1947

Many congratulations and '*Id* greetings.

ABDULLAH
[*King of Transjordan*]

39

M. A. Abasi to M. W. Abbasi[1]

F. 30-GG/38

T[H]ATTA, SIND,
19 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith programme of Pakistan celebrations which was carried out at this town on the 14th and 15th inst[ant] and copies of resolutions unanimously passed at the meeting of Musalmans of T[h]atta for favour of consideration of Pakistan Government and Sind Government.[2]

M. A. ABASI
B.A., LL. B.,
Advocate,
President, T[h]atta Municipality
and Muslim League, T[h]atta

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 22 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/37. Not printed.
[2]See F. 30-GG/39-40. Not printed.

40

E. St. J. Birnie to M. W. Abbasi

F. 33-GG/1

[19] *August 1947*

Reference attached letter dated 19th August 1947[1] from the Hon'ble Mir Ghulamali Talpur, together with its enclosure,[2] containing a request from Mr. Fakhruddin for Quaid-i-Azam to perform the foundation stone laying ceremony of Valika Textile Mills at Karachi.

Will you please find out Quaid-i-Azam's wishes in the matter and fix the date and time. I will then make all arrangement for the ceremony.

E. St. J. BIRNIE
Colonel

P.S.Q.A. [Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam]

[1]Enclosure.
[2]See F. 33-GG/3. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 40
Mir Ghulamali Talpur to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 33-GG/2

CASURINAS,
SCANDAL POINT ROAD,
KARACHI,
19 August 1947

Dear Col. Birnie,

I am herewith forwarding the letter[1] of Mr. Fakhruddin, Managing Agent of Valika Textile Mills Ltd. We propose to start the construction of the first textile mill at Karachi, and it is requested that approval of His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General of Pakistan, to fix a day for perfoming the foundation stone laying ceremony at our Trading Estate at Karachi, may kindly be obtained. It will take about a month to make arrangements and any distant date will oblige.

Yours sincerely,
MIR GHULAMALI TALPUR
Minister, Government of Sind

[1]See F. 33-GG/3. Not printed.

41

L. Grafftey-Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 27-GG/1

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING,
WOOD STREET,
KARACHI,
19 August 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

You may care to have the enclosed photograph[1] from *The Times* of August 16th, which records the Independence Day ceremonies in London.

A letter just received from Sir Archibald Carter[2] renews his thanks for your rapid response to the various questions he raised about this occasion. He says that the ceremony at Lancaster House[3] was genuinely impressive.

Yours sincerely,
LAURENCE GRAFFTEY-SMITH
[*High Commissioner for the United Kingdom*]

[1]See F. 27-GG/2. Not printed.
[2]Formerly Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India.
[3]See Annex.

Annex to No. 41

INDEPENDENCE CEREMONIES[1]

Historic Scenes in London

The birth of the two new Dominions was celebrated yesterday in London by large gatherings of Indians. One scene of rejoicing was India House, Aldwych, headquarters of the High Commissioner for India; the second was Lancaster House, lent by the British Government for the occasion as a meeting place for the adherents and well-wishers of Pakistan which has not yet had time to set up its own office in London.

Many noted Indians were present by invitation at both ceremonies. Among them were Mr Alexander, Minister of Defence, Mr Herbert Morrison,[2] Lord Pethick-Lawrence,[3] members of the diplomatic corps, and distinguished guests, and representatives of organisations interested in Indian affairs. Great number of Indians not only attended and

cheered the first unfurling of their own flag and side by side with it the Union Jack—but also before or after their own celebrations shared guests in the other. Their friendliness pervading both ceremonies was widely felt to be the happiest of auguries.

By mutual arrangement, the events at India House began at 11 a.m., and those of Lancaster House at 12.15 p.m. Traffic in Aldwych was stopped and crowds filled the pavements. Inside India House, the principal guests were received in the domed library by the acting High Commissioner, Mr M. K. Vellodi. Mr V. Krishna Menon, who was to succeed him as High Commissioner an hour later, was also present with the High Commissioner for Pakistan, Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

[*7 paras omitted*]

The Flag of Pakistan was unfurled inside Lancaster House from a flagstaff at one side of the landing of the great staircase. The assembly filled the hall, stalls and gallery above, and many hundreds could not get into the building. The Muslim priest opened the ceremony by chanting [*sic*] a prayer from the *Qur'an*. Then, the Pakistan Flag was hoisted and a moment later, amid renewed cheering, the Union Flag on a second flagstaff. The King's message[4] to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was read by the High Commissioner, Mr Rahimtoola.

Mr Alexander, after conveying Addison's[5] message said [that] British Commonwealth of free nations welcomes two free peoples into their association. Speaking in similar terms to those of his address at India House, he expressed the British Govt.'s satisfaction that in a world much troubled by dissension their last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, had been able to work with such success with Mr Jinnah, Mr Nehru and all their associates.

Mr Rahimtoola said that on the same day over 1,000 years ago the revelation of the holy *Qur'an* was completed and Islam born and it was providential that their new State should come into being on such an august day.[6] There were great cheers when he said that they rejoiced in hailing Mr Jinnah as the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

When Mr Rahimtoola ended, the first to congratulate him on his speech and shake hands with him was Mr Krishna Menon.

[1]*The Times*, London, 16 August 1947.
[2]Lord President of the Council and Leader of House of Commons.
[3]Former Secretary of State for India and Burma.
[4]See Annex to No. 257, para 5, Vol. IV, 363.
[5]Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.
[6]27 *Ramazan*.

42

Ghansham J. Shivdasani[1] *to M. W. Abbasi*

F. 187(4)-S. No. 181-GG/1

SWARAJ BHUVAN,
KARACHI,
19 August 1947

Dear Sir,

The Sind Legislative Assembly has passed Sind Landholders Mortgages Bill, which was submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General of India for his assent. On the establishment of Pakistan, the Bill will come before His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan for his assent.[2] In this connection, I and two colleagues of mine wish to wait upon His Excellency in deputation. I shall thank you if you kindly get me an appointment for the purpose from His Excellency.

Yours faithfully,
GHANSHAM J. SHIVDASANI
Leader, Sind Assembly Congress Party

[1]The letter was typed on the letterhead of Sind Assembly Congress Party, showing the name of the Leader as Prof. Ghansham Jethanand, Deputy Leader as Nihchaldas C. Vazirani and Secretary as Parsram V. Tahilramani.

[2]The Governor-General withheld his assent as "there was a fundamental repugnancy between the Bill and the Evacuee Property Ordinance". See F. 187(4)-S. No. 181-GG/ (Notes) 12. Not printed.

43

Secretary to Governor, East Bengal to M. W. Abbasi

Telegram, F. 35-GG/1

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL *19 August 1947*

For Private Secretary to Governor-General Karachi from Secretary to Governor of East Bengal Dacca

Five gentlemen were recommended for appointment as Judges of High Court of East Bengal. [missing portion] Akram[1] and Ormond[2] appointed by His Majesty by Warrant signed on August 12. Reasons for omission of remaining three not known. Governor of East Bengal recommends that

Governor-General be pleased to appoint the following:
Mr Thomas Hobart Ellis
Mr Amirud-din Ahmad, and
Mr Amin Ahmad
First two were hitherto Additional Judges and third officiating Judge of Calcutta High Court.

[1]Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram.
[2]Ernest Charles Ormond.

44

M. Y. Akbary to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/4-5

AKBARY GARAGE,
MANAITAND,
DHANBAD,
20 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I thank Your Excellency so much for Your Excellency's letter of the 12th instant.[1]

I was out of this station due to "A'eed" [*sic* for *'Id*], hence the lapse of time between the receipt of Your Excellency's letter and this reply.

In my last letters,[2] I have always tried to give in detail regarding my offers, whatever I have made [*sic*]. And in this connection I shall enquire Your Excellency whether my that letter that I had written from Madhupur has been received by Your Excellency or not [*sic*]. That letter contained a suggestion regarding the design of the Flag of Pakistan, and my detailed offer of free supply of vehicles for emergency period.

Regarding my offer of vehicles to be despatched, I am to say again that I should like to send some 20 trucks of 3 ton capacity in good running order to facilitate the transport work in connexion with the Pakistan personnel's arrival in Karachi.[3]

Naturally I am not at [*sic*] a position to understand as in what appropriate way [*sic*] I shall be able to utilise [*sic*] my free services to my brothers in Pakistan, and I shall be only too pleased to note any proper idea in this connexion.

I wish to come to Karachi along with my relatives (who are all businessmen), with an idea to start business with a background to

uplift Muslim masses. One of my relatives is ready to start his own concern with a small capital of Rs. 10,00,000 (Rupees ten lakh). But we are not willing to proceed to Karachi or any station in Pakistan unless and until we are advised through Your Excellency.

I am afraid the letter has become too lengthy, and Your Excellency's most precious time may not be lost in it [*sic*]. So now, I like to stop.

Trusting that Your Excellency will remember me again, and praying for Your Excellency's long life and good health.

Most loyal to Your Excellency,
M. Y. AKBARY
Truck and Car Dealer

[1]No. 230, Vol. IV, 340.
[2]Nos. 165 & 230, ibid., 262-3 & 340.
[3]Sidelined in the original.

45

T. J. Bhojwani to F. Amin

F. 32-GG/5

KARACHI,
20 August 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

With reference to your conversation on the phone last evening, I am forwarding herewith an advance copy of the address to be presented by the Karachi Municipal Corporation to H.E. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, on Monday the 25th instant at 5.30 p.m., in the Municipal Office Grounds.[1]

Yours sincerely,
T. J. BHOJWANI

[1]See No. 101. Also see Nos. 12, 17 & 18.

46

Estate Officer, Government of India, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 85/9

BY AIR

NEW DELHI,
20 August 1947

REQUISITION ORDER

Whereas in my opinion it is necessary to requisition the premises[1] specified in the Schedule hereto appended, for a public purpose;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Delhi Premises (Requisition and Eviction) Ordinance, 1947 (No. XII of 1947), I, G. T. Meshram, the Estate Officer to the Government of India, do hereby requisition the said premises with effect from 22nd August 1947 until further orders, and I direct the owner or any other person in possession of the said premises, to deliver possession thereof with all fittings and fixtures therein on the forenoon of 22nd August 1947 to the Executive Engineer, 'B' Division, Central Public Works Department, New Delhi, or such officer as may be deputed by him in this behalf, failing which possession may be taken [by the] Executive Engineer or the said officer on my behalf.

SCHEDULE

House No. 10 Aurangzeb Road [along with] fittings and fixtures [therein with] garages, outhouses [not legible] therewith.

[G. T. MESHRAM]

[1]See No. 27.

47

Bertram Stevens to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 30-GG/54

AUSTRALIA HOUSE, WYNYARD SQUARE,
SYDNEY,
20 August 1947

My dear Sir,

May I convey to you and your colleagues, my earnest wishes for the future progress and peaceful development of the new Dominion in

whose service you have been called to such high and responsible office. I trust you may have health and strength to carry the burden of the unpredictable difficulties of the coming days. You may be assured that in this country of Australia, you and your colleagues—as well as the leaders of your new sister Dominion—have hosts of well-wishers.

I am,
Sincerely yours,
BERTRAM STEVENS
formerly Australian Representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 23 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/53. Not printed.

48

F. L. de Vivero to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 30-GG/199
[*Original in Spanish*]

LIMA, PERU,
20 August 1947

Doctor [?] Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan, Karachi

The Chamber of Deputies of Peru express to the Government and the people of Pakistan on the occasion of the proclamation of their independence, good wishes for the establishment of the new State and for its collaboration in the problems which face the democracies and in the cause of world peace.

FERNANDO LEON DE VIVERO
President of the Chamber of Deputies

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 26 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/197. Not printed.

49

M. W. Abbasi to Sultan Shahriar[1]

Telegram, F. 30-GG/174

No. 66 *20 August 1947*

Dr. Sultan Shahriar, Wirehouse, New York

I am directed by Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for your kind congratulations.[2]

M. W. ABBASI
PRIVATE SECRETARY

[1]Indonesian Representative to the UN, later Prime Minister.
[2]Not traceable.

50

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/8

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE *20 August 1947*

Personal for Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

I would be grateful for orders on my telegram No. 3G dated August 15th[1] as soon as convenient. There is much public expectation and certain administrative decisions have been held up pending change of Ministry.

[GEORGE CUNNINGHAM
Governor of NWFP]

[1]No. 6.

51

Geoffrey Prior to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/1

IMMEDIATE ZIARAT, BALUCHISTAN,
20 August 1947

Have just received following from Quetta.

Begins. Looting and arson commenced Quetta City and Hudda 9.15

p.m. 20th August. Badly affected areas Gawalmandi, Kandahari Bazar, Sandeman Road.

Troops called in. Situation under control. Patrols will continue. Casualties so far known—forty killed, thirty two injured. Oliver fractured skull. One constable killed. All community leaders meeting called in attempt to restore confidence. *Ends.*

I am proceeding Quetta immediately. First evidence shows that fires were organized.

[GEOFFREY PRIOR]

Copies submitted for information to:

1. The Quaid-i-Azam
2. The Prime Minister

M. IKRAMULLAH
[*Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*]

Quaid-i-Azam has seen. File.

F. A[MIN]
21.8.[47]

52

L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin

F. 18-GG/4

KARACHI,
20 August 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

With reference to our recent conversation, would you be good enough to inform the Quaid-i-Azam that Sir Archibald Rowlands leaves Poole by Flying Boat service 13F on August 30th?[1]

2. Sir Archibald has asked that an expression of his warm appreciation may be conveyed to Mr. Jinnah for his cordial welcome and his offer of hospitality, which is gratefully accepted.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 21 August 1947. See F. 18-GG/5. Not printed. Also see No. 32.

53

M. A. Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 27-GG/3

20 August 1947

Dear Sir Laurence,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th [*sic* for 19th] August.[1] I was very much interested in the photograph from *The Times* of August 16th.

I am glad that Sir Archibald [Rowlands] will be here on the 30th. I am looking forward to meet him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 41.

54

Rasheeduddin Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65(Part II)-GG/36

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
20 August 1947

Dear Sir,

India is on the threshold of freedom. Today, her two divided parts—the Indian Union and Pakistan—have attained the status of free Dominions in British Commonwealth of Nations. Soon, even this transitional period will lapse. An independent sub-continent—the Indian Union, Pakistan and the Free States—will emerge. This will usher in a new era in the annals of this mighty country. At such a momentous period of historic importance, we deem it right, in the fitness of things, to invite and publish such inspiring messages from the leaders of this great country as might be an incentive to the educated youth of the land.

Hence the Editors of *the Collegian*[1] (The Nizam College Magazine, Hyderabad, Deccan) will be grateful to you Sir, if you respond and send a concise, comprehensive and constructive message outlining your aims and ideals in the sphere of education and the future you would wish for the youth of this country.[2]

You might be interested to know, Sir, that our "Alma Mater" named

after our rulers, the Nizam College, is the premier educational institution in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. It has the distinctive honour of having His Exalted Highness himself, the princes, nobles, political leaders and high ranking officials as its distinguished alumni and patrons. Only recently the College has completed its sixtieth anniversary, when H.E.H. the Nizam inaugurated its Diamond Jubilee celebrations in February last.

With a sincere hope for favourable response Sir, we thank you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,
RASHEEDUDDIN
Senior Student Editor,
The Collegian

PS. An early reply will be deemed a favour.

[1]The letterhead contains the following names of editors:

Chief Editor:	P. K. Ghosh, Principal
Editor:	Prof. Ernest Gideon
Student Editors:	Nergish Taraporevala, Padma Paul, Mir Rehman Ali Adil, Rasheeduddin Ahmad Khan

[2]F. Amin conveyed on 1 September 1947 Jinnah's inability to issue a message due to extreme preoccupation. See F. 65-GG/35. Not printed.

55

King Farouk to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[*Original in Arabic*]

CAIRO,
20 August 1947

I am happy to greet you on the blessed occasion of *'Id*.

FAROUK

56

Fakhruddin Valibhai to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 33-GG/4-5

VALIKA TEXTILE MILLS LTD.,
WOOD STREET,
KARACHI,
20 August 1947

Dear Sir,

We have the pleasure to inform you that we are installing a new textile mill with 25,000 spindles and 500 looms at Karachi.

The Company has been floated and the orders for machinery have been placed with the manufacturers. We hope to get the machinery early in 1948.

You know very well that there is not a single textile mill in Karachi and we are the first people from Bombay to start this big industry over here.

We propose to start the construction work of the mills' premises very soon. We feel that we have a right to request our Quaid-i-Azam to be pleased to lay the foundation stone of our mills' building which will be a great pride and encouragement to us.

We are sending you herewith a copy of announcement[1] also so that you can have an idea about our undertakings.

We now hope that you will be pleased to request Quaid-i-Azam to please accept our humble request.[2]

We wish to have this function in the first week of September preferably on the 4th or 5th September. In case either of these dates is not suitable to Quaid-i-Azam, we will be pleased to alter the same according to your instructions.

Hoping to get a favourable reply soon and always at your command,

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours most obediently,
FAKHRUDDIN
Director

[1]See F. 33-GG/6-17. Not printed.
[2]Also see No. 40.

57

F. Amin to Managing Agents, Valika Textile Mills

F. 33-GG/18

21 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 786/K/244 dated the 20th August 1947,[1] addressed to the Military Secretary, and to inform you that he finds difficulty in complying with your request to lay the foundation stone of your mill's buildings, while he wishes you and the Valika Textile Mills Ltd. all success and prosperity in your venture and hopes that it really might become one of the premier textile mills not only in Karachi but may well be compared with other mills of the world.

I am further to add that he is pleased that Bombay Muslims have taken the lead to start this big industry in Pakistan which has a very great future for industrial and scientific commercial developments.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Valibhai Kamruddin (Sind) Ltd.,
The Managing Agents,
Valika Textile Mills Ltd.,
Chamber of Commerce Building,
Wood Street, Karachi-2

[1]No. 56. Also see No. 40.

58

F. Amin to Yusuf A. Haroon

F. 41-GG/2

21 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter No. M/47 dated 13th August 1947,[1] addressed to the Quaid-i-Azam. I am desired by him to inform you that he will be pleased to receive your welcome address at 6 p.m. on Friday the 29th. I hope the time and date will suit you. Please confirm.

Will you kindly indicate the place where the function is to take place.[2]

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Seth Yusuf Haroon, Esq.,
President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce,
Karachi

[1]No. 245, Vol. IV, 351.
[2]See No. 108.

59

M. A. Jinnah to Henry Holland

F. 26-GG/3

21 August 1947

Dear Sir Henry,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th[1] sending me your greetings and good wishes for Pakistan, me and Miss Jinnah.

We are thankful to you, and I should be glad to see you and Lady Holland when you are in Karachi.

Please convey our thanks to Lady Holland for her good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Henry Holland,
C. M. S. Hospital,
Quetta

[1]No. 255, Vol. IV, 359-60.

60

M. W. Abbasi to Secretary to Governor, East Bengal

Telegram, F. 35-GG/2

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL *21 August 1947*

Your telegram No. 2 dated 19th August 1947[1] regarding Judges of High Court of East Bengal.

Governor-General has been pleased to appoint following as Judges of the High Court of East Bengal with effect from 15th August. Notification will issue in next Gazette:

Mr. Thomas Hobart Ellis,
Mr. Amirud-din Ahmad, and
Mr. Amin Ahmad

[M. W. ABBASI]

[1]No. 43.

61

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 61-GG/3

21 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th/8th August 1947,[1] and thank you for it.

I shall be very pleased indeed to meet Admiral Palliser on the occasion of his visit to Karachi in the 1st week of January, 1948.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 187, Vol. IV, 285-6.

62

Relieved Muslim Employees, Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/17-20

DELHI,
21 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

All Muslim Emploies [*sic*] bound for Pakistan are in great trouble and in distress conditions; have been relieved from their offices, quitted their quarters and houses; are lying in open with their families. No arrangements of conveyance and specials for Pakistan movements as

passage is unsafe and general massacred [*sic*] is going on of the Muslims on great scales. No police escorts and military guards on lines and no safety in trains and on stations. All Muslims for Pakistan are held up unnecessarily for want of safe passage. Money exhausted. Children starving without food. Condition critical. Please open some food relief and advance payments to save from starving. Arrange specials with military advance pilots before special trains. Escorts of military in special trains en route. Lines and stations should be guarded by military forces to save from general massacred [*sic*] and attacks from villagers and others. Without proper pre-arrangements of safety it is not advisable to run special trains. In Hindustan Muslims are quite unsafe. Hindus are determined to bombard the special trains and daily train services. Do proper needful and wise steps otherwise condition critical and unsafe.

RELIEVED MUSLIM EMPLOYEES OF PAKISTAN

[Copies to:]
Liaquat Ali Khan
Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

63

D. M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 52-GG/6

9 AURANGZEB ROAD,
DELHI,
21 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I respectfully acknowledge receipt of your kind letter No. 3-G/47 dated 17th August, 1947,[1] and have noted that you will not be able to grant me an interview until sometime towards the end of this week. I had to fly to Delhi on 18th instant on an urgent telephonic message received from Delhi in connection with the refugees from Alwar State, who are pouring in very large number. The total number of these refugees is estimated to be about 20,000. The housing problem in Delhi is still very acute and it has become extremely difficult to accommodate so many people. The conditions in Alwar State have further deteriorated. I have interviewed about a dozen people, who arrived here during the last two days, stating that all their belongings

including ornaments and clothes etc., etc., are forcibly taken away by the State Military Forces at Railway Stations within the Alwar State. The condition of these Mewatis, who are camping and staying within a radius of about 20 miles in Ferozepore Jhirka Tahsil is extremely pitiable.

I have submitted some proposals in my last letter and I am anxiously awaiting your intimation when an interview can be granted to me. I will fly to Karachi immediately to place before you the latest conditions of these people. Food grain stocks of Mewatis in Gurgaon District who have been feeding these people have exhausted and it is causing a very great anxiety to find out some ways and means to feed these people for another six months or so.

With respects,

Sincerely yours,
D. M. MALIK[2]

[1]F. 52-GG/5. Not printed.
[2]Pakistan Liaison Officer in East Punjab.

64

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46(1)-GG/9

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT [PESHAWAR,]
21 August 1947

Have I authority at my discretion to keep Ministry at Kabul informed of political developments in this Province and of tribal affairs?

2. Presume your Govt. will inform Minister at Kabul of change of Ministry in the NWFP.

GOVERNOR OF NWFP

65

Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Karachi, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/378

POST BOX NO. 18,
KARACHI,
21 August 1947

Your Excellency,

We enclose herewith our receipt in triplicate for US $114 [the] amount received from our New York Office by order of Muddassir Ali Shamsee,[1] 614 West 114th St., New York.

Please present the receipt in triplicate duly stamped and signed by Your Excellency for payment through your bankers.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Agent

[1]Also see Annexure to Enclosure to No. 121, Vol. III, 324.

66

Bashir El Saadawi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 30-GG/49

21 August 1947

His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, Karachi

National Council for Liberation of Libya on behalf people conveys heartiest congratulations on achieved [*sic*] in creation of Pakistan Muslim State, election as active member of U.N.O. and offers [prayers] to Almighty God for prosperity and progress under Your Excellency's wise leadership.

BASHIR EL SAADAWI

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 25 August 1947. See F. 30-GG/50. Not printed.

67

Abdur Rahman[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 123-GG/1-3

CONFIDENTIAL

UNSCOP,
HOTEL METROPOLE,
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND,
21 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I was sent to represent India on the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), as Your Excellency will know, and I had to leave the country in a hurry on the 26th May. I was not at the time acquainted with the details of the problem and had to study a great deal both in New York where I arrived first, and subsequently in Palestine where the Committee spent five weeks on inspection of various places in the country and on recording evidence in Jerusalem. We resolved to come to Geneva for our discussions and for writing the report. From Palestine, I went to Damascus for a day and rejoined the Committee at Sofar (Beirut, Lebanon), where we had gone to hear the views of the Arab States who had been invited to express them, at my instance, in the absence of the Arab Higher Committee. I had an opportunity to make contacts with the various Ministers of Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Yemen.

India was divided into two dominions on the 14th[*sic* for 15th] and it is a moot point whether it still continues to be a member of the United Nations. As information reached me that some of the pro-Jewish members of the Committee who had not liked my views were thinking of raising an objection in the Committee that India was no longer a member of the United Nations and I could not therefore represent India, I took the precaution of recording my opinion on various points and handing it over to the Chairman with a covering letter, reserving the right of the Delegation to alter or modify it later if necessary. This was done, as Your Excellency will see, on the assumption that if India still continued to be a member of the United Nations, its delegate would have the right to alter or modify the opinion already given, but if it was found not to have continued to be a member after the Partition, the views of the Indian Delegation will not remain unstated and whatever little advantage the Arabs might have on account of my opinion will not disappear. My report[2] is a secret document yet, but I am sending a copy of the same to Your Excellency

along with a copy of the covering letter[3] for perusal.

On the 15th morning I sent a cable to Your Excellency at Karachi suggesting that an application might be made on behalf of Pakistan to the Security Council of the United Nations, but from the news in the papers I find that an application had been given at Your Excellency's suggestion, probably prior to the receipt of my cable.

Most of the members of the Committee are pro-Jewish and I am having considerable trouble with them everyday, but I hope ultimately Iran will support me, and there is a very good chance that Yugoslavia (which is apparently under Russian influence) will probably agree to a federation which is after all not such a bad solution as that of partition, and which will not confer on the Jews the status of having a state which may endanger peace in the Middle East subsequently.

I know Your Excellency is extremely absorbed with Indian affairs, but I would appreciate Your Excellency's guidance in the matter.

May I in the end congratulate Your Excellency for the achievement of what almost seemed to be impossible in the beginning, and may I pray that Pakistan will, under your guidance, thrive and prove worthy of its name.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ABDUR RAHMAN

[1]Knighted 1934; Judge, Madras High Court, 1937 and Punjab High Court, 1943; Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, 1943; appointed in May 1947 India's delegate to UN Special Committee on Palestine, where he gave minority report opposing partition of Palestine.
[2]See Appendix VII.
[3]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 67

F. 123-GG/4

GENEVA,
14 August 1947

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Sandstrom,

In view of the political changes in India, I enclose herewith the final recommendations[1] of the Indian Delegation regarding the solution of the problem of Palestine. Will you please retain them in the sealed cover in which they are being presented till the preparation of the final report by the Committee when the cover may be opened by you and

the document annexed to the report as the opinion of the Indian Delegation.

As the recommendations have been drawn up in a hurry and even before the private discussions on the various questions have come to an end, the right to alter or modify them if the Indian Delegation feels so inclined is reserved.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAHMAN
India's Delegate

Judge Emil Sandstrom,
Chairman,
U.N. Special Committee on Palestine,
Geneva

[1]Appendix VII.

68

Editor, the Shaheen, *Kutiyana, to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 65(Part II)-GG/140

SHAHEEN PUBLICITY BUREAU,
KUTIYANA, W. INDIA,
21 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Just after the publication of the first issue of the *Shaheen* as Pakistan Number, it is officially announced by the Junagadh Govt. that the State has joined Pakistan.[1]

With the desire of expressing our sincere feelings of appreciation and admiration for the just step taken by the *Sorath Sarkar*,[2] we have decided to publish the second issue of the *Shaheen* as *Sorath Number*.

The *Sorath Number* will contain articles on the history, economy, population and area of Sorath as well as articles introducing eminent personalities like His Highness the Nawab Sahib, Namdar Dewan Sahib, Sardar Abrahani Sahib and others—together with a brief history of the Babi family.[3] In addition, the *Shaheen* will also publish articles dealing with the possibilities of future development of the Sorath unit of Pakistan.

We seek your co-operation in this direction and cordially invite you to send us your contribution in the form of a message or an article

before the 31st instant.[4]

Assuring you that your kind co-operation will be highly appreciated and thanking you in advance,

We are,
Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Editor, the Shaheen

[1]See Appendix V. 7.

[2]Title of *Sarkar* was given to those States which had their own currency. "There were four *Sarkars* in undivided India: the British Sarkar, Nizam Sarkar (Hyderabad), Gaekwad Sarkar (Baroda) and Sorath Sarkar (Junagadh)." Only six Indian princely States had significant revenue and in this respect Junagadh was placed after Hyderabad. The others were Gawalior, Mysore, Jaipur, Baroda and Kashmir. See *Not Quite Forgotten* by Arif Jamshaid who interviewed Nawab of Junagadh, Nawab Jahangir Khanji. See *The News*, 2 March 1997.

[3]Adil Khan Babi of Kandahar came to India with Emperor Humayun in 1556. His descendant Bahadur Khan alias Sher Khan who was deputy governor of Savrastra, founded the Babi dynasty in Junagadh in 1748. It was Nawab Mahabat Khanji (1920-1960), the ninth Nawab who acceded to Pakistan.

[4]Jinnah regretted that he could not accede to his request. See F. 65 (II)-GG/141. Not printed.

69

Qazi Abdur Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46(1)-GG/11

MANSEHRA,
[21] *August 1947*

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

Frontier Muslim public satisfied with rumoured decision to dissolve Frontier Ministry while keeping present ministry as caretaker government to avoid strife and mismanagement in the Frontier Province.

QAZI ABDUR RASHID

70

Pakistan High Commissioner, London, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations, Karachi

Telegram, F. 11-GG/3

No. 14
IMMEDIATE *22 August 1947*

For Governor-General

Lord Listowel[1] told me that he is going to Burma on B.O.A.C. Flight 13F which reaches Karachi on Saturday August 30th at 1630 hrs. He will be accompanied by Sir Gilbert Laithwaite,[2] Mr. R. I. Jones Harris[3] and a lady typist. The party will spend a few hours at Karachi leaving for Rangoon at 2 a.m. on August 31st. May I suggest that party be your guest.

[1]Secretary of State for Burma.
[2]Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Burma.
[3]Presumably R. M. J. Harris, Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Burma.

71

F. Amin to A. A. Yousuf

F. 30-GG/80

22 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 7th August 1947[1] and to say that the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah deeply appreciates your message of congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the establishment of Pakistan. I am further to add that the Pakistan Government is not allotting any plots for business concerns and for this purpose you should get in touch with some private housing agents and give your requirements.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

A. A. Yousuf, Esq.,
A. A. Yousuf and Company,
Importers and Merchants,
Fort Jameson [Northern Rhodesia]

[1]See No. 178, Vol. IV, 275-6.

72

F. Amin to Shankerseth Wadi

F. 30-GG/29

[KARACHI,]
22 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 12th August 1947[1] asking for an interview in connection with your project of starting oil, timber, paper and chemical industries in Pakistan and to say that you will please get in touch with the Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Works which is in charge of this matter.

2. I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam deeply appreciates your message of congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the establishment of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Shankerseth Wadi, Esq.,
380/D Thakurdwar,
The Indian Mineral Syndicate,
Bombay 2

[1]Not traceable.

73

F. Amin to K. N. Swamy

F. 76-GG/13

22 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 6th of August 1947,[1] and to thank you for a set of

pencils[2] which you so very kindly sent to him in Delhi.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

K. N. Swamy, Esq.,
Victory Pencil Co.,
Quilon,[3] S. I.

[1]See F. 76-GG/12. Not printed.
[2]The set of pencils produced at his factory carried Jinnah's name.
[3]A town in Kerala, India.

74

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/14

IMMEDIATE PESHAWAR,
22 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

I dismissed Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry[1] at one p.m. today and have invited Abdul Qaiyum to form a Ministry.

CUNNINGHAM

[1]See Annexes I & II.

Annex I to No. 74
Intelligence Report[1]

[PESHAWAR,]
22 August 1947

His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province dismissed the Congress Ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib on August 22nd, and a Muslim League Ministry was then formed with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Premier, and Khan Muhammad Abbas Khan as Minister.

The news of the dismissal of the Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib appeared to come as a surprise to the main body of Red Shirts' supporters. Dr. Khan Sahib has stated that the dismissal was unconstitutional but the only reactions amongst the rank and file of Red Shirts have been the hoisting of a few Pathanistan flags in the Nowshera area, and

threats of civil disobedience by Red Shirts' supporters at Charsadda and Shabqadar, Peshawar District.

In Mardan District, two unimportant processions were taken out by Congress supporters at Shiwa and Katlang on 19th August. The members of the first procession were all armed, and fired shots in the air. On 17th August, Hamidullah, cousin of Amir Muhammad Khan, President of the Provincial Congress Committee, and others, removed a Muslim League flag in the Hoti Bazar.

On 15th August, after the Pakistan Flag-hoisting ceremony in the League Office in village Wadpaga, Peshawar District, a scuffle occurred between Congress and Muslim League supporters, which developed into an exchange of shots, but the situation was brought under control by the police.

Dr. Khan Sahib and other Ministers removed their Congress flags from their bungalows on 15th and 16th August, and have since been flying Zalmai Pakhtun flags on their cars.

On 18th August, Pathanistan flags were hoisted on the houses of the Red Shirt "Generals" of Jabba and Taru, Peshawar District, by Red Shirts, who fired shots in the air.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan spent most of the week at Sardaryab, where he was interviewed by Red Shirt leaders.

It has been noticed that the Congress flag has been replaced by the Zalmai Pakhtun flag at various places in the Charsadda Sub-Division of Peshawar District.

[1]*The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1996, 280-1.

Annex II to No. 74
Memorandum by H. Gordon Minnigerode

U. S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/9-1647

[*Extract*]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
16 September 1947

XII. DISMISSAL OF NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE CABINET

The difficulties of the new Government of Pakistan were further increased by alleged subversive activities carried on by the Ministry from the North-West Frontier Province of which Doctor Khan Sahib was Premier, which resulted in the dismissal of the entire Ministry by the

Governor of the Province, Sir George Cunningham, on August 22, 1947.

The North-West Frontier Legislature is composed of a considerable majority of Indian Congress sympathisers, 31 seats being filled by Congress representatives as against only 16 seats for representatives of the Muslim League and in consequence the Ministry of Doctor Khan Sahib, which was formed on August 9, 1946, was completely out of sympathy with the Pakistan Government. A noticeable incident occurred at the official ceremony at Peshawar on August 15 upon the unfurling of the Pakistan Flag when not a single member of the Cabinet was present, and this incident, together with a number of other apparent manifestations of disloyalty to the Pakistan Government is understood to have been the reason for the dismissal of the Ministry by Sir George Cunningham under orders of the Pakistan Cabinet at Karachi.

Following the dismissal of Khan Sahib, the Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, was invited by Sir George Cunningham to form a new Ministry.

Despite the apparent disloyalty of Doctor Khan Sahib's Ministry, there was some question as to whether the Pakistan Government was strong enough at this time to take so drastic an action as the dismissal of the Ministry and risk the possible disturbances that might result. In many circles it was felt that so drastic an action might aggravate the tension which already existed in the North-West Frontier Province and even bring about an uprising at a time when there were already widespread communal disturbances in the Punjab and serious unrest in many other areas. The prevailing point of view in the Government, however, appeared to be that the action was timely and essential during the formation period of the Government of Pakistan if the prestige of the Government was to be maintained and its authority respected.

H. GORDON MINNIGERODE
American Consul

75

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.47-GG/1-2

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL PESHAWAR,
22 August 1947

Personal for Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah

Please see our Food and Civil Supplies Department letter No. 4117/FG 164 dated August 21st to your Food Department.[1] It will be of vital importance to new ministry to avoid any possible shortage in our supplies and I hope that full programme as detailed in our letter may be achieved. Immediate necessity which is of paramount importance is that we get 5,000 tons of wheat for Peshawar forthwith. I am told Punjab could help us if approached. Would be most grateful for your help.[2] Abdul Qaiyum agrees.

[GEORGE CUNNINGHAM]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]In a note of 16 September 1947, F. Amin recorded that 3,000 tons of wheat had been allotted to NWFP and more would be made available when NWFP Govt. would be ready to lift it. See F. 47-GG/11. Not printed.

76

L. Grafftey-Smith to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 36-GG/1

SECRET KARACHI,
22 August 1947

Dear Colonel Birnie,

I send you herewith at the Quaid-i-Azam's suggestion the copy of the cypher received for him from London for use by him in corresponding with His Majesty the King about such matters as the appointment of Governors, etc. No other copy exists here.

2. Telegrams sent in this cypher by the Governor-General, should be addressed *en clair* to the Private Secretary, Buckingham Palace. After discussion with Mr. Jinnah I have informed London that telegrams

in this series for him will be addressed to him personally, pending alternative arrangements.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

77

M. A. Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 36-GG/2

22 August 1947

I am in receipt of your letter dated 22nd August 1947[1] addressed to the Mil[itar]y Secretary and the cypher to be used in correspondence with His Majesty the King about such matters as the appointment of Governors etc., and I thank you for it.

I also note your suggestion made in paragraph 2.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
[High Commissioner for the U. K.]

[1]No. 76.

78

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/2-12

IMMEDIATE

QUETTA,
22 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

This telegram is in reply to Your Excellency's telephonic message. Last night passed peacefully and situation is fully under control. All fires have been extinguished. Detailed report was posted to Foreign midday yesterday but unfortunately mail train returned owing to sabotage on line.

2. Following is summary of events to date:

Information was received 7 p.m. 20th August that trouble might occur and armed reserve and jeep patrols were put on alert. Mini fighting was reported followed by arson in separate portions of city.

Scott, Superintendent of Police, found mob firing Hindu shops and shot and killed one man. Oliver, Superintendent Police, Multan, on leave, was hit on head by axe while dispersing crowd and skull fractured.

3. Area Commander was asked to send troops and transport. Meanwhile fire had broken out in many places and news was received that Hudda village was in flames and tribesmen were coming in. Levies successfully turned them back. As more troops arrived, situation was brought under control. Section 144 was imposed by Political Agent and curfew imposed.

4. By 6 hours on 21st August fires eased but series of attacks on Hindus and Sikhs took place and [a] Sikh Sub-Inspector was murdered. By midday, fifty dead and 77 wounded were counted. Goods train leaving Quetta was held up on outskirts of town and four Hindu staff killed. Karachi Mail returned owing to rumour that line was torn up. Alarming reports were received from Chaman, Pishin, Qila Abdullah but investigation proves them to be unfounded except for isolated attacks on Hindu railway personnel.

5. Essential services are running except railways. We are faced with rising refugee problem but otherwise position is satisfactory. Cypher telegram follows.

BALUCHISTAN[1]

[1]Telegraphic address of Agent to the Governor-General, Baluchistan.

79

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/13-4

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL QUETTA,
22 August 1947

Following is in continuation of today's *en clair* telegram[1] to Your Excellency. There is no doubt that burning of city which is largely (group omitted) was carefully organised as fires broke out simultaneously at many points. Out of 59 dead to date only [?] are Muslims. Reluctance of police to take drastic action against fellow Muslims has been most marked and has greatly increased casualties and damage. I have been compelled to ask for officer volunteers from Staff College to lead night patrols.

2. Distressing feature is murderous attacks on Hindus in outlying

villages, railway stations and latter may have paralyzing effect on Railways. I am afraid these events will undo months' propaganda and that there will be mass exodus of Hindus which will have disastrous effect on economic life of Baluchistan.

3. Troops have prevented incursion of tribesmen by cordon. Presence of large number of unattached Pathans and Hazaras is grave security problem but with arrival of a battalion from Fort Sandeman today with my troops will be adequate and facilitate punitive action against trouble makers. Owing to panic among clerical staff and special duties, work in Government offices is almost at standstill.

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 78.

80

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/142

SIND GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
22 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent a cable to His Highness the Aga Khan asking for a generous donation from him for relief for the distress[ed] in Chittagong District.

I have just received a cable in reply from him to say that his Bombay Agents will send me Rs. 25,000 for the purpose. I am cabling to him tomorrow to thank him for his great generosity.

He has asked me [to] inform you also , and I am accordingly doing so. It would be very nice if you too would very kindly send him ■ cable to thank him, because I had mentioned to him in my cable that my appeal had your support also.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN [HIDAYATULLAH]
[*Governor of Sind*]

81

B. Bromhead[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 30-GG/111-2

CARBERY,
SWAY, HANTS,
22 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please forgive me if I have addressed this incorrectly, but I have been wanting to write to offer you very sincere congratulations on the successful outcome of your long and patient fight for Pakistan—and I have been held back from doing so in case it should seem to be too presumptuous on my part. I only do so because I met you in Quetta during the war, at luncheon in Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa's house, where I was invited to meet you with a Lt. Col. Robinson, with whom I was doing public relations work in the tribal areas. Col. Robinson has since died in Quetta, but I know how much he would have loved to have seen the dream of Pakistan come true, for much of his work was indirectly directed towards the strengthening of Muslim sentiment in the tribal areas towards such a goal. I am sure tribal areas will remain a source of strength to you in Pakistan and I imagine that your dealings with them will be considerably easier, than they have been with us, upon whom they have looked as *feringhees*, tho[ugh] also a people of The Book. Still they must always remain a nettle to be grasped firmly, as the Afghans know.

I hope you will accept my very best wishes to you and to the future of Pakistan, with which so many British officers and officials are in sympathy, and which they will gladly serve for so long as they are wanted.

Yours sincerely,
B. BROMHEAD
Lt. Colonel

[1]Political Agent of North Waziristan, 1945-47.

82

Salma Tasaddaque Hussain to M.A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/230-3

27 EMPRESS ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing this to you with an aching heart as a daughter to her father on behalf of hundreds and thousands of the Muslim men, women and children of Eastern Punjab who are the victims of most gruesome, brutal and inhuman assaults by Sikhs and non-Muslim soldiers of the Boundary Force who are guilty of arson, murder, rape and abduction on a scale which is appalling.

I am the Secretary of the Central Punjab Muslim League Relief Committee and have to deal with thousands of cases daily. The situation is fast becoming uncontrollable. I have to arrange the housing [*sic*] of hundreds a day even in Lahore. The panic in the people is disheartening. Not that I am in anyway pessimistic of the eventual triumph over the difficulties but the massacre of thousands of innocent Muslims is intolerable. Our provincial leaders are doing their best but we require your personal word of encouragement, if a visit is not possible. We stand in need of your guidance today more than ever. Punjab did its best to attain Pakistan. Please save the valiant Punjabis and use the influence of your Government in getting restored thousands of young Muslim girls who have been forcibly abducted and converted to Sikhism.

Yours in distress,
SALMA TASADDAQUE HUSSAIN

83

S. H. Raza to F. Amin

F. 22-GG/15

SIND GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
22 August 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

Please refer to your letter No. 18-GG/47 dated 20th August.[1] I enclose

a copy of the rules[2] framed by the Sind Minorities Association which gives its aims and objects. As for membership, a list is enclosed of some of the prominent members.[3] The Government of Sind have agreed to consult the Sind Minorities Association on matters relating to minorities in Sind. A copy of the letter issued by the Government of Sind in this respect is also enclosed.[4] I see no harm in the Quaid-i-Azam accepting the invitation extended to him. If encouraged, this Association may be able to counteract the Congress propaganda against Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
S[YED] H[ASHIM] RAZA
Secretary to the Governor of Sind

[1]Annex.
[2]See F. 22-GG/3-10. Not printed.
[3]See F. 22-GG/11-2. Not printed.
[4]See F. 22-GG/13. Not printed.

Annex to No. 83
F. Amin to S. H. Raza

F. 22-GG/14

NO. 18-GG/47 *20 August 1947*

Dear Mr. Raza,

I enclose herewith a copy of letter dated the 16th August[1] from the Vice-President, Sind Minorities Association, Karachi, and shall be grateful if you will kindly let us know whether or not the Quaid-i-Azam should accept the invitation extended to him by the Sind Minorities Association. The Quaid-i-Azam would particularly like to know the aims and objects and membership of this Association.[2]

F. AMIN

S. H. Raza, Esq., ICS,
Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Sind

[1]No. 23.
[2]See F. 22-GG/3-10. Not printed.

84

M. S. Advani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/6

SUKKUR,
22 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I, M. S. Advani, request you kindly send your autograph for my Autograph Album.

I hope you will not disappoint my album [*sic*].

Yours most obediently,
M. S. ADVANI

85

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 51-GG/4

No.1087(2)-G/4

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
22 August 1947

My dear Governor-General,

You will recall that I spoke to you and to your Prime Minister about the forthcoming Exhibition of Indian Art in London.

I am informing the Royal Academy and the Committee of the Exhibition that you would be very pleased to accept their invitation to be an Honorary President of this Exhibition, and that you agree that under the existing title of the Exhibition— "The Exhibition of Indian Art"—an explanation should be printed on all placards and programmes, etc., that the Exhibition includes exhibits from the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

I am also asking that an invitation should be extended to your High Commissioner in London to become an Honorary Vice-President of this Exhibition.

The same arrangements are being made in connection with myself and my High Commissioner in London.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be President of the Exhibition.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

86

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46-GG/17

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PESHAWAR,
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE,
23 August 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As I telegraphed to you yesterday,[1] I dismissed Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry at 1 p.m., and at 2 p.m. invited Abdul Qaiyum to form his Ministry. In accordance with your instructions[2] a Ministry has been formed, consisting of Abdul Qaiyum and Muhammad Abbas, and this morning they took the oath.

2. The question of a 3rd Minister must, in the opinion of both Abdul Qaiyum and myself, be taken up at once. Administration has been lagging behind for a good many weeks owing to the uncertainty of the ministerial position, and with only two Ministers we cannot hope to overtake the arrears.

3. Abdul Qaiyum and I are both agreed that the most suitable candidate for 3rd Minister is Habibullah Khan, M. L. A., of Bannu. He is a leading pleader, is one of the oldest members of the Assembly, has had a good deal of practical administrative work as member or chairman of Government Committees, and has a very good reputation in every way. In general ability he is undoubtedly above any of the remaining Muslim League Members of the Assembly.

4. I believe that the name of Abdul Latif Khan, Pir of Zakori, has been mentioned as a possibility. I am afraid that, quite apart from any question of ability, his reputation is such that the Ministry could not fail to fall in prestige if he were to join them. I think it best to be frank in this matter.

5. I hope very much, therefore, that you will feel yourself able to

agree to this joint recommendation of Abdul Qaiyum and myself, at which we have arrived after the fullest thought and discussion.

Muhammad Abbas also agrees.

Yours sincerely,
G. CUNNINGHAM

[1]No. 74.
[2]Annex.

Annex to No. 86
M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

Telegram, F. 1005/32

Undated [*August 1947*]

Please call Qaiyum as the Leader of the Muslim League Party [to] form Ministry himself and Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan. Suggest you should interview Pir of Manki Sharif [and] offer him third Ministership. If he does not accept confine only to two, namely, Qaiyum and Abbas Khan.

[M. A. JINNAH]

87

Abdul Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/287

POLAYATHODE, QUILON,
TRAVANCORE,
23 August 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We beg to submit to you a copy of the Resolution[1] passed in a public meeting conducted by "Young Muslim Association", Polayathode, Quilon, on 15th August 1947.

Yours most obediently,
ABDUL RAHIM
Secretary,
Young Muslim Association

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 87

F. 30-GG/288

RESOLUTION

It is [a] real pleasure to express our unbounded happiness on the day of the achievement of Pakistan.

We pray to Almighty *Allah* to lead Pakistan in the right path in weal or in woe.

Moved by A. ABDUL AZIZ
Seconded by U. S. HAMEED

88

F. Amin to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf

F. 76-GG/15

23 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 9th August 1947,[1] and to thank you for the books which you have so very kindly presented to him. I am, further, to add that he deeply appreciates your message of congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the establishment of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf,
Publishers and Booksellers,
Kashmiri Bazaar,
Lahore

[1]See F. 76-GG/14. Not printed.

89

S. A. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/294-5

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,
BANGALORE,
23 August 1947

May it please your gracious Excellency Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg respectfully to forward herewith a copy of the Resolution[1] unanimously passesd at the general meeting of the Muslims of Shimoga (Mysore State) on the 15th of August 1947, which was to them a day of great rejoicing.

I am also forwarding a copy of the Resolution[2] which I moved in the Mysore Legislative Council and which was unanimously accepted by all sections of the representatives in the Council. This must have been already conveyed to Your Excellency by the President of the Mysore Legislative Council some time ago.[3]

I hope Your Excellency may be pleased to remember that I am an old servant of the All India Muslim League, was a member of the All India Muslim League Council, was Office Secretary of the All India Muslim League and also Personal Secretary to (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, and was one who took active part in amalgamating Bangalore with Coorg in 1943, and was one who moved the resolution at Lahore in July 1944, confirming the expulsion of Malik Khiz[ar] Hayat Khan which was supported by (Raja) Ghazanfar Ali Khan and unanimously passed.

With the greatest love and respect,

I remain,
Yours very respectfully,
SYED ABDUR RAHMAN
Member, Mysore Legislative Council

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.
[3]Not traceable.

Enclosure 1 to No. 89

F. 30-GG/296

[*15 August 1947*]

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Muslims of Shimoga congratulates Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on his attainment of the goal of Pakistan and on his having been chosen the Governor-General of Pakistan and hopes that under his loving care and guidance, Pakistan will grow from strength to strength and prays that God Almighty may bestow on him His choicest blessings and give him long life and prosperity. It further expresses the hope that the Government of Pakistan will adopt such measures to protect the rights and privileges of the minorities as will serve as an example to the Indian Union.

SYED ABDUR RAHMAN

Enclosure 2 to No. 89

F. 30-GG/297

[*15 August 1947*]

SPECIAL RESOLUTION

This Council do place on record its felicitations to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, on having secured the co-operation and willingness of the two major political parties in India, viz., the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, led by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in coming to a workable compromise in regard to the political aspirations of the peoples of India and thus promote peace, happiness, prosperity and cordial relations among the peoples of India living in the territories of Pakistan and Hindustan including the Indian States.

SYED ABDUR RAHMAN

90

M. A. Jinnah to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 11-GG/4

23 August 1947

My dear Sir Laurence,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 23rd August, 1947.[1] Since Lord Listowel has informed me through you that he would be

arriving at 4.30 p.m. on Saturday [30 August] at Karachi and leaving at 2 a.m. on the 31st, the only suitable opportunity to meet him would be if he could give me the pleasure of his company at dinner on the 30th of August at 8.30 p.m. I shall be glad to have this opportunity of meeting him.[2]

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. JINNAH]

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom,
Chamber of Commerce Building,
Wood Street, Karachi

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 70.
[2]Jinnah went to Lahore to assist in the implementation of the decisions made at the Special Joint Defence Council meeting held on 29 August 1947. See No. 174. Ikramullah wrote to the UK High Commissioner on 28 August that Jinnah was not likely to be back in time for the dinner scheduled for Listowel. See F. 11-GG/5. Not printed.

91

M. A. Jinnah to Moosa Dinath

Telegram, F. 30-GG/83

23 August 1947

Your telegram[1] received late. All my good wishes to Johannesburg Muslims who made their contributions. Thankful for their help in the achievement of Pakistan.

M. A. JINNAH

Moosa Dinath,
President, Transvaal Muslim League,
Johannesburg

[1]F. 30-GG/82. Not printed.

92

M. A. Jinnah to Evelyn Wrench

F. 30-GG/195

23 August 1947

Dear Sir Evelyn,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of congratulations and good wishes[1] on the establishment of Pakistan, which I deeply appreciate.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Evelyn Wrench,
99 Gower Street,
London, W.C.1

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 92
Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/196

PRIVATE

THE *SPECTATOR*,
99 GOWER STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1,
16 July 1947

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I just wanted to send you a line of congratulation on the great part you have played in these recent negotiations. I am delighted to think that all the schemes that we so often discussed now seem to be materialising, and I should just like to take this occasion of wishing you and Pakistan all possible happiness. Long may the association of Pakistan and Hindustan, as partners within the British Commonwealth, continue.

With all good wishes to Miss Jinnah and yourself, from my wife and me,

Yours sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH

93

R. A. Harris to M. W. Abbasi and Others

F. 910/355

HQ LAHORE SUB-AREA,
LAHORE CANT.,
23 August 1947

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD ON 21-8-[19]47 REGARDING BUNGALOW NO. 53 LAHORE CANT.

PRESENT

Col. R. A. Harris
Lt. Col. [Name not given]
Sir Syed Maratib Ali, CBE

1. Agreed that correspondence goes to Mr. Jinnah's Private Secretary.
2. Agreed that Sub-Area will handle all correspondence and conduct all negotiations.
3. Agreed that Sir Maratib Ali will not press for the house to be handed over on 31 Aug[ust]1947,[1] in view of labour and material situation.
4. Agreed that rent will continue to be paid until we finally hand over.
5. Agreed that Sub-Area should report[2] difficulties to AHQ, Pak. Army and suggest arbitration. The question of arbitration will be submitted to the Private Sec[retary] for Mr. Jinnah's decision.

R. A. HARRIS
Colonel
I/c Adm.

[1]See No. 19, Vol. III, 83-4.
[2]Annexure.

Annexure to No. 93

F. 910/354

HQ LAHORE SUB-AREA,
LAHORE CANT.,
23 August 1947

SUBJECT: RELINQUISHMENT OF BUNGALOW NO. 53 LAHORE CANT.

The above house is the property of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan.

2. The house was held by the M. E. S. on lease agreement from 28-4-41 to 17-1-47 and was requisitioned on 18-1-44 by requisitioning order[1] No. 3315-HM-42/31289, dated 18-1-44, issue[d] by the D. C., Lahore.

3. GHQ (I) in their letter No. 5207/123/Q-3(H), dated 23 June 47 ordered[1] this house to be derequisitioned and returned to Mr. Jinnah by 31 August [19]47.

4. It has not been possible to comply with this order owing to shortage of labour, the present disturbances and non-availability of special electrical fittings and certain skilled labour to deal with the internal decorations.

5. At a conference held here today with Sir Maratib Ali, CBE, who is Mr. Jinnah's Agent in the matter, it was agreed that:

a. the house would be retained until 30 September 47,

b. the question of arbitration should be taken up.

6. Under the original lease agreement, clause 5, it is open to settle any question of making good dilapidations, removal of temporary structures, etc., by arbitration. Sir Maratib Ali, however, did not consider that he had his principal's authority to accept arbitration, nor was it considered advisable to approach Mr. Jinnah with an offer to arbitrate until the situation had been reported to you and your approval given to this course. In this connection Sir Maratib Ali agreed, in order to expedite matters, to the matter being referred by this HQ, subject to your concurrence, to Mr. Jinnah's Private Secretary.

7. Your concurrence is, therefore, requested to the settlement of the questions of replacing the electrical fittings and the renovation of the

interior decoration by arbitration.

R. A. HARRIS
Colonel
for Brig[ade] Com[mander]

Army Headquarters, Pakistan,
[Quartermaster General Branch, Rawalpindi]
Copy to:
C. R. E. West
Sir Maratib Ali
D.A.D. Lands, Hirings & Disposals, Lahore

[1]Jinnah had been in correspondence with Lahore Garrison authorities for derequisitioning of his house since October 1946. After protracted correspondence he got it released. See Annex II to Appendix I. 36, Vol. II, 751 and No. 19, Vol. III, 83-4.

94

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/15-24

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
23 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

This is in continuation of yesterday's telegram[1] to Your Excellency. Last twenty-four hours in Quetta have been completely peaceful. We have been successful in persuading four thousand refugees to return to town leaving only fifteen hundred. Essential services are working freely and first train left noon today. Break in line was located and repaired yesterday and Political Agent has arrested Maliks of tribes believed to be responsible. Food situation is secure and total dead in Quetta up to date approaching ninety and wounded about hundred.

2. Communication with outposts have become increasingly difficult but reports received last night suggested trouble Pishin. Political Agent proceeded there early this morning and confirmed that on twenty-first afternoon several Hindus were murdered and bazaar looted but not burnt . I have just received, confirmation of killings of large numbers of Hindus in Bostan and Khanai but actual figures not yet confirmed. Have arranged with military for column to proceed from Fort Sandeman to Quetta down Zhob valley collecting any surviving Hindus from towns and railway stations.

3. Fort Sandeman, Loralai, Chaman, Sibi, Nushki, reported quiet.

Two strong military patrols are proceeding along railway to Chaman to Jacobabad respectively, to restore confidence and ascertain situation. Kalat State have been helpful in sending platoon to Spezand preventing ingress of tribes. I have asked them to maintain security in Kachhi Section.

4. Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and party arrived safely.

5. Understand *Sind Observer* have [*sic* for has] grossly misrepresented situation and suggest they should be warned to adhere to facts. We are issuing comprehensive communique here today.

[GEOFFREY PRIOR]

[1]No. 79.

95

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/25-6

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
23 August 1947

Please add to today's telegram[1] to Your Excellency. Trouble at Pishin was very serious and Political Agent estimated dead Hindus at eighty. Regrettable feature was that despite strong body of militia, police and levies, E.A.C. was unable to control situation. Delay in receiving information was partly due to murder of telegraph staff. Railway Police confirm that casualties in Bostan were especially heavy. Postmaster here was murdered in front of Police Station. Militia, whose attitude has been satisfactory, saved majority of Hindus in Gulistan and Qila Abdullah. There were losses at Khanai and elsewhere on railway. Above figures have not been published.

2. It is confirmed that on 21st May [*sic* for August] two leading contractors S. Harman Singh and Rai Sahib Parmanand were butchered in a place three miles from Quetta with nine others. Women and children were rescued by party of Staff College officers.

3. We have been extremely fortunate that Baluch Battalion proceeding Lahore had not actually left Quetta or casualties would have been extremely heavy and town would have been gutted. Effectiveness of police was reduced by lack of transport. We had pressed for big increase in March last on these very grounds but recommendations which I argued with all possible force were rejected in Finance Department.

4. Assistance of military has been freely given and has been invaluable. Help from Staff College has been most welcome.

5. While I am endeavouring to see that press communiques do not contain matter avoidably embarrassing to government, I propose to comment more freely in cypher telegrams of which *en clair* copies are kept here in my personal custody.[2]

GEOFFREY PRIOR

[1]No. 94.

[2]A cypher telegram, addressed to Governor-General, Karachi, had the inscription 'By kind favour of Hon. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar' at the top. At the bottom was inscribed the word 'Baluchistan'. It appears the message was actually sent by hand rather than through cypher.

96

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/44-5

IMMEDIATE

QUETTA,
24 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Continuation yesterday's telegram[1] to Your Excellency. No incident in Quetta City during past forty-eight hours and outposts reported quiet. Refugees situation under control. Sanitary problem in hand. Up train due this afternoon. In addition to force sent to Spezand and Kolpur, Kalat State have now sent parties to Mithri, Belput, Nuttal and Lahri to patrol Pat area. Visit of Honourable Sardar [Abdul] Rab Nishtar and General Muhammad Akbar had excellent effect. They spent considerable time visiting all affected areas and refugee camps. Cypher section follows.[2]

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 94.

[2]No. 97.

97

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/27

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
24 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

Discovery of corpses in ruins has brought Quetta total upto 123 and is still rising. Including Pishin and Bostan total will reach 300. I have suppressed their figures.

Last night military patrol proceeding Sibi reported rumour that 1500 to 2000 Marris were moving in that direction: patrol reached Sibi early this morning but no confirmation. Political Agent is making enquiries.

BALUCHISTAN

98

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 47-GG/4

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL LAHORE,
24 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

It is requested that 50 military transport vehicles and such number of tank carriers as can be spared be made available to West Punjab Govt. at once at Lahore for transport of foodgrains for 250,000 refugees. It is believed that [a] number of such vehicles are available at Rawalpindi and Lahore.

I would be glad if you try and arrange for Muslim armed guards for specials from Delhi to Karachi if Boundary Force is unable to spare. The problem is purely Muslim.

[IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN MAMDOT]
Premier of West Punjab

99

F. Amin to Amiruddin

F. 76-GG/21

24 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for the pipe band[1] which was presented to him on August the 20th by your son, Mr. Muhammad Aslam Deura, and to say that he appreciates the sentiment with which the presentation was made.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

The Managing Director,
London Pipe Co.,
Sialkot City

[1]See No. 35.

100

A. K. Sadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/292

KARBALA, BAGHDAD,
24 August 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

I had the honour to meet Your Excellency about 18 months ago at Delhi. I could then see in your honourable person the promising symbols of success and I had to offer you in advance my congratulations for the independence of India with best wishes for the welfare of India in particular, and of Islam in general, and for the efforts you have spent [*sic* for made] towards your honourable people.

I now beg to thank God who made my dreams real facts, as I pray the Almighty to keep ■ watchful eye on you so that you would be able to complete the message entrusted to you.

May God preserve Your Excellency for your honourable people and for Islam.

ABDULLA KHAN SADRI
Nizam El Dawla Zadeh
son of H. E. Agha Khan's uncle

101

Address by H. M. Ahson[1]

F. 32-GG/6-10

25 August 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Karachi, extend to Your Excellency, on behalf of the citizens, a most respectful and cordial welcome to our City.

2. Your Excellency, we are grateful to you for having accepted this civic address from us in spite of your multifarious duties and preoccupations and the tremendous strain imposed upon your time and energy on account of your exalted office and we feel happy at your having given a priority to our function in the list of your numerous engagements. We feel assured that this shows your feelings for the City and the Municipal Corporation.

3. We feel happy and proud that the birth of the new Dominion of Pakistan should have taken place at Karachi which is also your birthplace and that you should be the first Governor-General of the new Dominion of Pakistan. We have witnessed the dawn of freedom and we hope and pray that it will usher in an era of progress and prosperity for the new Dominion and that the sun of freedom will shine on it in all its resplendence and glory. We trust that Pakistan will command the respect of other nations of the world and assist them in making the world safe for democratic ideals so that it may be "the government of the people by the people for the people" in the truest sense. We cherish the vision of Pakistan and the Union of India working together and living together in peace and amity each deriving strength from the other and the two Dominions playing an important role in the comity of nations. We have visions of all citizens living together in joy and contentment when "the rich will not be more rich [*sic*] and the economic conditions of the poor will be considerably ameliorated", when all will have the wherewithal to make life really worth living, when all will have equal freedom irrespective of considerations of religion, caste and creed, when all will be proud to belong to the State, proud to salute the banner under which they live and proud to lay down their lives for it, if necessary.

4. It is a happy augury for the future that you have lost no time in declaring that you propose to fully safeguard the rights of minorities living in this Dominion and that no one will be under any disability on account of his religion, caste or creed. These statesmanlike utterances

made by you even before the assumption of the reins of office, and subsequently from time to time are helping to dispel the fears entertained in some quarters and to restore confidence in the minds of the people. It is our ardent prayer that these noble words will soon be translated into deeds.

5. Karachi which is the capital of the Province of Sind now enjoys the added distinction of being the first Capital of the Dominion of Pakistan. On account of this the Municipal Corporation will have to face many important problems of water supply, drainage, health and sanitation with a complicated machinery of administration. This Corporation has acquired a wide reputation for the cleanliness and healthfulness of the City, its wide and beautiful roads, its well laid out quarters, its town planning schemes and its efficient administration. The problems in the future will, however, be more complex and varied in the discharge of which the Corporation will look up to Your Excellency for guidance and support and we venture to express our confidence that we shall receive them in a full measure.

6. As an administrator of eminent reputation you will appreciate that finance is the bedrock of all governments including Local Self-Government institutions. Your Excellency, the last war imposed upon the Corporation tremendously increased expenditure which shows no signs of abatement yet, with an income more or less stationary. A large portion of our expenditure was in the nature of war expenditure for which we have claimed compensations from the Central Government before partition. We hope that we shall be reimbursed this expenditure and our claims will soon be settled. We are not fully aware of the financial adjustments between the two Governments in consequence of the partition but we hope that we shall receive our dues from whatever source which may be liable therefor. You are perhaps aware of other Presidency Municipalities and Local authorities having received compensation and financial assistance from the Central and Provincial Governments in the past to tide them over their financial crises due to war. This Corporation has not received any assistance up to now, not even their legitimate claims.

7. Your Excellency, you are aware that the sources of the income of the Municipal Corporation are few and inelastic under the old Government of India Act. It will be necessary to make an adjustment in the financial arrangements to enable the Corporation to discharge adequately their increasing duties and responsibilities. This can be done by means of assignment, in whole or in part, of certain local and central revenues, such as entertainment tax, electricity duty, etc. etc., which accrue on account of services rendered and amenities provided

by the Corporation, not to speak of subventions and grants-in-aid. All these are recognized methods of helping local authorities not only here but in the Western countries as well. We hope that your Government will be more generous and less parsimonious in their financial deals with the Corporation than other Governments have hitherto been. In the event of Government's unwillingness to pay subventions, it will be necessary to review the powers of taxation of the Corporation and to widen and enlarge the scope, by allowing the Corporation to levy terminal tax on petrol and kerosine oil and luxuries hitherto untaxed and raising the tax on some of the existing items in the Municipal Terminal Tax Schedule.

8. Your Excellency, the Municipal Corporation has been working under some handicaps for sometime past. We do not propose to burden you with an enumeration of them on this occasion. This is a momentous occasion to welcome you as the Governor-General of the new Dominion and we do not wish to list our needs and grievances before you today.[2] We only hope that Your Excellency will sympathetically deal with all our matters that may come up before you and that the Provincial Government will also deal with us in a similarly sympathetic manner. We shall seek other opportunities for acquainting you with our problems and we hope that you will spare some of your valuable time for us.

9. Your Excellency, Karachi being the headquarters of the province and of the new Dominion, it will house ambassadors and consuls, it will house trade commissioners and other official dignitaries besides housing the two Governments and it will be visited by diplomats and tourists and will attract eminent personalities from far and wide. The importance of Karachi Municipal Corporation will thus considerably increase and great demands will be made on its resources and administration. It is necessary in the fair name of Government and the City that the Municipal Corporation should be fully equipped and properly armed to adequately discharge their duties on a very high level. We venture to point out that instead of curtailing and restricting the powers of the Corporation, we shall be given greater freedom of action and adequate powers to perform our functions for the benefit of the citizens. May we request you to give a priority consideration to this side of Government activity.

10. The most important task before the Government will be to maintain peace and order. Sind, which retained its head while all others around her lost theirs, is eminently fitted for an orderly and peaceful public life. Her ancient past is a testimony of this where *sufis* and saints worshipped by both the communities have taught neighbourly

love and fellow feeling. We hope Sind will maintain her reputation for peace and order and the other provinces will take their lead from her.

11. We extend our greetings to Miss Fatima Jinnah, your noble sister, who has all along helped you in your work. We wish her long life, health and happiness to work for the upliftment [*sic*] of the women and children of the Dominion.

In conclusion, we pray that God Almighty may spare you, for many years to come, in health and happiness to work for the welfare of the people. We request you to accept this souvenir as a token of our esteem and regard.[3]

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant[s],
Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Karachi

[1]As Mayor of Karachi Municipal Corporation, Ahson had requested Jinnah's convenience for receiving a civic address of welcome. See No. 226, Vol. IV, 337-8.
[2]See Enclosure.
[3]Jinnah was presented with a "silver box" containing the address by the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation, Karachi. See *Pakistan Times*, 27 August 1947.

Enclosure to No. 101
F. 32-GG/11

Your Excellency, one thing that is agitating most the mind of the Corporation is that the Mayor should be given his proper place in the Warrant of Precedence at State and official functions. You are no doubt aware that in England and other Western countries, from which the office of the Mayor has been borrowed, the Mayor is given a very high rank in the Warrant of Precedence. The Corporation has made several representations to the Provincial Government and to the Central Government for according proper place to the Mayor but without any result uptill now.

The Corporation have actually passed a resolution asking the Mayor not to be present at State and official functions unless he is given a proper place in the Warrant of Precedence and to meet with their wishes the Mayor has refrained from attending many such functions, where he is not accorded his proper place.

Corporation is sure that with Karachi having become the Capital of the Pakistan Government and having come to assume international importance Your Excellency will appreciate that the Mayor should be given his proper place at State and official functions and the Corporation requests that you will kindly issue instructions for this being done

in the new Warrant of Precedence that may be under preparation in connection with the new order of things.

102

M. A. Jinnah's Reply to the Address[1]

F. 1020/69-72

KARACHI,
25 Aug[ust 1947]

I thank you, Mayor and the Councillors of the Corporation of the City of Karachi, for your cordial address of welcome and all the kind thoughts and personal references you have been good enough to make with regard to myself and my sister. I appreciate the noble sentiments and ideals which you have referred to and I assure you that it is my desire and hope that they will be cherished and lived upto. I am very glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and the citizens of Karachi. Undoubtedly I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old associations with it, or because it is my birthplace, as you have said, but because it has now become the birthplace of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan. For all freedom-loving people, Karachi will on that account not only be a symbol of special significance but will occupy a place in history for which there is no parallel, and I feel it my good fortune that I have the honour to be the first to receive this civic address.

EXCEPTIONAL ADVANTAGES

Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports, but the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest. There is one specially pleasing feature about Karachi—while most of the big cities are crowded and cramped with over-towering structures, Karachi has large open spaces and hill-station style roofs which give to the visitor a feeling of space and ease. It has also got the advantage of a salubrious climate and is always blessed with healthy and cool breezes throughout the year. I visualise a great future for Karachi—it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of Pakistan's Capital[2] here and the arrival of Pakistan Government

and its personnel[3] and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense opportunities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture.

As you have said, the responsibilities of Karachi and its Corporation have increased along with its importance. I hope that the Corporation will prove equal to the task. There would be an extra strain on all phases of Corporation activities, but under the wise and able guidance of the City Fathers, and with the co-operation of all the citizens, this would be, I trust, borne with alacrity and willingness. The help of the Government I feel will be available in your difficulties and problems, and I am sure that the authorities concerned will in time deal appropriately with the question of the power and status of the Corporation and its Mayor, questions which appear to worry you just now a great deal.

COMMUNAL AMITY

Karachi has the distinction of being the only town of importance where, during these times of communal disturbances, people have kept their heads cool and lived amicably, and I hope we shall continue to do so.

Pakistan is grateful to the Sind Government and the Corporation and people of Karachi for welcoming its Central Government to have its headquarters here and for providing all facilities. With the arrival of Pakistan staff, Karachi already has as its citizens, people from all parts of Pakistan and Hindustan. They will all live here together like true citizens and devote their energies to and avail themselves of the great opportunities that present themselves to us all to build up and reconstruct Pakistan in a manner which will command the respect of sister nations and find a place of honour along with great nations of the world as an equal.

It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types, but secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam.

I thank you again, Mayor and Councillors, for your address of welcome.

[1]No. 101.

[2]On 16 June 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan informed the Viceroy of the Muslim League decision to locate the headquarters of the Pakistan Government temporarily at Karachi. See Annex IV to No. 158, Vol. II, 332-3. Also see Annexes I to III, ibid., 330-1.

[3]By 7 August 1947, 2,900 Pakistan Government personnel along with their family members had arrived in Karachi. See *Pakistan Times*, 9 August 1947.

103

Lyndon B. Johnson to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/329

1814 $\frac{1}{2}$ N. W. 2ND COURT,
MIAMI 36, FLORIDA,
25 August 1947

Moha[m]mad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General, Pakistan,
Dominion of India [*sic*],
Karachi
Dear Sir,

It is with esteem [and] admiration that I congratulate you for your magnificent achievement. Today India is free, but such a goal was impossible without your ardious [*sic* for arduous] and persitant [*sic* for persistent] fight for freedom. Not only Pakistan is grateful for your accomplishment, but all people of the world, especially colonials. We in the Western Hemisphere salute you, and are also looking forward to the day of liberation from foreign yoke [*sic*].

I remain,
Faithfully yours,
L. B. JOHNSON
[*Member of House of Representatives, USA*]

104

M. A. Jinnah to B. R. Bhat

F. 1013/74

25 August 1947

Dear Mr. Bhat,

I thank you for your letter of 7th August[1] and for sending me copies of *Bhat's Import & Export Information of India & Ceylon* and *Bhat's All-India Textile Year Book Directory*. I shall look into these books with interest.

I have already forwarded your letter to the Commerce Member and

a copy of it to the Information Officer of the Government of Pakistan for their consideration.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

B. R. Bhat, Esq.,
The All-India City Guide Publishers,
Coimbatore, South India

[1]See serial No. 52, *Summaries of Documents Not Included*, Vol. IV, lxvii.

105

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 613/9

SIND GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
25 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th August.[1] I have announced your donation of Rs. 1,000[2] for which I am very grateful to you.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Made towards Chittagong Relief Fund. See *Pakistan Times*, 22 August 1947.

106

Mayor of Colombo to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/67[1]

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
TOWN HALL,
COLOMBO,
25 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I have to inform you that this [Municipal] Council at its meeting of

11.8.47 passed the following Resolution:

> This Council in the name of the Citizens of Colombo offers greetings to the new sovereign Dominion of Pakistan and expresses its conviction that Asian countries should be free and independent if the peace of the world and the goodwill among nations are to be ensured.

I have very great pleasure as Mayor of Colombo in conveying this Resolution to you and expressing my own felicitations on this historic occasion.

Yours faithfully,
MAYOR OF COLOMBO

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 5 September 1947. See F. 30-GG/68. Not printed.

107

Ardeshir H. Mama to M. W. Abbasi

F. 204-GG/20

SUNNYSIDE ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 August 1947

Dear Sir,

In continuation of the interview, Mr. Merwanji Edulji Kandawala, Khan Bahadur S. D. Contractor and I had with you on Saturday, the 23rd July 1947, at 11.30 a.m., I write to say that the Parsi Community of Karachi wish to offer their respects and to *present*[1] an address to His Excellency *Quaid-i-Azam* Mohammad Ali Jinnah and *Miss Jinnah*.

The Parsi Community would feel highly honoured, if His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima would be graciously pleased to accept it on the day and at the time convenient to them.

The *function* will be *organized*, on behalf of the Parsi Community, by the Trustees of the Karachi Parsi Anjuman Trust Funds (Khan Bahadur S. D. Contractor, *Messrs* Jamshed Nusserwanjee, Merwanji Edulji Kandawala and Sohrab K. H. Katrak) on the lawn of the *Karachi Parsi Institute*, which is just behind the St. Patrick Church.

I should be highly obliged, if you would kindly place this letter

before His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam and communicate his orders to me.

Yours faithfully,
[ARDESHIR H. MAMA]
Khan Bahadur
President, Board of Trustees,
Karachi Parsi Anjuman Trust Funds

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

108

Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, to F. Amin

F. 41-GG/3

HAROON CHAMBERS,
786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter No. 50 dated 21.8.47.[1]

Please convey to Quaid-i-Azam our sincerest gratitude for having consented to receive our Welcome Address[2] at 6 p.m. on Friday the 29th August 1947.

We are making the arrangements for this function in the Muslim Ladies Association Hall, behind the Pir Illahi Bakhsh Training College.

I shall thank you to please send me a list of the personal staff of Quaid-i-Azam to enable me to send them the necessary invitations.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURES ILLEGIBLE]
Honorary Secretary

[1]No. 58.

[2]On 25 August, F. Amin asked for a copy of the Address. See F. 41-GG/4. Not printed. On 28 August he informed Yusuf Haroon that Jinnah had to leave for Lahore that morning and suggested that the function scheduled for the 29th be deferred until some time next month. See F. 41-GG/5. Not printed.

109

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/29-30

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
25 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Quetta had quiet night and all outstations reported peaceful. All roads open. Railway communication and postal services restored. Government offices and many shops reopened. More refugees have returned to city and condition of remainder satisfactory. Military patrol reports Pat section quiet to Sind border. Political Agent unable to confirm Marris report which may now be ignored. All Hindu railway staff between Sibi and Jacobabad have been collected at Jocobabad by Railway authorities. Station Master and many other railway servants at Sibi left without permission last night.

110

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/28

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL QUETTA,
25 August 1947

Please add following to today's message[1] to Your Excellency. Yesterday's estimate of total casualties confirmed.[2] Political Agent Sibi just returned from Jacobabad reports all clear to border. He confirms rumour regarding Marris is unfounded and both Marri [and] Bugti *Tumandars* have promised support. Station Master and Hindu staff at Sibi have decamped, also all sweepers.

2. We are faced with alarming exodus of skilled Hindus. This includes two-thirds doctors, almost all engineers, artisans, mechanics and best clerks as well as majority of sweepers.

3. Khan[3] has taken over as Political Agent, Quetta.

[1]No. 109.
[2]See No. 97.
[3]A. R. Khan was appointed as Political Agent & Deputy Commissioner, Quetta-Pishin w.e.f. 26 August 1947. See *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 3 October 1947.

111

Mohamed el Attar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/22

FAROUK FIRST HISTORICAL MUSEUM,
27, MALIKA FARIDA STR[EET],
CAIRO, EGYPT,
25 August 1947

Excellency,

I have the honour to confirm my letter of the 9th July 1947,[1] regarding a parcel sent to Your Excellency on the 6th May 1947 by the T. W. A.[2] sub. No. CAI[3]/375/47.

The parcel is containing an illustrated historical Album of King Farouk 1st of Egypt; I hope that it pleased Your Excellency and that you will [be] so kind to forward me the cost price of that Album amounting to £25 and oblige.

Hoping to hear favourably from Your Excellency,[4]

I remain,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMED EL ATTAR

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Transworld Airlines.
[3]Refers to Cairo Airport.
[4]See No. 192.

112

Note by F. Amin

F. 135-GG/5-10

25 August 1947

In a special interview to Mr Weldon James of the *Collier's Weekly* magazine,[1] Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah made the following points:

ON PAKISTAN'S FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

"We expect to evolve a progressive, democratic government, in line with the Muslim belief in the equality of all men, and to work for international peace. As I have said many times before, Pakistan guarantees the just and equal treatment of all citizens, Muslim or non-Muslim,

with freedom of worship, speech, press and assembly.

We have already provided for compulsory elementary education, and one of our major objectives is to increase the educational facilities of the country, with more schools and universities open to all, to eradicate as quickly as possible the illiteracy of perhaps 90 percent of our people and to offer the best possible training for the technicians, scientists, businessmen, doctors and civil servants of the future.

ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

The position of women is already equal in law to that of men. It may be expected that their participation in civic affairs and in the professions will increase, and that the institution of *purdah*, which is the result of tradition and not of the teachings of the *Qur'an*, will gradually disappear. In the old, old days it was good idea, since in the autocratic past a king or ■ chieftain might take to himself any beautiful woman he saw, and a man was wise indeed to keep his women under cover. Custom throughout the world tends to outlive the reason for its origin, and this one is no exception. In the modern state such a precaution is not necessary, and it is already on the way out. You may recall that our women voted by the thousands in the recent boundary plebiscites; last spring, in Peshawar, thousands of them, veiled and unveiled, participated for the first time in political demonstrations of Muslim unity—there and elsewhere in the North West Frontier Province. They will enter more and more into the whole life of the country.

ON PAKISTAN'S INTERNATIONAL TIES

There is ■ simple answer to whether Pakistan will remain a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Take Britain and the United States, for example; you have in effect a working alliance, because both parties find it mutually advantageous, and it will last as long as both parties deem it so. Any commonwealth is an alliance of ■ kind, providing mutual advantages for all members—and when the advantages for one party outweigh those of another, the latter would naturally choose to end the association.

ON INTERNAL POLITICS

Pakistan is an infant in the family of nations, and it will require nursing for sometime. I would like to take a vacation, to retire, now, but there is too much work—too much nursing—to be done. It will take perhaps two years to complete the new or permanent constitution for the country; under this I fully expect the development of at least two major political parties. In the interim it is natural to expect that the Muslim League, which has been both a political party and [a] mass movement based on the unity of Muslim demand for the establishment of

Pakistan, to be the major articulate voice in the country. I hope to step down as soon as the country is well organized and has settled down under the new constitution.

ON THE ORIGIN OF PAKISTAN

At every period when the independence of all India seemed nearer, the Muslim-Hindu clashes have increased. The reason was simple: both wanted the British to leave, and were united on that point alone—but the Hindus were never able to convince us that we would not on the all-India plane simply be swapping the British Raj for a Hindu Raj. From 1920 on, it became increasingly clear that the two major nationalities of India could not be merged in a single free country in which the Hindus, with a medieval or ancient caste system that projected itself in their political thinking and their political actions, would outnumber the Muslims three to one, and in which the Muslim belief in the equality and fraternity of man would be nullified by the Hindus' political application of their belief in the essential inequality of man, particularly in the inferiority of all men not born into the Hindu high castes.

This was why, in 1942, I did not support the Congress 'rebellion' to paralyze the British war effort and force Britain to quit India then. We wanted Britain to leave—but unlike the Congress leaders I could foresee that the immediate consequence at the time, had Congress been successful, would have been the entry of the Japanese into India, with Subhas Chandra Bose at the head of a Caste Hindu state under the Japanese, which would have meant a worse position for the Muslims and for all other Indians than ever before, aside from the effects on the Allied war effort as a whole.

It was only in March 1940, that we formulated our demand for the establishment of Pakistan as an immediate consequence of the British withdrawal from India. It was attacked and reviled and derided as an absurdity and an impossibility—the Muslims had little money and no propaganda or press to compare with that of Congress—but even the Congress leaders in time, and the British before them, were convinced that it was the only solution. And Pakistan, the 'impossible', arrived.

No solution to political problems is perfect, and the division of the subcontinent into Pakistan and the Indian Union does not of course solve all our problems. We have perhaps 25,000,000 Hindus in Pakistan, and in the Indian Union there are perhaps thirty [30,000,000] to 40,000,000 Muslims. We expect all of these to be good and loyal citizens of their respective States. The establishment of a strong and independent Muslim State has destroyed the danger that 100,000,000 Muslims would be an 'unimportant'—and defenceless—minority in a great Hindu State: the existence

of large minorities in both States will now require both governments to exercise the most enlightened policy for the protection of the rights of *all*[2] minorities. The minorities are in effect hostages to the requirement of mutual cooperation and good neighbourliness between the Governments of Pakistan and the Indian Union.

ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One of the favourite arguments against Pakistan used to be that it would be a frightfully poor country, etc. Our answer, without agreement, was to ask why the Hindus or anyone should object to our living together in 'poverty' if we chose to do so. Actually our prospects are good. Pakistan is wealthy in its land; it cannot only feed itself but much of the rest of India as well. Its irrigation system and its rich land mean that it can produce almost any crop, and in abundance. Otherwise it is not as developed as the rest of the sub-continent—but it is rich in natural resources, which we shall now develop as rapidly as possible, and it can be industrialized. We have already welcomed Western technicians and traders to help in these tasks, and we shall welcome more. There is no barrier between Pakistan and the West .... Also India is in many respects still 500 years behind the West.

MISCELLANEOUS

Fifty years or so ago, when I was a student in England, the position of women there was actually in many respects behind that of women in the Muslim world... and it was not until 1919, was it, that the Americans gave women the right to vote? .... The British system in India was rather like that of a nursery: the nurse kept the children in a play-pen, occasionally enlarged the play-pen, and sometimes gave them the run of the whole room, and a measure of freedom to run their own society there—but the nurse and her authority were always there, or just around the corner .... There are fanatics in all countries, and of course we have some. But the present 'troubles' in the North-West Frontier Province are a hangover from old political alignments and quarrels, stirred up from the outside, and I do not expect any great internal difficulties anywhere in Pakistan .... Some of my friends would not consider me an orthodox Muslim. The British for a hundred years have never denied that India should become free some day—but occasionally they had to be reminded of their promises, and it took political action to make them quit thinking lazily in terms of maybe another twenty years or so, but at last Pakistan has been established and now we are free and independent nation to mould, build and

reconstruct and in this great task we need goodwill and friendship of all great nations: specially America."

[1]Weldon James had sent to K. H. Khurshid a draft of his interview with Jinnah on 24 August 1947. See F. 135-GG/1-4. Not printed.
[2]Underlined in the original.

113

M. A. Jinnah to G. T. Meshram

F. 85/25-6

[KARACHI,]
25 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I received your telegram on the 14th of August[1] and I have already replied by my wire dated the 16th of August[2] which runs as follows:

> House already sold Jaidyal Dalmia brother of Seth Dalmia. Have agreed give possession to the purchaser on or about end of August although the execution of sale deed has to be completed on or before 10th of January 1948. My furniture and other articles will be removed by the end of August.

Since then I have received your communication dated 20th August[3] and beg to inform you that I have already sold the house to Mr. Jaidayal Dalmia as stated in my wire to you. I have already instructed my people in Delhi to remove my furniture and belongings before the 30th of August and am getting in communication with them to deliver possession.

However, I am somewhat s[urprised] when you say in your requisition[4] directing the owner or any [other person] in possession of the said premises "to deliver possession thereof with all fittings and fixtures therein on the forenoon of 22nd August 1947 to Executive Engineer, 'B' Division, Central Public Works Department, New Delhi, or such officer as may be deputed by him in this behalf, failing which possession may be taken by the said Executive Engineer or the said officer on my behalf".

I do hope that you will give me every facility in order that I can get my furniture and other belongings removed and I do trust that ■ few

days will not matter.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

G.T. Meshram,
Estate Officer to the
Government of India,
New Delhi

[1]No. 243, Vol. IV, 350.
[2]No. 27.
[3&4]No. 46.

114

Pakistani Staff, Central PWD, New Delhi, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38 (2)-GG/21-2

26 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Karachi

We are stranded in very precarious conditions here. Kindly make immediate evacuation arrangements.

PAKISTANI STAFF

115

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 54-GG/3

26 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received your letter of the 9th of August,[1] and I think I communicated to you on the phone that at present I will not be able to entertain Sir Leonard Stone's[2] proposal in offering his services to build up the Supreme Court of Pakistan which I appreciate. This question will have to be considered later on, and I therefore regret I cannot make any offer to him as Chief Justice at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 205, Vol. IV, 314-5.
[2]Chief Justice of Bombay High Court.

116

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 53-GG/2

26 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th August 1947,[1] and I thank you and Lady Mountbatten for sending two photographs for Miss Jinnah and me as a souvenir.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 259, Vol. IV, 367-8.

117

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F. 51-GG/5

26 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received your letter of the 22nd August[1] with regard to the forthcoming Exhibition of Indian Art in London.

I cannot agree to the existing title—The Exhibition of Indian Art—with an explanation as suggested by you to be printed on all placards and programmes, etc., that "the Exhibition includes exhibits from the Dominions of India and Pakistan". It is a pity that for some mysterious reason Hindustan have adopted the word 'India' which is certainly misleading and is intended to create confusion. In these circumstances, please do not take it that I would accept the invitation from the Royal Academy Committee to be an Honorary President of this Exhibition. I would suggest, in order that there should be no confusion and the people should not be misled, that the title should be "Exhibition of Pakistan and Hindustan Art". If that is acceptable, I shall be very pleased indeed to accept the honour of being an Honorary President of the Exhibition.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 85.

118

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Wajid Ali

F. 55-GG/2

26 August 1947

[My dear Wajid Ali,]

Many thanks for your telegram of congratulations and good wishes.[1]

I am in receipt of your letter[2] and the accounts of expenditure of the Frontier affairs. If you are likely to come to Karachi soon, we will settle the matter here.

I wonder what is happening to my house in Lahore,[3] and what progress has been made and when it will be ready.

I am wondering what I shall do now with my house in Bombay, but one thing is settled, and that is I should like all my carpets sent to me. I am also making arrangements with the Bombay Garage people to send my car straightaway. These can be sent by sea route, and I hope that the British India Company will give us the necessary facilities. That will be the most convenient and safest. Please get in touch with Bombay Garage people about the car. I understand that Fazal Chinoy of Bombay Garage is here. I will try and send the keys of the garage and the car along with him as he is leaving Karachi for Bombay in ■ day or two.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Wajid Ali,
c/o Syed A and M Wazir Ali & Co.,
Transit Camp, Colaba,
Bombay

[1]See No. 227, Vol. IV, 338-9.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See No. 93.

119

F. Amin to Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah

F. 76-GG/39

26 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter dated the 13th of August 1947,[1] addressed to Major McCoy.

I am desired by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to inform you that while he appreciates very much the sentiment on the part of Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah to make a gift of the furniture now in the Flag Staff House, which was originally taken on hire by General Gracey, he regrets he cannot accept the offer. I am further to add that he conveys his thanks to Sheikh Sahib and hopes that he will appreciate that the Quaid-i-Azam is unable to accept gifts from people as this would be inclined to form an undesirable precedent.

I shall be grateful if you will let me know what steps you are taking to dispose of the furniture at the Flag Staff House.[2]

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah,
Proprietor, H. Kader Bux & Sons,
Koragen Lines, Poona

[1]F. 76-GG/38. Not printed.
[2]See No. 278.

120

F. Amin to D. M. Malik

F. 52-GG/7

26 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 21st of August 1947[1] regarding the situation in Mewat, and to say that he explained the position to you at great length while he was in Delhi and that now it is up to you and other leaders to do your best.

I am further to add that an interview at present will not serve any useful purpose, and besides he is extremely busy. He would, however, like to know what you have actually done in the matter, and would like to be kept in touch with the situation.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

D. M. Malik, Esq.,
9 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

[1]No. 63.

121

F. Amin to Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health

F. 47-GG/6

IMMEDIATE *26 August 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to enclose herewith a copy of a telegram dated the 22nd of August 1947,[1] received from the Governor, NWFP, and to say that steps may be taken to meet the requirements of the Frontier Province in respect of wheat under advice to this office.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Health

[1]No. 75.

122

Edward Phelan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 59-GG/1-3

GENEVA,
26 August 1947

His Excellency Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi

On behalf [of] Governing Body, International Labour Office, have honour [to] extend cordial invitation. Pakistan be represented Preparatory Asian Regional Conference opening New Delhi 27 October 1947 for consideration questions of special interest to region. Agenda includes: (1) social security (2) labour policy (3) programme of action for enforcement of social standards embodied in conventions and recommendations of International Labour Conference (4) general economic background of social policy. Delegations expected to attend from China, India, Philippines, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon, Malayan Union, Singapore, United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, United States, Australia, New Zealand. Delegation of United Kingdom will provide representation [to] non-self-governing British territories in Asia not represented separately. Delegation of Netherlands will include Indonesians. Delegation of France will be accompanied by five separate delegations from French territories in region. In principle each delegation will

comprise two Govt. delegates, one employers' delegate, one workers' delegate with advisers if judged necessary. Letter follows.

EDWARD PHELAN
Director-General,
International Labour Office

123

S.V. McCoy to Secretary, Works, Mines and Power Department

F. 1113/47-8

IMMEDIATE

KARACHI,
26 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Subject: Hut at Sandspit

The Quaid-i-Azam wishes to use the Sandspit hut on occasions, and as the hut is in a very bad state of repairs, I have been directed to have some renovation done.

I am taking out Mr. Moghul, Executive Engineer, Central P.W.D., Construction Division No. 3, and his assistants tomorrow (Wednesday, 27th morning) to see the hut and decide what immediate repairs must be put in hand. I have asked Mr. Moghul to find out the previous arrangements for the maintenance and repair of this hut, but at the moment I do not wish to make any definite decisions regarding this hut until the Quaid-i-Azam has seen it and given orders. I would therefore be grateful if the estimates for the immediate repair of this hut could be pended until financial sanction has been obtained according to any orders given by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours faithfully,
S. V. McCOY
Major
Comptroller, Governor-General's Household

[To]
The Secretary to the Govt. of Pakistan,
Department of Works, Mines and Power,
Karachi
Copy forwarded to:

1. The Superintending Engineer, Construction Circle, 207 Frere Road, Karachi
2. M. Y. Moghul, Esq., Executive Engineer, Central PWD, Construction Division No. 3, Karachi

124

Trilok Nath to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/62-3

LYALLPUR,[1]
26 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Plight minorities West P[unja]b indescribable. Town after town being burnt, people massacred, trains attacked, non-Muslims in trains done [to] death. Communications facilities denied. Forcible mass conversions various districts. Absolutely no arrangement evacuation refugees from disturbed areas. Condition Jhang very serious. Heroic effort needed prevent slaughter thousands men, women, children. Pray visit Lyallpur. If not somehow possible favour interview with instructions for arranging escort for us to reach Lahore.

TRILOK NATH
President,
Congress Committee

[1]Now called Faisalabad.

125

Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/108-9

11 OLD SQUARE,
LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.2,
[LONDON,]
26 August 1947

My dear Jinnah,

Now that the excitement of the transition is over, may I be allowed to send you my best wishes for yourself and the people of Pakistan.

From our long association I know that they will have in their first Governor-General a man of the highest integrity, ripe judgment and powerful grasp of political forces.

May your association with my country be fruitful in years to come [and] of great good to both.

Sincerely yours,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

126

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89/32

26 August 1947

Memo of expenses regarding property bearing New S. No. 1, Sheet F[rere] T[own] 3.

Cr.			Dr.		
Rs. 1,40,000-0-0	Telegraphic transfer through Habib Bank		Rs. 1-0-0		Stamp paper Kabala
			Rs. 4,498-0-0		Stamps on the Sale Deed
			Rs. 3-0-0		Misc. re. inquiries
Rs. 321-0-0	Received from the Vendors in adjustment of the account of taxes, rent, etc.		Rs. 388-0-0		Paid registration charges as per voucher attached
			Rs. 11-0-0		Misc.
[Total] Rs. 1,40,321-0-0			[Rs.] 1,35,000-0-0		Paid balance purchase price
			[Rs.] 3-0-6		Postage & telegram charges
			[Rs.] 15-0-0		Writing & copy charges
		[Total Rs.]	1,39,919-0-6		
			[Rs.] 12-0-0		Deposit against charges of certified copy Deed of Partition dated 27.11.1923
			[Rs.] 30-0-0		Deposit against charges of the Lease Deed to be executed by the Karachi Municipal Corporation, in your name as the Lessee
		[Total]	Rs. 1,39,961-0-6		
			Rs. 359-15-6		Credit balance in hand
		[Grand Total]	Rs. 1,40,321-0-0		

Rs. 359-15-6	Credit balance
Rs. 59-0-0	Less amount refunded to Vendor against rent for 5 days since the Vendor has realised rent only upto 25 July 1947
Rs. 300-15-6	Net credit balance in hand

M. N. KOTWAL
Advocate

127

Secretary, Hindu-Sikh Relief Committee, Chakwal, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/75

CHAKWAL,
26 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Camp Lahore

Replacement of military force here by Muslim force persistently rumoured. It added considerable [word missing] to already serious panic among Hindus, Sikhs and encourage lawless elements to violence. Pray intervene. If replacement essential kindly replace the present force by non-Muslim non-Sikh military force.

Secretary,
Hindu-Sikh Relief Committee

128

Jan Massarik to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, FOA, O/346

MARIANSKE LAZNE,
CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
26 August 1947

Jinnah, Karachi, Pakistan

United Nations Association of twenty five countries meeting Czechoslovakia in plenary assembly of World Federation of United Nations Association send India warmest greetings for independence and prosperity.

JAN MASSARIK
President

[1]Acknowledged by M. W. Abbasi on 4 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

129

Bechara El Khoury to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[*Original in French*]

BEYROUTH [BEIRUT,]
26 August 1947

His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi

The people of Lebanon and myself address the great and free nation of Pakistan with our wishes for your prosperity, and hold confidence in the grand destiny which awaits your country in the democratic ideal [*sic*].

BECHARA EL KHOURY
President,
The Republic of Lebanon

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 4 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

130

M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

F. 46-GG/19

27 August 1947

Dear Sir George,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd August 1947,[1] and I thank you for it.

With regard to paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, I think you and Qaiyum had better wait. I am leaving for Lahore tomorrow morning, and on my return we shall consider this matter further, and I will then let you know what should be done.

As regards your telegram No. 9/G dated the 21st August (received on the 23rd)[2] regarding keeping the Ministry at Kabul informed of political developments in NWFP, this question requires careful consideration before I can give you my reply. On this matter also you had

better wait until my return to Karachi, which I hope will be within a few days.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 86.
[2]No. 64.

131

M. A. Jinnah to Mahmood Hasan

F. 773/59

27 August 1947

Dear Mr. Mahmood Hasan,

I have been waiting all this time to get the accounts of *Dawn* and, in fact, it was in March that they were to be audited by the Chartered Accountant; and I must draw your attention that this account must be sent to me without delay. It ought to have been sent to me long ago.

Also, please send me your fortnightly report regularly as to the administration of *Dawn* Office and Press and draw my attention to what is going on and what is required to be done. This must be done regularly now without fail. I hope that you will take up this matter immediately and pay attention to it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahmood Hasan, Esq.,
Manager,
Dawn, Delhi

132

K. H. Khurshid to J. C. Mehta

F. 84/28

27 August 1947

Dear Mr. Jayantilal,

As desired by Mr. Jinnah I am enclosing herewith a letter[1] in original with enclosure[2] from one Brijmohan Lakshminarayan, Share & Stock Broker, who claims dividend on 35 Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., shares amounting to Rs. 315 and I am asked by Mr. Jinnah [to request you] to kindly look into the matter and let him know so that he may

further do what is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
[K. H. KHURSHID]

Jayantilal C. Mehta, Esq.,
Share & Stock Broker,
Bombay

[1]No. 184, Vol. IV, 282-3.
[2]F. 84/31, *QAP*. Not printed.

133

K. H. Khurshid to Brijmohan Lakshminarayan

F. 84/29

KARACHI,
27 August 1947

Dear Sir,

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has received your letter of the 8th August, [19]47[1] with regard to the dividend on 35 shares of the Simplex Mills Co. Ltd., amounting to Rs. 315 which you claim should be paid to you. Your letter has been forwarded[2] to Mr. Jinnah's Broker for examining the question and after we hear from him we shall communicate with you further on the subject.

Yours faithfully,
K. H. KHURSHID

Brijmohan Lakshminarayan,
Bombay

[1]No. 184, Vol. IV, 282-3.
[2]No. 132.

134

F. Amin to Manzar Quraishi

F. 30-GG/228

KARACHI,
27 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for the designs of

3 stamps enclosed with your letter[1] dated the 30th July 1947, and to say that your letter along with its enclosures has been forwarded to the Secretary, Communications Department, Pakistan, Karachi, to whom all further communications on the subject may please be addressed.

Yours faithfully,
[F. AMIN]

Manzar Quraishi, Esq.,
Stenographer and Amateur Artist,
2387 Kazi Khellan St[reet],
Peshawar City

[1]Not traceable.

135

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/34

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT QUETTA,
27 August 1947

Entire body of Hindu Government servants are endeavouring to leave without orders from Partition Office. I am endeavouring to check flood by threat of arrest but would be grateful if you could persuade India to announce over radio that persons who do not await orders from Partition Office will not be employed.

It cannot be to their interest to have unorganised spate of unknown persons descending upon them. I do not think they are now exposed to any danger.

BALUCHISTAN

136

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/33

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL QUETTA,
Governor-General, Karachi *27 August 1947*

Please add following to today's telegram[1] to Your Excellency. Military

raids have been successful and one police raid recovered Rs. 10,000, a kidnapped girl and her two small brothers. I omitted to mention that on August 21st Subedar Major of Pishin Scouts rescued 8 Hindus who were being removed on a lorry at Gulistan. These are only cases of kidnapping to-date. Four and a half pounds of gelignite and 8 yards safety fuse have been found. These have been used for incendiary bombs.

2. Hindus and Sikhs appear determined to go and are leaving at the rate of 2,000 a day. I have asked NWR to warn Jodhpur Railway of exceptional traffic. Transfer of prisoners from Quetta to Mach have been successfully carried out and relieved pressure.

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 135.

137

E. C. Bhatty to M. W. Abbasi

F. 25(2)(Vol. I)-GG/4

NELSON SQUARE,
CHHINDWARA ROAD,
NAGPUR, C. P.,
27 August 1947

Sir,

I shall be grateful if you will very kindly grant me interview on the 4th September 1947.[1]

I am arriving in Karachi by September 2, and will be putting up at the Y.M.C.A.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
E. C. BHATTY
Secretary,
National Christian Council of
India, Burma and Ceylon

[1]The interview was granted by Jinnah at 12.00 p.m. on 4 September 1947. See F. 25(2) (Vol.I)-GG/5. Not printed.

138

Editor, Chenetha *Weekly, Nidubrolu, to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 65(Part II)-GG/135-6

NIDUBROLU,
[MADRAS,]
27 August 1947

Gentleman,

We have pleasure in informing you that *Chenetha*, a national Telugu weekly, will be published from 21st Sept. 47 from Nidubrolu under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers' Congress. The aim of this paper would be to strive for the upliftment [*sic*] of handloom weavers, handicrafts, and propagation of national ideas. We solicit your blessings, and a message[1] from you on this occasion for the success of our endeavour.

Namaste,

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Assistant Editor

[1]Inability to accede to the request was intimated by F. Amin on 12 September 1947. See F. 165 (Vol. II)-GG/137. Not printed.

139

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120(V)-GG/32

DELISLE, OOTACAMUND,
27 August 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I take the liberty of bringing to your notice Mr. T. K. Matthew, a prominent planter and businessman in Cochin and Travancore? He is anxious to start business connections with Pakistan which will be of mutual advantage and I have very great pleasure in introducing him to you feeling sure that satisfactory and profitable relationships will be

established between commercial agencies in Pakistan and the West Coast of India.

With my best regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

PS. I am sure you are aware that I have relinquished my office as Dewan of Travancore and have settled down in Ootacamund.

140

Alan Lascelles to M. A. Jinnah

F. Nil(S.No.132)-GG/1

BALMORAL CASTLE,
27 August 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency Letters Patent passed under the Great Seal of the Realm on 14th August, constituting the Office of Governor in the two Provinces of West Punjab[1] and East Bengal,[2] respectively. I have to request that Your Excellency will be good enough to forward to each Governor the Letters Patent relating to himself.

I also transmit to Your Excellency Your Commission of Appointment as Governor-General of Pakistan[3] and those of the Governors of the Provinces of Sind,[4] the North-West Frontier Province,[5] West Punjab[6] and East Bengal.[7] I have to request that Your Excellency will be good enough to forward their Commissions to the respective Governors.

I enclose, in addition to the originals, one copy of Your Commission of Appointment and two copies of each of the other documents, one for retention by you and one for transmission to the Governor concerned.

I am,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
A. LASCELLES
Private Secretary to H. M. the King

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Identical to Enclosure 1. See F. Nil(S.No.18)-GG/7. Not printed.
[3]Annex I to No. 2.
[4]Enclosure 2.
[5&6&7]Identical to Enclosure 2. See F. Nil(S.No.18)-GG/16, 34-5 & 12-5, respectively. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 140

F. Nil(S.No.18)-GG/33

14 August 1947

LETTERS PATENT PASSED UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF THE REALM CONSTITUTING THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR OF WEST PUNJAB

GEORGE THE SIXTH by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting

WHEREAS by provision made in the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Province of the Punjab as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, ceased to exist and there were constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces to be known respectively as East Punjab and West Punjab:

AND WHEREAS by section 48 of the Government of India Act, 1935, it is enacted that the Governor of a Province is appointed by Us by a Commission under Our Sign Manual:

AND WHEREAS provision is made in section 304 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for the appointment by Us of a person to act as the Governor of a Province during the absence of the Governor:

AND WHEREAS We are minded to make provision for the Office of Our Governor of West Punjab:

NOW THEREFORE, We do declare Our Will and Pleasure to be as follows:

I. We do hereby constitute, order and declare that there shall be a Governor of West Punjab.

II. Our Governor of West Punjab shall be entitled once during his term of office to leave of absence for urgent reasons of health or of private affairs. Such leave of absence shall not exceed four months in duration unless Our Governor-General of Pakistan shall see fit to extend the period so granted.

III. And We do hereby require and command all Our officers, civil and military, and all other the inhabitants of West Punjab to be aiding and assisting unto Our said Governor.

IV. And We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter or amend these Our Letters Patent as to Us or them shall seem meet.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster the fourteenth day of August in the eleventh year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the King's Sign Manual.

NAPIER

Enclosure 2 to No. 140

F. Nil(S.No.132)-GG/23

COMMISSION OF APPOINTMENT OF GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH AS GOVERNOR OF SIND

[Signed] GEORGE R

GEORGE THE SIXTH by the Grace of God of Great Britain Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King Defender of the Faith
To Our Trusty and Well Beloved Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah Esquire, Bachelor of Laws,

GREETING

I. We do by this Our Commission under Our Sign Manual appoint you the said Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to be during Our pleasure Our Governor of Sind with all the powers rights privileges and advantages to the said Office belonging or appertaining

II. And We do hereby authorise and command you to exercise all and singular the powers and duties appertaining to the said Office

III. And further We do hereby appoint that so soon as you shall have taken the prescribed oaths and have entered upon the duties of the said office this Our present Commission shall supersede the Commission under Our Sign Manual bearing date the sixth day of November 1945 appointing Sir Robert Francis Mudie to be Our Governor of Sind

IV. And We do hereby further authorise and direct you to cause this Our Commission to be read and published in the presence of the Chief Justice or, in his absence, other Judge, of the High Court of the Province

V. And We do hereby further authorise and direct you to take the oath of allegiance and for the due execution of the Office of Our Governor of Sind and for the due and impartial administration of justice, in the form hereto appended, which oath the Chief Justice or, in his absence, any Judge of the High Court shall, and he is hereby required to, tender and administer unto you

VI. And we do hereby further authorise and require you, by yourself or by any other person to be authorised by you in that behalf, to administer to every person appointed by you to hold office as a Minister the oaths of office and of secrecy hereto appended[1]

VII. And We do further direct that every person who under this Commission shall be required to take an oath may make an affirmation

in place of an oath if he has any objection to making an oath

GIVEN at Our Court at Balmoral
this fourteeth day of August in the Year
of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven and in the eleventh year of Our Reign

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND
LISTOWEL

[1]See F. Nil (S. No. 18)-GG/24. Not printed. Also see Enclosure 2 to No. 202, Vol. IV, 312.

141

N. M. Mandviwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/27-9

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI-2,
27 August 1947

Sir,

I am proceeding to Bombay today. I am sorry I could not see you, therefore wish to be excused. I was very anxious to see you but was sure that you ought to be very busy. I had telegraphed you on 7. 8. 47[1] from Bombay that I am returning to Karachi, but I could not come down, as you know, there is only one Tata Air Line service in Pakistan, and it is not possible to get accommodation for a fortnight or so, and one cannot sometime reach due to urgent preoccupations. I have purchased 16 steamers and I have to go to Bombay to pay for the same. I have to consult you fully for this enterprise. I propose to sell at least 8 steamers from this lot. It has a petrol engine driven machine. These should be sold to Burma and Iran. I am confident these can [be] run by crude oil engine too if some change is made. I am of opinion that if Air-American Service is started, there can be good facilities and relief for the passengers.

I am sending you herewith photos,[2] of which please own [*sic*] safe receipt.

If you have any business for me at Bombay, please address me c/o Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay. I intend to go to Delhi after visiting Bombay.

Yours obediently,
NURDINBHAY MOHEMEDBHAY [MANDVIWALA]

[1&2]Not traceable.

142

M. W. Abbasi to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram, F. 125(2)-GG/4-5

KARACHI,
27 August 1947

Ispahanian, Calcutta

Desired by Quaid-i-Azam inform you that United Nations Organization's General Assembly meeting is scheduled to start on 16th September at New York. Please acknowledge receipt.

PRIVATE SECRETARY

143

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/31-2

IMMEDIATE
No. 21-P47

QUETTA,
28 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Quetta had fifth peaceful day and Province was quiet. Main refugee camp was closed yesterday and confidence is returning. Military are now extending patrolling. Salvage operations have commenced. Health continues fully satisfactory. Majority of shops have now reopened. Cypher section follows.

BALUCHISTAN

144

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/39

IMMEDIATE

QUETTA,
28 August 1947

I have asked Western Punjab Government to take all possible steps to restrain Punjabi refugees from proceeding Quetta and grateful if

you would support this. We have no real powers here to prevent ingress but feel that there is no reason why they should not look after their own people. They are most unpopular at any time and there is evidence of earlier refugees have upset morale of Punjab in police force [*sic*].

BALUCHISTAN

145

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/43

No. 7-Camp/S
IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL

QUETTA,
28 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

Please add following to today's telegram[1] to Your Excellency. There is great improvement in confidence noticeable today and Hindus are moving about more freely. Yesterday's standstill order[2] to Government servants though unpopular has been effective.

Only incident of yesterday was accidental shooting of one Muslim League guard on Qazi Isa's house by colleague who was cleaning his rifle. Two looters were caught by police. Investigations proceeding. Military patrols report nothing of interest.

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 143.
[2]Not traceable. However, see No. 142.

146

Frank Stanton to M. A. Jinnah

F. 17/2-GG/6

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.,
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK,
28 August 1947

Sir,

We are most grateful to you for agreeing to broadcast for the Columbia Broadcasting System, on the occasion of your assuming the

Governor-Generalship of Pakistan.

Unfortunately, the three separate attempts we made to record your talk here in New York were unsuccessful, due to poor transmission.

We greatly appreciate your cooperation, nonetheless, and we hope it will be possible at some later date to bring your voice to our listeners.[1]

I have the honor to remain,

Yours faithfully,
FRANK STANTON
President

[1]Jinnah later gave a broadcast "to the people of the United States of America on Pakistan" in February 1948. See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. IV, Lahore, 1996, 2692-5.

147

M. Shahabuddin Khan of Jandol to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/328
[*Original in Urdu*]

SARHAD, AZAD PAKISTAN,
DIR STATE, MALAKAND AGENCY,
VIA CHAKDARA,
28 August 1947

Most respectfully I offer *Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu*. I feel great happiness on the establishment of Pakistan. The carnage committed in Punjab by the Sikhs grieved me deeply. However, I congratulate you, and may God bless you with the gifted State of Pakistan. The shackles of slavery have been broken. On this great achievement, every Muslim may rightly feel proud. I am a true soldier of Islam. I can raise any army of one lakh *mujahideen* from the State of Jandol in order to serve Islam and fight against Sikhs and *mushrikeen*. This would need instructions from you. I am the Wali of Jandol and my father is the Wali of Dir. This letter must not go to the press. I am not a hypocrite but there are some political implications involved in it. However, if there are any instructions for me these might be conveyed to me through a messenger or through the Frontier Ministry verbally. I hope you will accept me as a soldier of Islam and provide me with a chance to serve the cause of Islam. However, I do not vouch for any of my relatives.

I beg to remain a true servant of Islam and yourself,
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD SHAHABUDDIN KHAN
SON OF NAWAB OF DIR

148

Ahmad Said to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/38

LAHORE,
28 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Events in East Punjab have shaken the roots of Pakistan. Handed over to raw, half-educated, inexperienced and selfish youths. Life and cattle loss caused irreparable economic loss. Gov[ernmen]t machinery dislocated. Feelings depressed all over. Pray take effective action to save your hard-earned Pakistan. Break party system. Select best men as ministers. *Consult men like Justice Din Moh[amma]d.*[1] This will save your time and worry to guide Punjab Ministers on each point. Now or never.

AHMAD SAID
Retired D[eput]y Postmaster General

[1]Underlined in the original.

149

A. Hamid to K. H. Khurshid

F. 784/223

MYSORE ROAD, BANGALORE,
28 August 1947

My dear Kh. Khurshid Anwar [*sic* for K. H. Khurshid,]

[*Para 1 omitted*]

On 1st of August I despatched by registered parcel post a khaki sola hat for our Quaid-i-Azam and a letter[1] to this effect was also posted by air mail to the Governor-General-designate, Pakistan Government, at his residential address at New Delhi, viz. 10 Aurangzeb Road. Nothing

has so far been heard by me.

I have now taken over the managership of the above factory[2] and I am now stationed in Bangalore City. If not inconvenient, I will be greatful [*sic* for grateful] if you will see your way to inform me as to whether the sola hat referred to above was duly received by His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan.

Apologizing for the encroachment made on your valuable time,

Yours sincerely,
A. HAMID

[1]No. 75, Vol. IV, 134.
[2]Known as Metro Malleable Manufacturer Ltd., Chickpet, Bangalore.

150

Lakhshmi Commercial Bank, Rawalpindi, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/70

RAWALPINDI,
28 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Our branches [at] Hafizabad, Wazirabad reported burnt. Branches at Sambrial, Kamoke, Mandi Bahauddin in great danger. Pray arrange military protection.

MANAGING DIRECTOR

151

Alan Lascelles to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 125(2)-GG/1

BALMORAL CASTLE,
28 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

In reply to your No. 81 of August 23rd[1] to Sec[retar]y of State of Commonwealth Relations. The King approves appointment of Mirza Abdul [Abol] Hassan Ispahani as His Majesty's Minister for Pakistan in the United States of America.

[ALAN LASCELLES]
Private Secretary to the King

[1]Not traceable.

152

S. Mohamed Zacharia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (Part II)-GG/78

94/C BROADWAY,
MADRAS,
28 August 1947

Your Excellency,

I humbly submit this Tamil magazine, which is serving the Muslims of this part—Dravida Nad (Madras Presidency) for your kind message and blessings.

I most humbly request Your Excellency to oblige us with a message.[1]

Yours obediently,
S. MOHAMED ZACHARIA
Manager,
Kadhiravan Magazine

[1]F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's inability to issue a message due to extreme pre-occupation. See F. 65 (Part II)-GG/79. Not printed.

153

Hadi Miscerghi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[Original in French]

TRIPOLI,
28 August 1947

The youth of Libya present felicitations for your independence and wish for Pakistan a prosperous future.

HADI MISCERGHI

[1]Acknowledged by M. W. Abbasi on 4 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

154

Communique by the Joint Defence Council

F. 125/4-7

DIRECTORATE GENERAL, PUBLIC RELATIONS,
WEST PUNJAB,
LAHORE,
29 August 1947

The following communique[1] was issued by the Joint Defence Council in Lahore following their meeting today, the 29th August 1947, at the Government House:

A special meeting of the Joint Defence Council was held at Government House, Lahore, at 11 a.m. on Friday, 29th August.

It was attended by Their Excellencies the Governors-General of Pakistan and India. Lord Mountbatten, who is independent Chairman of the Council, presided.

The Prime Minister of India (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru); the Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Pakistan (Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan); the Defence Minister of India (Sardar Baldev Singh); the Communications Minister, Pakistan (Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar); the Governor of East Punjab (Sir Chandulal Trivedi); the Governor of West Punjab (Sir Francis Mudie); the Supreme Commander (Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck); the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army (General Sir Frank Messervy); the Commander-in-Chief, India Army (General Sir Rob Lockhart); and the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force (Major General Rees) were present.

It was reported that, whereas the situation in certain towns is improving, the general situation in rural parts at present within the area of the Punjab Boundary Force is not everywhere showing a parallel improvement. The disturbances have also spread to places outside the Punjab Boundary Force area, which the Commander of that Force has no means of controlling. For example, seventy per cent of the major attacks on railway trains have occurred outside the Punjab Boundary Force area.

The main decision taken at the meeting was that, as the task allotted to the Punjab Boundary Force for helping to maintain law and order in the disputed areas has now grown out of all proportion to the responsibilities originally placed upon it, this Force should be abolished with effect from midnight 31st August/1st September; the areas at present

covered by the Force will then be handed over to the direct and individual control, as opposed to the indirect and joint control, at present obtaining, of the respective Dominion Governments. It was further decided that both Central and both Provincial Governments would work together in close cooperation to restore peaceful conditions[2] as soon as possible in the Punjab.

Arising out of this decision it was also decided that India and Pakistan will each set up a new military headquarters to control the areas which at present form part of the boundary area.

In the case of India, 4th Divisional Headquarters (which is at present acting as Punjab Boundary Force Headquarters) will take over the area on the India side of the frontier comprising the civil districts of Gurdaspur (as reconstituted), Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, the separated part of Lahore Dist. and Ludhiana. This area Headquarters will be directly under India Army H.Q.

In the case of Pakistan, Lahore Area Headquarters will control the boundary area, which will, in general terms, include the following civil districts: Sialkot including Shakargarh Tehsil, Gujranwala, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur [now called Faisalabad] and Montgomery [now called Sahiwal].

Both these Headquarters will be situated in Lahore, to ensure closest co-operation in providing guards and escorts for refugees. Personnel and transport of the Headquarters of the 4th Indian Division will therefore be assured freedom of movement and protection in West Punjab.

As soon as possible all units of the present Punjab Boundary Force belonging to the Army of India will be located on the India side of the frontier and all units of the Pakistan Army on the Pakistan side. Those units which are mixed (i.e. which contain Muslim and non-Muslim sub-units) will be split, so that Muslims are located in Pakistan and non-Muslims in India. This process of reconstitution is a complicated one, but will be carried out as quickly as possible.

This arrangement will not, however, exclude units and sub-units containing men of one community being used in the Province in which the other community is in a majority to guard refugee camps and convoys. Thus Muslim troops of Pakistan will be used to protect Muslim refugees in East Punjab, and vice versa. These troops will be lent from one Dominion to the other, and be under the command of the Military Commander in whose area they are located.

It was agreed that the staff of the Refugee Commissioners should be increased, so that representatives of both Dominions can be stationed at refugee centre[s], in both Provinces, to take all possible steps to-

wards the well-being and safety of refugees.

It was also agreed that each Government should appoint a Custodian of Refugees Property. Close liaison between these Custodians will be arranged. The representatives of India and Pakistan repeat that illegal seizure of property will not be recognised.

In making these decisions, both Governments wish to reiterate their determination to do their utmost for the protection and care of minorities in their own areas. Whereas they will do everything possible to facilitate the movement of those refugees who have decided to move from one side of the boundary to the other, they wish to appeal to the minorities in their areas not to move, except under governmental auspices with proper guards.

It was further agreed that concentration camps should be established by both Governments, wherein members of armed bands found in either territory will be detained. Armed bands found in the process of committing crimes are liable to be shot on sight. It was decided to make a greater use of military aircraft in both East and West Punjab, in order to assist the land forces to keep the peace.

Arrangements for setting up a Press Camp in Lahore and further facilities for the press were also agreed upon.

[1]See *Pakistan Times*, 31 August 1947.

[2]The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan were scheduled to visit Gurdaspur, Batala, Amritsar, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, and Montgomery between 30 August and 2 September 1947. Similarly, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Sardar Baldev Singh, accompanied by Indian High Commissioner (Sri Prakasa), were scheduled to visit Gujranwala, Sialkot, Kasur, Ferozepore, Moga, Ludhiana and Jullundur between 30 August and 1 September 1947. See F. 125/2-3, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see *Pakistan Times*, 31 August 1947. For a press report on their tour, see Appendix III. 8.

155

Malik Abdul Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram,[1] *F. 778/25*

GUJRANWALA,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Boundary Force stationed at Sujrabwald [*sic*] doing immense loss of life. Hindu and Sikh officers and soldiers killing innocent men in rural areas and towns daily without any excuse. Colonel Gupta[2] and his Hindu/Sikh officers encouraging their men in carrying out shooting. Assurances

of impartiality by Gen[era]l Rees[3] are meaningless in such circumstances. Pray immediate removal of Colonel Gupta and Hindu-Sikh element from here. Suitable action for past misdeeds and killing of innocent men necessary.

MALIK ABDUL RAHIM
Subdivisional Officer,
[*Telegraph Department*]

[1]Copies to Liaquat and General Rees.
[2]Not identified.
[3]Commander, Punjab Boundary Force.

156

Telegraph Staff, Rawalpindi, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram,[1] *F. 560/66*

RAWALPINDI,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Governor-General Pakistan, Lahore

Posts and Telegraphs staff transferred from Delhi, Simla [and] Ambala perturbed due grave situation Eastern Punjab. Families left behind due unsafe rail journey and pray evacuation families by air or strong m[i]l[itar]y convoy by road. Presume [*sic*] urgent salary August due. Pay certificates unre[ceive]d yet. Advance granted parent office already spent. Residential accommodation also unavailable. Application for requisition houses submitted. Result appears unfavourable so far. Unable work under present circumstances. Immediate evacuation families essential.

TELEGRAPH STAFF

[1]Copies to Post Master General, Lahore and D. G., Karachi.

157

Malik Akbar Khan and Malik Wel Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 778/14

HANGU,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah care Premier, West Punjab,

Lahore

Very shocked to hear merciless killing innocent Muslims by Sikhs. Kindly permit us to lay ourself for every sacrifice in men and other [*sic*]. Kindly [send] orders telegraphically today.

MALIK AKBAR KHAN MISHI ORAKZAI
Tirah
MALIK WEL KHAN MASTI
Hangu

158

C. E. Gibbon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 493/5

13 JAIL ROAD,
LAHORE,
29 August 1947

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the Anglo-Indian community of Pakistan and myself, I extend to Your Excellency a hearty welcome to Lahore.

The grief and sorrow which fills Your Excellency's heart is shared by my community. We are doing all that is humanly possible to relieve distress and help the administration in restoring law and order.

The Anglo-Indian community in Lahore desire, most earnestly, to pay their respect to Your Excellency and to demonstrate their loyalty to your person and the State.

We had arranged to hold a meeting of Anglo-Indians at the Burt Institute, Lahore, on Sunday, August 31, at 10.30 a. m. We would consider it a great honour if Your Excellency were to find time to address a few words to the Anglo-Indian minority of Pakistan, and receive from us a donation for the West Punjab Refugees Relief Fund.

If the time fixed (10.30 a.m.) does not suit Your Excellency, it can be advanced, should Your Excellency let me know of your decision, today.

With my humble respects,

Your most loyally,
C.E. GIBBON
MLA
President of Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan

159

Residents of Chuadanga to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 47-GG/3

CHUADANGA,
29 August 1947

Acute scarcity rice, foodstuff, people starving. Local authorities unable to cope situation. Pray immediate aerial supply.

RESIDENTS OF CHUADANGA
EASTERN PAKISTAN

160

President, Minorities Association, Multan, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/72

MULTAN,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib, Lahore

Kindly visit Multan and restore peace.

PRESIDENT OF MINORITIES ASSOCIATION

161

Pritam Singh Seth to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 778/9

GUJAR KHAN,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Gujar Khan in serious danger. Surviving few hundred non-Muslims' houses demolished. No security. Public servants on duty being killed. Make necessary arrangements.

PRITAM SINGH SETH
Secretary of Minorities Board

162

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/35-6

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
29 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

There was no incident of any kind in Quetta or Baluchistan during past twenty four hours. More shops have opened and Government offices are returning to normal. Curfew was still further relaxed yesterday. Pishin Scouts carried out successful raid at Gulistan and arrested eight looters. Cypher section follows.[1]

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 163.

163

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/40

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL QUETTA,
29 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Report from Zhob just received shows that while all *Maliks* have rallied to support of Government and situation is satisfactory, transborder elements have been exploiting [*sic*] possibility of exploitation of situation to their advantage.

Hindu public were very nervous of further attacks after Friday prayers but no untoward incident occurred.

BALUCHISTAN

164

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/37-8

IMMEDIATE QUETTA,
30 August 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Quetta and whole of Baluchistan have now been quiet for a week. Remaining problems are mainly administrative and no further situation reports will be sent to Your Excellency unless situation deteriorates. Detailed reports now show that only two and a half per cent of house property in Quetta was burnt and ten per cent of bazar property. Cypher section follows.[1]

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 165.

165

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 45-GG/42

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL ZIARAT,
30 August 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

Please add following to today's telegram to Your Excellency.[1] Total number of bodies recovered to date in Quetta is 147 and total for whole province is about 330. Important fruit trade has been completely dislocated and public are finding they cannot kill Hindus and still do business with them.

Detailed reports on disturbances is being compiled and will be forwarded to Department of External Affairs on Monday by special messenger.

BALUCHISTAN

[1]No. 164.

166

Malik Zardast Khan Afridi to Nawab of Teri

Telegram, F. 778/20

SHIRAKKI (KOHAT PASS),
SARAI ABDULLAH,
KOHAT,
30 August 1947

Nawab Sahib Teri care Secretary [to] H. E. Quaid-i-Azam, Lahore

Reassure you of our wholehearted active assistance in cooperation of your Khattaks whenever required for Islamic cause.[1] *Insha Allah* shall overrun enemies' country under your leadership. Awaiting instructions.[2]

MALIK ZARDAST KHAN AFRIDI

[1]Annex I.
[2]Annex II.

Annex I to No. 166
K. K. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram[1]

[KHYBER AGENCY, NWFP,]
Undated [*September 1947*]

We, the Afridis of the Khyber Agency, cannot tolerate the cruelty being done to East Punjab Muslims. If this is not stopped, we shall take revenge everywhere. Wire advice.

NAWABZADA KHALIF KHAN MALIK

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 September 1947.

Annex II to No. 166
Message[1] *by M. A. Jinnah*

17 September 1947

My advice to Musalmans in Pakistan and outside is that it will be most unwise on their part wherever they are in the majority to resort to retaliation or adopt any action in spirit of revenge.

Apart from such action being contrary to Islamic teachings, it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Musalmans who happen to be minorities in

Hindustan or elsewhere in this sub-continent.

I have received many other telegrams from Frontier tribes[2] and other parts of Hindustan and my advice to them is exactly the same as I have given in this telegram.

I assure the Musalmans that the Pakistan Government is fully alive to the grave situation and is doing its very best to protect Musalmans everywhere in every possible way. I, therefore, request Musalmans not to precipitate matters by hasty and premature action on the part of individuals or groups in any part of the sub-continent.[3]

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]Sent to K. K. Malik in reply to Annex I. See *Pakistan Times*, 18 September 1947.

[2]Nos. 172 & 173. Also see F. 778/14, *QAP*. Not printed. Moreover, see Resolution by a representative *Jirga* of Mohmands, Afridis, Shinwaris, Mullagoris and other tribes calling on the Indian Union to stop East Punjab carnage. *Pakistan Times*, 9 September 1947.

[3]On 10 September 1947, Charles W. Lewis, Charge d'affaires, US Embassy, Karachi, had written to Secretary of State, George Marshall that Government of Pakistan was understood to have rejected "numerous offers by Pathan leaders... to muster their forces and proceed to the Punjab to settle accounts with Sikhs and other elements who have been attacking the Muslims." See *US National Archives*, 845, F. 00/9-1047. Not printed.

167

F. Amin to Victor Turner

F. 18-GG/6

30 August 1947

Dear Sir Victor,

I enclose herein a copy of a message[1] received from the India Office through the British High Commissioner with regard to the appointment of Sir Archibald Rowlands as Adviser to the Quaid-i-Azam for a period of three months, together with a copy of the Quaid-i-Azam's reply[2] to it.

Sir Archibald is arriving today at 4.30 p.m. and he will be putting up at the Government House for ■ few days.

I understand the Cabinet Secretariat have already arranged a suite of rooms for him at the Palace Hotel.

With regard to placing a car and a driver at his disposal, which is one of the terms of his appointment, I have ascertained from the Military Secretary with a view to finding out whether one could be spared from the Government House Garage, but I find that it will not be possible. Will you, therefore, kindly take steps to sanction the purchase of

a new car, or arrange one from some other source, for the free use of Sir Archibald? This may kindly be treated as urgent.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Sir Victor Turner, ICS,
Secretary, Finance, Karachi

[1]Enclosure to No. 32.
[2]No. 32.

168

Ahmadis of Dera Ghazi Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/90

DERA GHAZI KHAN,
30 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Lahore

Qadian, Gurdaspur District, world famous religious Muslim missionary headquarters of Ahmadia Movement with its present leader and thousands of peace loving law-abiding followers while protecting Qadian are dreadfully besieged by formidable armed Sikhs. Only *Allah's* mercy and your timely interference can save Qadian from [words illegible] and destruction. Qadian wholly cut from outside world over ten days back.

AHMADIS OF DERA GHAZI KHAN DISTRICT

169

D. D. Puri to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 778/17

JAGADHRI, [EAST PUNJAB,]
30 August 1947

H. E. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Punjab Textile Mill situated Grand Trunk Road at ten miles from Lahore. Manawan Thana and Pakistan Transmitting Station within one furlong of mill. Military picket Boundary Force posted on mill premises

since early August. Staff left premises due to panic. Recruiting suitable fresh staff. Seek interim protection mill's property even after dissolution Boundary Force. Pray wire steps taken to ensure protection.

D. D. PURI
Managing Director,
Punjab Textile Mill

170

M. A. Jinnah to C. E. Gibbon

F. 493/6

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
30 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated 29th August[1] and I regret for the following reasons I am unable to have the honour of accepting the invitation of your Association.

During my short stay in Lahore my time will be fully and usefully occupied in rendering such help that I might be able to give to carry out the important decisions that have been arrived at and the arrangements made at the special Joint Defence Council meeting[2] yesterday. I, therefore, regret that there will be very little spare time left and so I am unable to give interviews to individuals or groups as so many requests have already come to me. It is not feasible to comply with these requests in the circumstances during this short visit of mine.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

C. E. Gibbon, Esq.,
President, Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan,
Lahore

[1]No. 158.
[2]No. 154.

171

Hasan Albanna to M. A. Jinnah[1]

FOA, O/346

MUSLIM WORLD RELATION SECTION,
2 HELMIAH GEDIDAH,
CAIRO,
30 August 1947

In the name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassionate

My dear brother,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

May I assert that the establishment of our new akin State the [*sic*] "Pakistan" is ■ striking triumph for the Islamic creed in the twentieth century.

If ever we congratulate you for your esteemable efforts which you have exerted to materialise this old hope, we cannot but thank you in your own practical language—the only language that perpetuates your immortal achievement.

We are glad to inform you that a Pakistani organization, "Pakistan Association", had been lately formed under the presidentship of Mohammad Aleem Ullah Siddiqui (Allahabad, UP), Dr. S. Moh[amma]d Yusuf, Alig. (Bhopal), Secretary, Dr. Mohammad Luqman (Bahawalpur), Propaganda Secretary and others.

This body has declared its aims as to keep in touch with Muslim bodies in our country, collaborate with them and cooperate in the cultural, Islamic and economical [*sic* for economic] domains.

We assure you that we shall not fail to do our utmost to collaborate with this body, hoping that this intercourse would result [in] most fruitful benefits for our mutual interests.

We further hope that the organization of "Pakistan Association" at Cairo will meet your approval enabling it to achieve its aims and objects.

Wassalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

HASAN ALBANNA
Supreme Guide of Muslim Brotherhood Association

[1]The original in Arabic was signed also by the President of the Brotherhood. M. W. Abbasi acknowledged it on 16 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

172

Yar Mohammad Khan to Baz Mohammad Khan

Telegram, F. 560/86

KOHAT,
30 August 1947

Captain Baz Mohammad Khan, Nawab of Khattak
Care Secretary to H.E. Quaid-i-Azam, Lahore

Tens of thousands tribesmen ready for enlistment to fight infidels under your command. Assure Quaid-i-Azam Pakistan cannot be shaken if Frontier is mobilised.

YAR MOHAMMAD KHAN
L[ieutenan]t
Chief, Bangash [Tribe]

173

Hafiz Sanaullah to Nawab of Khattak

Telegram, F. 778/6

KOHAT,
30 August 1947

Nawab Sahib Khattak[1] care Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam, Lahore

Muslim League organisation most indignant over alarming news of annihilation [of] innocent Musalmans. Pathans going mad. Try get definite orders.

HAFIZ SANAULLAH
Vice-President, Muslim League

[1]Captain Baz Mohammad Khan.

174

M. A. Jinnah to Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan

F. 344/123

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
30 August 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 29th August[1] and I am unable to comply with your request for the following reasons:

During my short stay in Lahore my time will be fully and usefully occupied in rendering such help that I might be able to give to carry out the important decisions that have been arrived at and the arrangements made at the Special Joint Defence Council meeting yesterday.[2] I, therefore, regret that there will be very little spare time left and so I am unable to give interviews to individuals or groups as so many requests have already come to me. It is not feasible to comply with these requests in the circumstances during this short visit of mine.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan,
Zarafshan,
Lahore

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 154.

175

Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 1020/73-6

RADIO STATION,
LAHORE,
31 August 1947, 8.30 pm

A few days ago, I received harrowing accounts of the terrible happenings in the Punjab and the situation, from all accounts, appeared to be so grave that I decided to come to Lahore. On my arrival here, I

immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply grieved to realize that unfortunately there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me. I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart. We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world by resorting to frenzy, savagery, and butchery? And will this lead us anywhere? Pakistan is now a *fait accompli* and it can never be undone, besides, it was the only just, honourable, and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great subcontinent.

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible, and even perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but political award, but we had agreed to abide by it, and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage, and hope.

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the world but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly (and selflessly) in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands; we have undoubtedly talents; Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities. Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it.

It is agreed on all hands that peace should be restored without delay and that law and order must be established and maintained at any cost. Now it is up to the leaders and the rank and file of the communities to leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the sacred and honourable undertaking that was given at the Special Conference on the 29th August[2] to protect the minorities and work in every way for the welfare and safety of the refugees. The Lahore Conference of 29th

has further laid down categorically certain ways and means to be adopted to implement its decisions and such further measures will be taken which have the solemn, firm and determined sanction of the Pakistan and the Dominion of India Governments. Henceforth they will be naturally responsible as the Punjab Boundary Force which was limited only to certain areas could not deal with the entire Punjab—both West and East—especially now as the rural areas have also been affected and therefore it has been abolished.

These decisions and measures adopted by the Special Conference should reassure the people of all communities that both the Pakistan and India Governments are determined to put down ruthlessly these orgies and their far-reaching consequences. But it requires both the communities concerned to realize the folly and futility of indulging in this savagery which has already taken a colossal toll of human life and especially of the innocent ones, and has displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people, rendered them homeless and delivered them to starvation and misery—who are wandering about in the countryside for their lives, besides resulting in the destruction of property on an extensive scale.

This is not the moment for me to go into the origin or cause of all that is happening or to apportion blame as to which community has disgraced itself more. It will be for the historians to give their verdict. Humanity cries loud against this shameful conduct and the deeds that have been committed. Those who are responsible for this holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilised world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world.

It is now up to the leaders and those responsible and in charge of the governments to make their supreme effort to make amends for this indelible stigma. While the horizon is beset with dark clouds let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan: create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task, with courage and hope and we shall do it. Are we downhearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilization and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and work; and we are bound to succeed; and never forget our motto—Unity, Discipline and Faith.

I have so far spoken to you in English as you know that the eyes of

the world are upon Pakistan and we are watched by the various nations of the world with the keenest interest since the establishment of Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State, which has been a great and historical event. I, therefore, used the medium of English so as to be able to reach the world-wide audience, which has exhibited great interest in Pakistan.

The text of my broadcast will be translated in Urdu and read to you in a few minutes' time as well as published in the press tomorrow, but, nevertheless, I would also like to say a few words in Urdu.[3]

[1]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements 1947-48*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 96-9. Also see *Pakistan Times*, 2 September 1947.
[2]No. 154.
[3]See at the end of the Volume. For its English translation see Annex I.

Annex I to No. 175

English Version of Quaid's Broadcast in Urdu

F. 1022/200-1

I was summoned by the Muslims of the Punjab and I reached Lahore on the 28th. I have, to the best of my abilities and through resources available to me, ascertained facts and tried to understand the situation.... By now you must have come to know what measures were adopted at the Special Conference represented by both Pakistan and Indian Dominion Government and the two Governors-General Lord Mountbatten and myself and all our advisers and specialists. We have adopted measures and by complete agreement we have proclaimed the sacred duty of both the Governments to give the fullest protection of life and property of the people and do everything in our power for the welfare and care and protection of thousands and thousands of refugees.

I assure you that we will do our very best as far as the Pakistan Government is concerned and we will discharge our responsibility fully. I have every hope that the Dominion of India Government will do likewise and if this sacred pact[1] is carried out honourably and with vigour and determination, I am hopeful that the present terrible situation will rapidly change and once more we will live in peace as law-abiding free and independent people in both the dominions.

Pakistan Zindabad

[1]Annex II.

Annex II to No. 175

INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Minutes of the Conference held on 29 August, 1947 between the Prime Minister and Defence Minister of India and the Prime Minister and the Communications Minister for Pakistan after completion of their tours of the affected areas of East and West Punjab[1]

[*Extract*]

The Conference unanimously reached the following decisions:

This Conference reiterates the determination of the two Central and the two Provincial Governments' representatives that law and order should be immediately established in both West and East Punjab and all lawlessness suppressed and punished. Further that the immediate task to which the Governments must devote all their resources and energy is to give protection to all refugees and evacuees in both West and East Punjab and to get safely across the border all those who desire to cross over from West to East Punjab or East to West Punjab. In this task of affording protection and transport the Governments of West and East Punjab will co-operate with each other to the utmost of their ability so that the process may be expedited and carried out peacefully. In order to avoid waste of effort and resources the railway trains, motor lorries and other means which will be utilized for the transport of refugees and evacuees from one part of the Punjab to another should be utilized for a like purpose in the reverse direction.

2. The Governments of East and West Punjab have undertaken the responsibility for running refugee and evacuee camps for Muslims as well as non-Muslims in their own areas and will provide food and other necessaries in equal measure to all refugees.

3. Evacuation from West to East Punjab and *vice-versa* will be organised by the military authorities of Pakistan and India respectively with proper escorts. Liaison officers will be appointed by both Governments in as many districts as possible to assist the evacuees and maintain contact with the authorities.

4. The Governments of India and Pakistan as well as the Provincial Governments concerned have already declared that illegal seizure of property will on no account be recognised. They have decided to appoint Custodians of Refugee Property. This will apply to agricultural lands, residential property, shops, factories, banks and insurance companies and religious and cultural institutions.

5. Both Provincial Governments have agreed that evacuees will be permitted to take away at their discretion and within the limits of

transport available, movable property, including licensed weapons, food, domestic animals, carts and vehicles which are not licensed for public use.

6. Both the Central Governments as well as the Governments of West and East Punjab wish to make it clear that forced conversions and forced marriages will not be recognised. Further that women and girls who have been abducted must be restored to their families and every effort must be made by the Governments and their officers concerned to trace and recover such women and girls.

7. Both Provincial Governments have agreed that it is specially incumbent upon them to protect and safeguard the property belonging to religious, charitable and cultural institutions. Further both Governments will endeavour to ensure the restoration at public expense or otherwise of religious places in their territories which may have been destroyed or desecrated.

8. In order to carry out the decisions jointly arrived at between the various Governments the closest liaison must be maintained between the West and East Punjab Governments and their respective officers. The governments concerned will help in the establishment of liaison and will exchange information relating to refugees, evacuees and their movements and transport.

9. There are a number of officers of the West and East Punjab Governments stranded with their families in the territory of the other Governments. These officers are urgently needed for administrative and other purposes. Both the Provincial Governments agree to give every possible facility to these officers so as to expedite transfer.

10. Various charges have been made against officials both in West Punjab and East Punjab of having taken part or encouraged lawless elements. Both the Governments propose to investigate these charges where they are backed by sufficient evidence and to take adequate action where the charges are proved.

11. ... both the West and East Punjab Governments will issue a daily communique to give a factual report of occurrences within their respective territories as well as the number of people evacuated ...

[1] *Treaties and International Agreements entered into by the Government of Pakistan in 1947*, Karachi, 1955, 1-3.

176

Alan Lascelles to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 125(2)-GG/2

BALMORAL CASTLE,
31 August 1947

Governor-General of Pakistan, Government House, Karachi

Your telegram No. 125 of August 30th.[1] Confirm the King has approved Ispahani's appointment as Ambassador repeat Ambassador in Washington.[2]

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE KING

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Also see No. 151.

177

Mukhi Mangharam and Others to M. W. Abbasi

Telegram, F. 38 (2)-GG/23

[HYDERABAD,]
Undated [*August 1947*]

Over 30,000 outside Muslim refugees and 15,000 Indian[?] Hindu evacuees collected in Hyderabad which is great menace to peace, tranquillity and sanitation to [*sic* for of] the city. Suggest firstly incoming trains be diverted from Mirpur Khas to Nawabshah to prevent further dumping here. Secondly open camp[s] at Chor and Reti for collection of Muslim refugees from outside and distribute same Sind province-wise discriminately. Thirdly stop further immigration from Indian states. Fourthly help transport Indian evacuees collected [at] Hyderabad

camp quickly to avoid hardship and disease.

MUKHI MANGHARAM
Chairman, Refugees Committee
MUKHI GOBINDRAM
President, Sind Panchayat
PROF. [NARAINDAS RATANMAL] MALKANI,
MLA
Dr. CHIMANDAS
President, Congress Committee

Copy to:

1. Governor of Sind, Karachi
2. Premier, Pakistan Government, Karachi
3. Premier, Sind Government, Karachi

178

Dayalji D. Naik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/285-6

243-245 WALKESHWAR ROAD,
BOMBAY NO. 6,
Undated [*August 1947*]

My dear Mohammad Ali,

Before this letter reaches you, you must have assumed the reins of Pakistan in your hands.

I wrote to you last on the occasion of your providential escape from the cowardly attack made on your life.[1] Providence then saved you as you were destined to achieve higher objectives which you have now achieved. I congratulate you on your achievement.

Pakistan which was considered by many as a dream on your part has now become a reality. You are the creator of Pakistan which, on its creation, has been placed under your care and guidance. I have no doubt in my mind that under your wise and considerate guidance, Pakistan will have prosperity. I also have no doubt in my mind that you will restore peace, safeguard rights of the communities and will not allow malice to play any part. May God give you enough life and

strength to achieve the same.

With regards to you and your sister,

Yours sincerely,
DAYALJI
B. A., LL. B
Solicitor

[1]An abortive attempt on the life of Jinnah was made on 20 July 1943 by a person named Rafique Sabir.

179

A. G. Khan and G. M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/10

[PESHAWAR,]
Undated [*August*] *1947*

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

Abdul Qaiyum has given out that he has been appointed Premier[1] by you and Liaquat Ali Khan. He has obtained signatures from members under this pressure and [is] abusing your names. Qaiyum is a Kashmiri and cannot be accepted as leader by Pathans. Pray convene party meeting under supervision of Parliamentary Board to elect leader. Also declare your neutrality as in case of Punjab and Bengal. Any other course will hit League adversely.

ABDUL GHAFOOR KHAN
GHULAM MOHAMMAD KHAN
Members of All India Muslim League Council

[1]Also see No. 74.

180

M. A. Jinnah to Muslim Society, Bulawyo

Telegram, F. 57-GG/44

Undated [*August 1947*]

Thank you [for] your congratulations.[1] Colour [and] design Pakistan Flag. Star and crescent, green background three-fourth [and] white

one-fourt[h] at the pole end.

M. A. JINNAH

Muslim Society,
Box 608, Bulawyo,
Ranttlok, South Rhodesia

[1]See No. 236, Vol. IV, 345.

181

Ruler of Kharan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 124 (5)-GG/8

ALEXANDRA HOTEL,
QUETTA,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Lahore

Pray for your long life. Please wire health.[1] Greatly anxious.

MIR MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH KHAN

[1]Jinnah thanked him for enquiring about his health. See F. 124 (5)-GG/9. Not printed.

182

M. Salim to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 125(2)-GG/3

185, 29 STREET,
RANGOON,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Karachi

Pakistan citizens assembled yesterday. Resolved appointment [of] High Commissioner be from capable persons with long connections with Burma affairs. Kindly await our letter[1] before making decision.

M. SALIM
Chairman,
Pakistan Citizens' [*Association*]

[1]Not traceable. On 6 October, however, another correspondent wrote to Jinnah suggesting eight names (six from Burma and two from Pakistan) to choose from for appointment as High Commissioner for Pakistan in Burma. See F. 676/3-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

183

M. Hashim to the Accountant General, Pakistan Revenues, Karachi
(Copy to PS to the Governor-General)

F. 18-GG/7

MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
KARACHI,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Sir,

I am directed to convey the sanction of the Government of Pakistan to the creation, with effect from the 30th August 1947 or the date of taking over charge, for a period of 3 months, of a post of Adviser to His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan and the appointment thereto of Sir Archibald Rowlands,[1] KBE, on the following terms:

1. Pay	Rs. 4000 p.m.
2. Compensatory Allowance	Rs. 50 per diem
3. Travelling and Outfit Allowance	£ 400
4. Free motor car with a driver	

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. HASHIM
Joint Secretary to the Government of Pakistan

To
The Accountant General,
Pakistan Revenues, Karachi
Copy forwarded to:
Auditor-General of Pakistan
Secretary to the Cabinet Secretariat
Sir Archibald Rowlands, KBE, Government House, Karachi

By order, etc.
M. HASHIM
Joint Secretary to the Government of Pakistan

[1]Also see No. 167.

184

Note by S. M. Huda
(Copy to PS to the Governor-General)

F. 265-GG/2

OFFICE OF THE ECONOMIC ADVISER, PAKISTAN,
[KARACHI,]
Undated [August 1947]

This paper contains the relevant statistics about partition. It shows the figures for Pakistan and attempts to relate them to the all-India figures.

It is well-known that our statistics are not always complete and it has not always been possible to get separate figures for Pakistan.

Such figures as could be obtained for Pakistan separately are summarised below under the following main headings:

1. Area and Population[1]
2. Agriculture[2] [Cereals and Commercial Crops]
3. Minerals[3]
4. Industries[4]

S. M. HUDA
Assistant Economic Adviser

[PS.] The statistics relating to Area & Population, Agriculture, Mineral and Industries were based on the notional division of British India. In view of the changes made by the Boundary Commission a revised version[5] of the statistics will be issued very shortly.

[1,2,3 &4]Enclosures 1 to 4.
[5]Not traceable.

Enclosure 1 to No. 184

CHAPTER I

AREA AND POPULATION

Statement I[1] is a summary statement giving the total population of Pakistan and her provinces.

The total population of *Pakistan*[2] comes to 68.6 million, while that of the whole of British India is 295.8 million. The percentage of the total population of Pakistan to the total population of British India comes to 23.2.

If the [sub-] continent of India, including Indian States, is taken into account, the population of Pakistan forms 17.3 per cent of the total Indian population.

The population of *Western Pakistan*, which includes the North West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the 17 Pakistan districts of the Punjab, comes to 24.8 million.

The population of *Eastern Pakistan*, which includes the 16 Pakistan districts of Bengal and the district of Sylhet, comes to 43.8 million.

75.4 per cent of the total population of Western Pakistan consists of Muslims and 69.9 per cent of the total population of Eastern Pakistan consists of Muslims.

The total Muslim population of British India comes to 79.4 million and 49.3 million or 62.1 per cent of that population falls in the Pakistan areas.

Statement II[3] shows the area and the population of the Pakistan districts of the Punjab. The area of the 17 Pakistan districts [of Punjab] comes to 63,800 sq. miles, whereas that of the Punjab as a whole comes to 99,100 sq. miles. The percentage share of the Pakistan districts in the area of the Punjab is 64.3.

As regards the population of the Pakistan districts of the Punjab, the total population of the 17 Pakistan districts is 16.8 million out of a total population of the Punjab of 28.4 million. The share of the population of the Pakistan districts to the total population [of Punjab] comes to 59.2 per cent.

Statement III[4] gives similar information for Bengal. The total area of the 16 Pakistan districts of Bengal comes to 45,600 sq. miles, while that of the whole of Bengal comes to 77,400 sq. miles. The share of the Pakistan districts is 58.9 per cent of the total area of Bengal.

The total population of the province of Bengal comes to 60.3 million, whereas the population of the 16 Pakistan districts of that province comes to 40.7 million. The percentage share of the population of the 16 Pakistan districts to the total population is 67.5.

Statement IV[5] gives the population of the Sylhet District which comes to 3.1 million against the total population of 10.2 million for the whole of the Province of Assam. The share of the population of Sylhet, which is a Pakistan district, comes to 30.6 per cent of the total population of Assam.

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Annexure 1.
[3]Annexure 2.
[4]Annexure 3.
[5]Annexure 4.

Annexure I to Enclosure 1 to No. 184

STATEMENT I

AREA AND POPULATION OF PAKISTAN

(Based on the Census Report of 1941)

Province[s]	Area (Sq. Miles 000's)	POPULATION Muslims (Millions)	Total (Millions)	% of Muslims to total
I. WESTERN PAKISTAN				
Punjab	63.8	12.3	16.8	(73.2)
N.W.F.P.	14.3	2.8	3.0	(93.3)
Sind	48.1	3.2	4.5	(71.1)
Baluchistan	54.5	0.4	0.5	(80.0)
Total	180.7	18.7	24.8	(75.4)
II. EASTERN PAKISTAN				
Bengal	45.6	28.7	40.7	(70.5)
Sylhet	5.5	1.9	3.1	(61.3)
Total	51.1	30.6	43.8	(69.9)
Total for Pakistan	231.8	49.3	68.6	(71.9)
Total for British India	865.4	79.4	295.8	(26.8)
Total for India including States	1,581.4	94.4	389.0	(24.3)
% of Pakistan to British India	(26.7)	(62.1)	(23.2)	
% of Pakistan to India including States	(14.7)	(52.2)	(17.3)	

( ) All figures in brackets are percentage figures

Annexure II to Enclosure 1 to No. 184

STATEMENT II

AREA AND POPULATION OF PAKISTAN DISTRICTS OF THE PUNJAB

(Based on the Census Report of 1941)

Districts	Area (000's of Sq. Miles)	Total Population (Millions)
1. Lahore	2.6	1.70
2. Gurdaspur	1.8	1.15
3. Gujranwala	2.3	0.91
4. Sialkot	1.6	1.19
5. Sheikhupura	2.3	0.85
6. Gujrat	2.3	1.10

7. Shahpur	4.8	1.00
8. Jhelum	2.8	0.63
9. Rawalpindi	2.0	0.79
10. Attock	4.1	0.68
11. Mianwali	5.4	0.51
12. Montgomery	4.2	1.33
13. Lyallpur	3.5	1.40
14. Jhang	3.4	0.82
15. Multan	5.7	1.48
16. Muzaffargarh	5.6	0.71
17. Dera Ghazi Khan	9.4	0.58
Total of above districts	63.8	16.83
Total for Punjab (British Territory)	99.1	28.42
Percentage of the population of Pakistan Districts to that of Punjab (British Territory)	(64.3)	(59.2)

( ) All figures in brackets are percentage figures

Annexure III to Enclosure 1 to No. 184

STATEMENT III

AREA AND POPULATION OF PAKISTAN DISTRICTS OF BENGAL

Districts	Area (000's of Sq. Miles)	Total Population (Millions)
1. Nadia	2.9	1.76
2. Murshidabad	2.1	1.64
3. Jessore	2.9	1.83
4. Rajshahi	2.5	1.57
5. Dinajpur	4.0	1.93
6. Rangpur	3.6	2.88
7. Bogra	1.5	1.26
8. Pabna	1.8	1.71
9. Malda	2.0	1.23
10. Dacca	2.7	4.22
11. Mymensingh	6.2	6.02
12. Faridpur	2.8	2.89
13. Bakarganj	3.8	3.55
14. Tippera	2.5	3.86
15. Noakhali	1.7	2.22
16. Chittagong	2.6	2.15
Total of above districts	45.6	40.72
Total of British Bengal	77.4	60.31
Percentage of the population of Pakistan Districts to that of Bengal	(58.9)	(67.5)

( ) All figures in brackets are percentage figures

Annexure IV to Enclosure 1 to No. 184

STATEMENT IV

AREA AND POPULATION OF SYLHET

Districts	Area (000's of Sq. Miles)	Total Population (Millions)
Sylhet	5.5	3.12
Total of Assam (British Territory)	55.0	10.20
Percentage of the population of Sylhet to that of Assam (British Territory)	(10.0)	(30.6)

( ) All figures in brackets are percentage figures

Enclosure 2 to No. 184

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE

[A] CEREALS

Rice, Wheat, Barley, *Jowar, Bajra* and Maize

Statement V shows the cultivated area, in 1938-39, of Pakistan and India. These are the latest figures available. The net area sown in Pakistan comes to 43.0 million acres against the total area of British India which comes to 209.4 acres. The percentage of the Pakistan area to the total area in British India comes to 20.5.

As regards current fallows, the area under Pakistan, in 1938-39, was 10.9 million acres while that in British India was 48.3 million acres. The percentage share of Pakistan in current fallows was 22.5.

Statement VI gives a detailed breakdown of the acreages under the six main cereals in India and Pakistan.

Pakistan accounted for 28.6 per cent of the total *rice* acreage of India in 1938-39 and for 30.6 per cent in 1944-45.

The acreage of Pakistan under *wheat* in 1938-39 was 34.1 per cent of the total acreage in India and 37.6 per cent in 1944-45.

With her special natural advantage in wheat and rice, Pakistan had, relatively to India, a much smaller acreage under the other minor cereals, such as barley, *jowar, bajra* and maize.

The acreage figures for the minor cereals are given separately in the statement.

Statement VII gives a more detailed breakdown of the acreages under

the various cereals according to the various Provinces of Eastern and Western Pakistan.

The specialisation of the various regions of Pakistan will be noted in respect of *rice* and *wheat*. Practically all the *rice* of Pakistan is grown in Eastern Pakistan and all the *wheat* in Western Pakistan.

Statement VIII is the most important statement in this Chapter. It gives the production figures in lakhs of tons for Pakistan and India during 1944-45. The crop year 1944-45 may be assumed to be a normal year in which the war-time agricultural activity was at its peak. It was also the last year of the war and represented the full effect of the grow-more-food campaign which had been in operation during the preceding war years.

Rice: The most important conclusion which emerges from this table is that Pakistan, with a population of 23.2 per cent of the total British Indian population, accounted for 31.9 per cent of the total British Indian rice production in 1944-45.

Wheat: For a population of 23.2 per cent of the total British Indian population, Pakistan produced in 1944-45, 35.8 lakh of tons of wheat, which represented 41.8 per cent of the total British Indian production.

Minor cereals: Pakistan is also a large producer of minor cereals and produced 22.2 per cent of the total British Indian production of *maize*.

All cereals: Taking all cereal production together, Pakistan produced 28.6 per cent of the total Indian production.

Statement IX gives the production figures for each Province of Pakistan. Eastern Bengal produced in 1944-45, 69.0 lakh of tons of *rice* and Sylhet 5.7 lakh of tons. The Punjab produced 29.3 lakh tons of *wheat*, the NWF Province 2.6 lakh tons and Sind 3.5 lakh tons.

STATEMENT V

CULTIVATED AREA ACTUALLY SOWN AND AREA UNDER CURRENT FALLOWS IN PAKISTAN IN 1938-39

(From Agricultural Statistics of India, 1938-39)

	(Acres – '000)	
	Net Area Sown	Current Fallows
WESTERN PAKISTAN		
NWFP	2,092	588
Sind	5,108	5,006
Baluchistan	-	-
Western Punjab	15,782	2,632
Total	22,982	8,226

EASTERN PAKISTAN

Eastern Bengal	18,103	2,547
Sylhet	1,959	104
Total	20,062	2,651
Total for Pakistan	43,044	10,877
Total for British India as a whole	209,400	48,302
Percentage of Pakistan to total British India	(20.5)	(22.5)

STATEMENT VI

ACREAGE UNDER CEREALS IN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 & 1944-45

(Acres – Lakhs)

	RICE		WHEAT		BARLEY		*JOWAR*		*BAJRA*		MAIZE		TOTAL	
	1938 - 39	1944- 45	1938 - 39	1944- 45	1938 - 39	1944- 45	1938 - 39	1944- 45	1938 - 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938 - 39	1944- 45
Western Pakistan	19.7	22.9	89.8	99.8	4.2	5.2	8.7	11.0	18.6	24.9	8.9	9.9	149.9	173.7
Eastern Pakistan	177.3	218.2	1.6	1.6	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.5	180.0	220.3
Total of Pakistan	197.0	241.1	91.4	101.4	5.2	5.2	8.7	11.0	18.6	24.9	9.0	10.4	329.9	394.0
Total of British India	699.4	788.0	267.8	269.5	61.1	66.2	208.2	220.9	127.8	149.4	57.1	64.2	1,421.4	1,558.2
Percentage of Pakistan to British India	(28.6)	(30.6)	(34.1)	(37.6)	(8.5)	(7.9)	(4.2)	(5.0)	(14.6)	(16.7)	(16.8)	(16.2)	(23.2)	(25.3)

( ) Figures in brackets are percentage figures

STATEMENT VII [A]

ACREAGE UNDER CEREALS IN WESTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

(Acres – Lakhs)

	RICE		WHEAT		BARLEY		*JOWAR*		*BAJRA*		MAIZE		TOTAL	
Western Pakistan Area	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45	1938- 39	1944- 45
Western Punjab	6.8	9.2	68.4	75.2	2.6	3.1	3.4	4.9	10.0	14.5	4.1	5.2	95.3	112.1
N.W.F.P.	0.3	0.3	9.6	11.0	1.4	1.8	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.7	4.8	4.7	18.0	20.6
Sind	12.6	13.4	11.8	13.6	0.2	0.3	4.5	5.0	7.5	8.7	-	-	36.6	41.0
Total	19.7	22.9	89.8	99.8	4.2	5.2	8.7	11.0	18.6	24.9	8.9	9.9	149.9	173.7

Note: Figures for Baluchistan are not available.

[STATEMENT VII B]

ACREAGE UNDER CEREALS IN EASTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

(Acres – Lakhs)

Eastern Pakistan	RICE		WHEAT		BARLEY		*JOWAR*		*BAJRA*		MAIZE		TOTAL	
Area	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45	1938-39	1944-45
Eastern Bengal	158.1	204.4	1.6	1.6	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.5	160.8	206.5
Sylhet	19.2	13.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.2	13.8
Total	177.3	218.2	1.6	1.6	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.5	180.0	220.3

STATEMENT VIII

PRODUCTION OF CEREALS IN PAKISTAN DURING 1944-45

(Tons – Lakhs)

Area	RICE	WHEAT	BARLEY	*JOWAR*	*BAJRA*	MAIZE	TOTAL
Western Pakistan	10.1	35.4	1.0	1.9	4.1	4.8	57.3
Eastern Pakistan	74.7	0.4	-	-	-	0.2	75.3
Total	84.8	35.8	1.0	1.9	4.1	5.0	132.6
Total for British India	265.9	85.7	23.1	43.1	23.7	22.5	464.0
% of Pakistan to British India	31.9	41.8	4.3	4.4	17.3	22.2	28.6

STATEMENT IX [A]

PRODUCTION OF CEREALS IN WESTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1944-45

(Tons – Lakhs)

Area	RICE	WHEAT	BARLEY	*JOWAR*	*BAJRA*	MAIZE	TOTAL
West Punjab	4.4	29.3	0.5	0.7	2.5	2.3	39.7
NWF Province	0.1	2.6	0.4	0.1	0.2	2.5	5.9
Sind	5.6	3.5	0.1	1.1	1.4	-	11.7
Total	10.1	35.4	1.0	1.9	4.1	4.8	57.3

Note: Figures for Baluchistan are not available.

[STATEMENT IX B]

PRODUCTION OF CEREALS IN EASTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1944-45

(Tons – Lakhs)

Area	RICE	WHEAT	BARLEY	*JOWAR*	*BAJRA*	MAIZE	TOTAL
East Bengal	69.0	0.4	-	-	-	0.2	69.6
Sylhet	5.7	-	-	-	-	-	5.7
Total	74.7	0.4	-	-	-	0.2	75.3

[B] COMMERCIAL CROPS

Jute, Cotton, Tea, Tobacco and Oilseeds

JUTE

Statement X shows the acreage under jute in India and the share of Pakistan in 1940 and 1944.

The acreage under jute in India was the highest in the pre-war decade and the figure for 1940 is accepted as the basis for the jute crop restrictions schemes.

The yield of jute in 1940 in Pakistan was 99.2 lakh of bales of 400 lbs. each and the percentage share of Pakistan in the all-India yield was 79.0.

In 1944, there were considerable restrictions on the production of jute and every district, whether surplus or deficit, was called upon to produce the maximum amount of food it could, either for its own requirements or for those of the deficit districts. For this reason, the area under jute had to be curtailed in 1944 and the yield was correspondingly low. In that year, the total yield of the Pakistan areas was 51.7 lakh of bales as against the total production of the whole of India estimated at 62.0 lakh of bales, or, the share of Pakistan was 83.4 per cent of the total all-India crop.

Statement XI shows the district-wise production of the jute crop in Pakistan in 1940 and 1946.

Statement XII shows the supply and distribution of jute in the 1944-45 season. Out of the total season's supply of 96.7 lakh of bales, the exports during that season amounted to 12.0 lakh of bales and the mill consumption to 59.0 lakh of bales. The figures in this statement do not give an accurate idea of the enormous importance of jute and jute manufactures in the export trade of India.

In the year 1945-46, which was the first post-war year, the total exports of raw jute from India amounted to Rs. 15.8 crore and those of jute manufactures and jute goods amounted to Rs. 59.5 crore. With the rise in prices, increased export demand and possibly fewer restrictions on the cultivation of raw jute, it is probable that raw jute and jute manufactures will in future fetch much better foreign exchange than they did in the year 1945-46.

COTTON

Statement XIII shows the area and production of cotton in Pakistan and in the whole of India including the Indian States. The production in the Pakistan areas during 1944-45 was estimated at 12.3 lakh of bales, whereas that in the whole of India was estimated at 35.4 lakh of bales. The percentage of Pakistan to the total all-India production was,

therefore, 34.7 which figure is to be compared with the total population of Pakistan estimated at 17.3 as compared with the all-India population. Relatively to her population, Pakistan therefore produces twice the amount of cotton grown in India.

It is difficult to estimate the production of Pakistan according to varieties of cotton grown there. It may be mentioned, however, that the best varieties of Indian cotton, namely, Sind Americans and Punjab Americans (which are over 1 inch staple) are grown almost entirely in Pakistan. Pakistan has also a large share of the medium staple (7/8" to 1") varieties which are Punjab and Sind Americans, Surti etc. Pakistan grows very little short staple varieties and the one which they grow is the Bengal and Sind *Deshi*, the production of which in terms of all-India total production is about 1 per cent.

It may be furthermore mentioned that India taken as a whole is deficient in long-staple cotton varieties and has to import a considerable amount of foreign long-staple cotton, mostly from Egypt and other African territories. The imports of long-staple raw cotton in the year 1945-46 amounted to more than 86,000 tons and were valued at about Rs. 23 crore.

TEA

Statement XIV gives the rough indication of the yield of tea in Pakistan. Sylhet produced about 50 million pounds in 1944 as against the total production of 511 million pounds for India as a whole. In addition to Sylhet, the Chittagong and Tippera Districts of Bengal also produced a considerable amount of tea, their production during recent years being estimated at about 2 per cent of the total Bengal production.

Carefully prepared estimate of the net exporting capacity of Pakistan, after allowing for her internal consumption and production, shows that Pakistan's share in the exports of Indian tea would be well over 30 million lbs as compared with the total Indian exports of about 400 million lbs. The declared export value of tea at present is about Rs. 1-8-0 per lb.

OILSEEDS

Statement XV shows the area and yield of oilseeds in Pakistan and British India. The total area under oilseeds in Pakistan during 1944-45 was 1.7 million acres and the total yield was 2.4 lakh of tons. In 1944-45, the yield of Pakistan of all the oilseeds amounted to 5.8 per cent of the total British Indian yield. Relatively to her production of other agricultural commodities, Pakistan is certainly poor in respect of vegetable oilseeds.

Statement XVI gives a detailed analysis of the areas and yields of

oilseeds according to the various regions of Pakistan.

TOBACCO

Statement[s] XVII and XVIII analyse the position of Pakistan in respect of tobacco. The total production of tobacco in Pakistan during 1938-39 amounted to 31.6 per cent of the total British Indian production. *Statement XVII* shows that the bulk of this production was in the eastern regions of Pakistan and especially in Eastern Bengal. There was a small production in the North-West Frontier Province and Sind.

STATEMENT X

AREA AND YIELD OF JUTE IN PAKISTAN DURING 1940 AND 1944

Pakistan Areas	1940 Area Lakh Acres	1940 Yield Lakh of bales of 400 lbs	1944 Area Lakh Acres	1944 Yield Lakh of bales of 400 lbs
Eastern Bengal	33.8	97.9	15.5	51.1
Sylhet	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.6
Total	34.3	99.2	15.7	51.7
Total for India[1]	43.4	125.6	21.0	62.0
Percentage of Pakistan to All India	79.0	79.0	74.8	83.4

[1]Includes Indian States of Tripura, Cooch Behar and Nepal.

STATEMENT XI

PRODUCTION AND AREA OF JUTE IN MUSLIM MAJORITY DISTRICTS OF BENGAL & ASSAM

(1940 is taken as a typical *pre-war*[1] year, because area and yield were the greatest of the preceding decade in that year and because that year is at present taken as a base for acreage restriction schemes.)

Districts	1940 crop Area Lakh of acres	1940 crop Yield Lakh of bales of 400 lbs each	1946 crop Area Lakh of acres	1946 crop Yield Lakh of bales of 400 lbs each
BENGAL				
Nadia [?]	0.9	2.7	0.5	1.5
Murshidabad	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.9
Jessore	1.1	2.6	0.8	2.9
Rajshahi	1.3	3.1	0.7	2.3
Dinajpur	1.5	4.1	0.6	1.9
Rangpur	3.7	12.9	1.7	4.7
Bogra	1.6	3.7	0.5	1.7

Pabna	1.8	2.4	0.7	2.0
Malda	0.7	1.5	0.2	0.7
Dacca	3.9	12.4	1.4	4.6
Mymensingh	8.2	25.9	3.0	7.6
Faridpur	3.4	9.5	1.6	4.6
Bakarganj	0.8	2.0	0.3	0.1
Chittagong	-	-	-	-
Tippera	3.4	11.3	1.3	4.3
Noakhali	0.9	2.7	0.3	0.7
ASSAM				
Sylhet	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.7
A. Total of above	34.3	99.2	13.1	41.2
B. Grand total for India	43.4	125.6	18.8	55.5
Percentage share of Pakistan to All India	(79.0)	(79.0)	(69.7)	(74.2)

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

[STATEMENT] XII

SUPPLY AND DISTRIBUTION OF JUTE IN 1944-45

SUPPLY

	1944-45 Bales
Total Carryover	4,162,174
Season's Crop	5,493,205
Season's Supply	9,655,379

DISTRIBUTION

Mill Consumption	5,900,000
Domestic Consumption	600,000
Exports	1,200,000
Total	7,700,000
Calculated Carryover at end of Season	1,955,379

[STATEMENT] XIII

AREA AND YIELD OF COTTON IN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

	1938-39		1944-45	
	Area	Yield	Area	Yield
	Lakh acres	Lakh bales of 400 lbs	Lakh acres	Lakh bales of 400 lbs
Western Punjab	22.1	8.9	21.1	7.7
NWFP	-	-	-	-

Sind	1.0	0.5	9.0	4.6
Total	23.1	9.4	30.1	12.3
Total of India	235.5	51.2	148.3	35.4
Percentage of Pakistan to British India	(9.8)	(18.4)	(20.3)	(34.7)

( ) [All] figures in brackets are percentage figures

[STATEMENT] XIV

AREA AND YIELD OF TEA IN PAKISTAN DURING 1938 AND 1944

	1938		1944	
	Area (Lakh acres)	Yield (Lakh lbs)	Area (Lakh acres)	Yield (Lakh lbs)
A. Sylhet	0.9	434.5	1.0	502.1
B. Assam	4.4	2610.4	4.4	2708.3
C. India	8.3	4518.6	8.4	5113.9
1. Percentage of A to B	20.5	16.6	22.7	18.5
2. Percentage of A to C	10.8	9.6	11.9	9.8

[STATEMENT] XV

AREA AND YIELD OF OILSEEDS IN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

(Area = Acres - '000) and (Yield = Tons - '000)

	1938-39		1944-45	
Pakistan Area	Area	Yield	Area	Yield
Western Pakistan	873.2	N.A.	970.5	123.4
Eastern Pakistan	1,021.8	N.A.	768.6	114.6
Total	1,895.0	-	1,739.1	238.0
Total British India	14,135.0	3,610.0	15,363.0	4,134.0
% of Pakistan to India	13.4		11.3	5.8

N.A. = Not Available.

SOURCES: 1. Western Pakistan: Season and Crops Report
2. Eastern Pakistan: Official Gazette

STATEMENT XVI [A]

AREA AND YIELD OF OILSEEDS IN WESTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

(Area = Acres - '000) and (Yield = Tons -'000)

Pakistan Area	1938-39 Area	1938-39 Yield	1944-45 Area	1944-45 Yield
Western Punjab	545.5	80.1	574.6	69.3
NWFP	103.3	8.0	141.2	9.1
Sind	224.4	38	254.7	45.0
Total	873.2	126.0 (estimated)	970.5	123.4

Note: Yield figures of Western Punjab represent those of *Rabi* Oilseeds (Toria and Rapeseed).

[STATEMENT XVI B]

AREA AND YIELD OF OILSEEDS IN EASTERN PAKISTAN DURING 1938-39 AND 1944-45

(Area = Acres - '000) and (Yield = Tons - '000)

Pakistan Area	1938-39 Area	1938-39 Yield	1944-45 Area	1944-45 Yield
Eastern Bengal	1,010.0	194.9	759.0	112.7
Sylhet	11.8	N.A.	9.6	1.9
Total	1,021.8	[194.9]	768.6	114.6

[STATEMENT] XVII

AREA AND YIELD OF TOBACCO IN PAKISTAN IN 1938-39

(Area = Acres - '000) and (Yield = Tons - '000)

Pakistan Area	1938-39 Area	1938-39 Yield
Western Pakistan	73.9	28.6
Eastern Pakistan	284.0	118.0
Total	357.9	146.6
Total for British India	1,153.0	464.0
% of Pakistan to British India	31.0	31.6

STATEMENT XVIII [A]

AREA AND YIELD OF TOBACCO IN WESTERN PAKISTAN IN 1938-39
(Area = Acres - '000) and (Yield = Tons - '000)

Area	1938-39	
	Area	Yield
Western Punjab	53.3	16.6
NWFP	15.6	10.0
Sind	5.0	2.0
Total	73.9	28.6
Total for British India	1,155.0	464.0

Sources: Season and Crops Report and Estimates of Area and Yield of principal crops in India.

[STATEMENT XVIII-B]

AREA AND YIELD OF TOBACCO IN EASTERN PAKISTAN IN 1938-39
(Area = Acres -'000) and (Yield = Tons - '000)

Area	1938-39	
	Area	Yield
Eastern Bengal	283.6	117.8
Sylhet	0.4	0.2
Total	284.0	118.0

SOURCES: Season and Crops Report.

Enclosure 3 to No. 184

[CHAPTER III]

MINERALS

Among the most important products mined in India are coal, iron and steel, maganese ore, gold, mica, salt, building materials, petroleum, copper, ilmenite, industrial clays, saltpetre, ferro-manganese, chromite, kyanite, magnesite, steatite, gypsum and monazite. But the share of Pakistan is comparatively small in these minerals. It produces coal, chromite, petroleum, gypsum, gold, salt, steatite and building materials.

Statement XIX shows figures (province-wise) for those minerals which are produced in Pakistan, India and States.

[STATEMENT] XIX

PRODUCTION OF MINERALS IN QUANTITY DURING 1938 AND 1944

	COAL	(Tons '000)
Provinces: British India	1938	1944
Assam	278.3	303.8
Baluchistan	21.9	83.1
Bengal	7,745.4	6,789.9
Bihar	15,364.1	14,363.9
Central Provinces	1,658.6	1,677.8
Orissa	44.4	102.7
Punjab	154.0	175.1
Sind	-	6.2
Total	25,266.7	23,502.5
Indian States		
Central India	336.6	373.9
Eastern States Agency	1,463.7	1,265.1
Hyderabad	1,211.2	931.9
Rajputana	34.7	50.7
Kashmir	-	2.6
Total	3,046.2	2,624.2
Grand Total	28,312.9	26,126.7

	CHROMITE	(Tons '000)
British India		
Baluchistan	21.9	20.9
Bihar	5.2	4.5
Total	27.1	25.4
Indian States		
Eastern States Agency	0.1	6.9
Mysore States	17.0	6.7
Total	17.1	13.6
Grand Total	44.4	39.0

	PETROLEUM	(Gallons '000)
Provinces: British India		
Assam	65,969.0	82,296.0
Punjab	21,113.4	15,157.1
Total	87,082.4	97,453.1

	GYPSUM	(Tons '000)
British India		
Madras	9.4	14.3
Punjab (Jhelum)	28.3	17.6
United Provinces	1.2	-
Baluchistan	-	5.9
Sind	-	2.1
Total	38.9	39.9
Indian States		
Rajputana	31.0	43.9
Grand Total	69.9	83.8

	SALTPETRE	(Tons '000)
British India		
Bihar	1.3	
Punjab	5.1	Not
United Provinces	2.3	Available
Total	8.7	
	GOLD	(Ounces)
British India		
Bihar	16.0	14.0
Punjab	4.0	3.2
United Provinces	3.0	-
Madras	-	361.0
Total	23.0	378.2
Indian States		
Mysore	321,114.8	187,827.7
Total	321,114.8	187,827.7
Grand Total	321,137.8	188,205.9
	STEATITE	(Tons '000)
Provinces: British India		
Bihar	0.7	2.0
Central Provinces	2.2	4.8
Madras	7.5	0.2
NWFP	-	0.6
United Provinces	0.1	-
Total	10.5	7.6
Indian States		
Central India	0.1	0.8
Eastern States Agency	0.2	0.1
Kashmir	-	0.2
Mysore	0.1	0.4
Rajputana	7.7	12.3
Total	8.1	13.8
Grand Total	18.6	21.4
	SALT	(Tons '000)
British India		
Bengal	0.3	2.8
Bombay	407.0	538.8
Madras	453.9	508.2
Sind	95.9	91.0
Bihar and United Provinces	-	0.9
Orissa	-	19.8
Baluchistan	-	1.3
Total	957.1	1,162.8
Indian States		
Gwalior	0.2	0.1
Northern India	582.4	701.8
Total	582.6	701.9
Grand Total	1,539.7	1,864.7
	GRANITE	(Tons '000)
British India		
Assam	6.2	-
Bengal	73.1	11.9

Bihar	617.0	607.1
Central Provinces	22.4	4.2
Madras	166.0	705.0
Punjab	59.5	173.4
United Provinces	98.0	132.0
Total	1,042.2	1,633.6
Indian States		
Eastern States Agency	3.3	-
Mysore	3.1	-
Total	6.4	-
Grand Total	1,048.6	1,633.6

LIMESTONE AND *KANKAR* (Tons '000)

British India		
Assam	68.5	53.8
Bihar	613.1	670.7
Bombay	0.4	1.8
Central Provinces	552.0	512.0
Madras	189.8	265.2
Orissa	-	0.2
Punjab	300.5	436.5
United Provinces	888.5	1,151.0
Sind	-	362.0
Total	2,612.8	3,453.2
Indian States		
Central India	93.4	73.3
Eastern States Agency	754.0	844.8
Gwalior	89.0	98.5
Kashmir	0.7	0.1
Mysore	28.5	38.6
Rajputana	375.6	441.6
Hyderabad	-	268.0
Total	1,341.2	1,764.9
Grand Total	3,954.0	5,218.1

Enclosure 4 to No. 184

[CHAPTER IV]

INDUSTRIES

Statement XX shows the industrial location in the various provinces of Western Pakistan. It will be noticed that the textile group of factories is of considerable importance to Pakistan and that practically all the factories are located in West Punjab. The total number of workers employed in West Punjab is 12,000, whereas that in Sind and Baluchistan is less than 500.

Amongst the textile group of factories, the most important are the cotton spinning and weaving mills accounting for 9,580 workers in the West Punjab and 203 workers in Sind and Baluchistan. There is an important woollen mill in West Punjab employing on an average 2,180 workers.

ENGINEERING INDUSTRY

Pakistan has a large number of railway workshops and the 14 railway workshops in West Punjab have employed on an average 20,523 workers per day. There are 13 railway workshops in Sind and Baluchistan which employ 4,378 workers per day.

MINERALS AND METALS

It would appear from the figures that there are 2 large petroleum refineries in West Punjab which employ on an average 1,310 workers per day. The iron and steel foundries amounting to 42 in number also employ 4,450 workers per day.

Among the food, drink and tobacco group of factories, the most important factories are the flour mills. The 12 flour mills of West Punjab employ 1,327 workers per day, while the 11 flour mills of Sind and Baluchistan employ 854 workers per day. There are also a number of small rice mill industries in Sind and Baluchistan. Among the other food and drink factories, the only sugar factory in West Punjab employs 600 workers per day. There is another sugar factory in NWFP which employs 550 workers per day.

CHEMICALS AND DYES

Western Pakistan has a number of chemical and dye industries, the more important of which are oil mills.

PAPER AND PRINTING

It may be mentioned that there is no paper mill of any kind in the whole of Western Pakistan.

TANNERIES

There are 3 tanneries in Western Punjab employing on an average 17,032 workers per day.

ORDNANCE FACTORIES

There are 7 ordnance factories in West Punjab employing on an average 10,120 workers per day. In Sind and Baluchistan, there are 3 ordnance factories employing on an average 1,983 workers per day.

The total average daily number of workers employed in Western Pakistan in 1944 was 145,814. The bulk of the workers were in West Punjab which employs over 100,000 workers. Sind and Baluchistan had about 41,000 workers and the NWFP had only 4,400. Over 61 per cent of the factories were also in West Punjab.

FACTORIES IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Statement XXI shows the number of factories and the average daily number of workers employed in Eastern Pakistan. The number of

factories in Eastern Pakistan is 23.7 per cent of the total factories in Pakistan itself, and the number of workers is about 24 per cent. Among the more important industries of Eastern Pakistan are cotton spinning and weaving mills employing on an average 10,000 persons per day. The 7 Railway workshops of Eastern Bengal employ 6,240 workers per day. There are 8 sugar factories in East Bengal which employ 2,683 workers per day. There are a number of small cotton and jute presses.

The total number of workers engaged in Eastern Pakistan is 46,074.

Statement XXII gives an analysis of 7 important industries of Pakistan and India. These industries are: cotton mills, jute mills, sugar mills, iron and steel factories, cement factories, paper and glass mills. They are important not because of the daily number of workers employed in them, as employment in these industries constitutes only 12 per cent of the employment in factories falling under the Factories Act; but these industries are important because of their national importance, the organisation behind them and the capital which they use of.

In these 7 industries, Pakistan has 34 factories employing 26,361 workers per day, whereas India has 889 factories employing 11,10,612 workers per day.

[STATEMENT] XX

FACTORIES AND NUMBER OF WORKERS IN WESTERN PAKISTAN IN 1944

	WEST PUNJAB		SIND & BALUCHISTAN		NWFP		TOTAL	
	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
TEXTILES								
1. Cotton Spinning and Weaving and others	6	9,580	1	203	-	-	7	9,783
2. Hosiery	8	858	3	103	-	-	11	961
3. Silk Mills	-	-	5	129	-	-	5	129
4. Woolen Mills	1	2,180	-	-	-	-	1	2,180
5. Miscellaneous	1	25	-	-	-	248	1	25
ENGINEERING								
1. Coach-building and Motor Cars Repairing	6	850	8	282	3	248	17	1,380
2. Electrical Engineering	7	971	-	-	-	-	7	971
3. Electrical Generating and Transforming Stations	7	1,502	10	741	5	224	22	2,467
4. General Engineering	88	5,825	44	6,190	12	1,209	144	13,224
5. Railway Workshops	14	20,523	13	4,378	1	63	28	24,964
6. Tramway Works	-	-	1	108	-	-	1	108
7. Kerosene Tinning and Packing	-	-	7	1,809	-	-	7	1,809
8. Miscellaneous	32	2,907	4	174	2	77	38	3,158
MINERALS AND METALS								
1. Foundries	42	4,450	-	-	-	-	42	4,450
2. Petroleum Refineries	2	1,310	-	-	-	-	2	1,310
3. Miscellaneous	43	2,281	-	-	-	-	43	2,281

FOOD, DRINK AND TOBACCO								
1. Bakeries, Biscuits and Confectioneries	2	71	8	738	-	-	10	809
2. Breweries and Distilleries	2	374	1	27	-	-	3	401
3. Dairy	2	997	1	292	-	-	3	1,289
4. Flour Mills	12	1,327	11	854	1	32	24	2,213
5. Ice and Aerated Water	4	162	4	[illegible]	-	-	8	256
6. (a) Rice Mills	5	265	-	-	-	-	5	265
(b) Rice Mills (Seasonal)	5	133	46	1,166	-	-	51	1,299
7. Sugar Factories (Seasonal)	1	600	-	-	1	550	2	1,150
8. Water Pumping Stations	1	72	2	72	-	-	3	144
9. (a) Miscellaneous	4	648	-	-	3	1,685	7	2,333
(b) -do- (Seasonal)	-	-	-	-	1	130	1	130
CHEMICALS, DYES, ETC.								
1. Chemicals	8	312	-	-	-	-	8	312
2. Gas Works	3	174	-	-	-	-	3	174
3. Matches	3	337	-	-	1	34	4	371
4. Oil Mills	14	699	7	924	-	-	21	1,623
5. Paints	4	343	-	-	-	-	4	343
6. Soaps	1	43	-	-	-	-	1	43
7. Turpentine and Rosin	1	149	-	-	-	-	1	149
8. Bones and Manures	-	-	4	790	-	-	4	790
9. Miscellaneous	-	-	1	25	-	-	1	25
PAPER AND PRINTING								
1. Printing and Book-binding	34	3,325	12	646	3	173	49	4,144
2. Miscellaneous	3	221	-	-	-	-	3	221
PROCESSES RELATING TO WOOD, STONE AND GLASS								
1. Carpentry and Cabinet-making	13	1,232	11	745	-	-	24	1,977
2. Cement, Lime and Potteries	3	1,436	2	306	-	-	5	1,742
3. Glass	1	84	1	306	-	-	2	390
4. Saw Mills	11	2,770	7	149	-	-	18	2,919
5. Bricks and Tiles (including Surkhi Mills)	-	-	2	97	-	-	2	97
6. Miscellaneous	8	1,032	2	57	-	-	10	1,089
PROCESSES CONNECTED WITH SKINS AND HIDES								
1. Tanneries	3	1,732	1	N.A.	-	-	4	1,732
2. Leather and Shoes	-	-	2	67	-	-	2	67
3. Miscellaneous	-	-	4	245	-	-	4	245
GINS AND PRESSES								
1. Cotton Ginning and Baling (Seasonal)	189	15,523	112	16,619	-	-	301	32,142
2. Wool Presses (Seasonal)	-	-	3	171	-	-	3	171
3. Miscellaneous	1	25	4	161	-	-	5	186
MISCELLANEOUS								
1. Brushes	1	38	-	-	-	-	1	38
2. Grain Crushing	1	694	-	-	1	26	2	720
3. Mint	1	1,610	-	-	-	-	1	1,610

4. Ordnance Factories	7	10,120	3	1,983	-	-	10	12,103
5. Reeds and Combs	2	107	-	-	-	-	2	107
6. Rubber	5	539	1	N.A.	-	-	6	539
7. Miscellaneous	-	-	4	256	-	-	4	256
Total	612	100,456	352	40,907	34	4,451	998	145,814

N.A. = Not available

[STATEMENT] XXI

FACTORIES AND NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

	EAST BENGAL		SYLHET		TOTAL	
	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
TEXTILES						
1. Cotton Spinning, Weaving and others	7	10,001	-	-	7	10,001
2. Hosiery	8	381	-	-	8	381
3. Silk Mills	4	180	-	-	4	180
4. Woollen Mills	1	179	-	-	1	179
ENGINEERING						
1. Coach-building and Motor Cars Repairing	1	304	-	-	1	304
2. Electrical Engineering	4	277	-	-	4	277
3. Electrical Generating and Transforming Station	1	106	-	-	1	106
4. General Engineering	10	2,159	2	157	12	2,316
5. Kerosene Tinning and Packing	4	2, 196	-	-	4	2,196
6. Railway Workshops	7	6,240	-	-	7	6, 240
7. Miscellaneous	-	-	1	232	1	232
FOOD, DRINK AND TOBACCO						
1. Breweries and Distilleries	1	269	-	-	1	269
2. Rice Mills	64	3,441	-	-	64	3,441
3. Sugar Factories	8	2,683	-	-	8	2,683
4. Tea Factories	9	382	105	7,898	114	8,280
CHEMICALS, DYES, ETC.						
1. Matches	1	40	-	-	1	40
2. Oil Mills	5	173	1	29	6	202
3. Miscellaneous	1	87	-	-	1	87
PAPER PRINTING						
1. Printing, Book Binding, etc.	1	23	-	-	1	23
GINS AND PRESSES						
1. Cotton Ginning and Baling (Seasonal)	3	238	-	-	3	238
2. Jute Presses (Seasonal)	52	7,293	-	-	52	7,293
PROCESSES RELATING TO WOOD, STONE AND GLASS						
1. Glass	2	332	-	-	2	332
2. Cement	-	-	1	280	1	280
3. Saw Mills	-	-	4	301	4	301
4. Miscellaneous	2	193	-	-	2	193
Grand Total	196	37,177	114	8,897	310	46,074

% of East Pakistan to total of Pakistan — Factories 23.7, Workers 24.0

[STATEMENT] XXII

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN HINDUSTAN [INDIA] AND PAKISTAN IN 1944

Industry	HINDUSTAN [INDIA] Factories	HINDUSTAN [INDIA] Average Daily Number of Workers	PAKISTAN Factories	PAKISTAN Average Daily Number of Workers
1. Cotton Mills	437	6,35,299	14	19,784
2. Jute Mills	91	2,88,663	-	-
3. Sugar Mills	150	82,126	10	3,833
4. Iron and Steel	35	58,450	-	-
5. Cement	14	8,602	6	2,022
6. Paper	21	16,582	-	-
7. Glass	141	20,890	4	722
Total	889	11,10,612	34	26,361

Note: All India list of factories classified according to different industries in 1944.

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Prince Faisal to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, FOA, O/346
[*Original in Arabic*]

JEDDA, HEJAZ,
Undated [*August 1947*]

I take this opportunity to send to Your Excellency the felicitations of His Majesty's Government of Saudi Arabia as well as my own on the independence of Pakistan. We declare the recognition of your independence by our Government and wish this new Muslim State great prosperity and progress. We also express our readiness to take all measures to predicate the relations of our Government with this young State on intimate and friendly terms.

FAISAL
Viceroy of Hejaz
and Foreign Minister, Saudi Arabia

[1]Acknowledged by Liaquat Ali Khan on 15 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

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Ismail Sidqi Oghli to M. A. Jinnah[1]

FOA, O/346
[*Original in Arabic*]

ISTANBUL,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
After respectful compliments,

From the press reports we have come to know of the establishment of the independent sovereign State of Pakistan. This news we have heard with much pleasure; indeed our hearts and eyes are filled with joy. We have availed, therefore, the first opportunity of conveying to Your Excellency our genuine greetings and good wishes. We pray Almighty God to help you in your efforts and great task in building up a prosperous state—which is always the desire of the entire Muslim world, and we wish our Indian Muslim brethren every prosperity. God willing we will not fail to help our Muslim brethren in time of need.

Here in Turkey, we Turks take great pride, and our hearts are filled with extreme joy and happiness on hearing the news of your freedom and we pray Almighty that He may graciously prosper you and your Government, day in and day out.

I, as *Rais-ul-Jannat El Difa Anil* [Chairman, Defence Committee], present my best compliments and most sincere good wishes to Your Excellency.

ALMAHAMI ISMAIL SIDQI OGHUZ BEG OGHLI

[1]Acknowledged by M. Ikramullah on 23 September 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

187

M. A. Chaiwala and Hassanaly P. Ebrahim to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 72-GG/20

BOMBAY,
1 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Brother Ahmed expired fourthirty afternoon. Making due arrangements.

CHAIWALA AND HASSANALY

Jinnah being sworn in as Governor-General, 15 August 1947

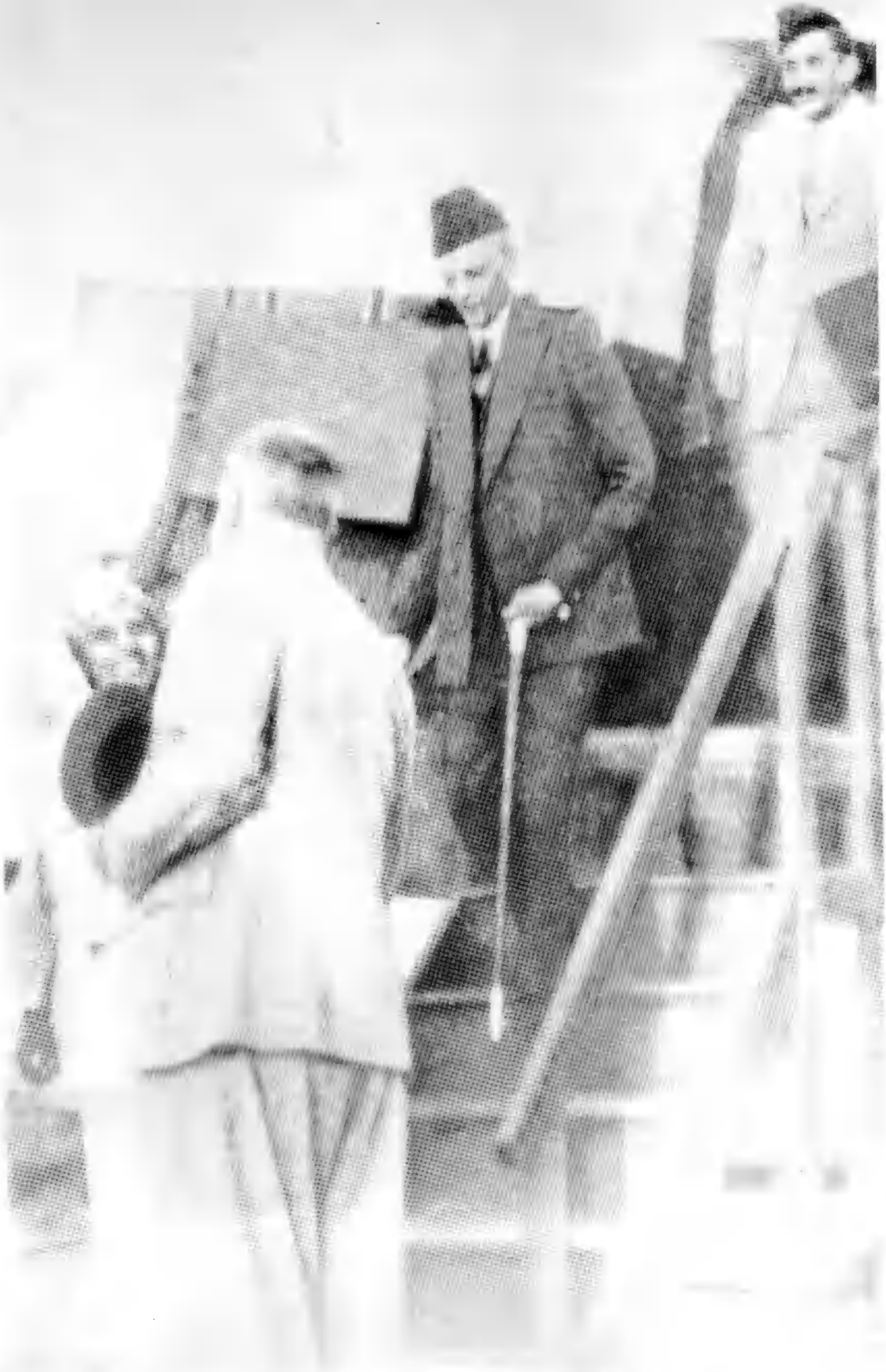
Jinnah inspecting the Guard of Honour, 15 August 1947

Jinnah offering *'Id al-Fitr* prayers, 18 August 1947

Jinnah replying to an address of welcome by the Karachi Municipal Corporation, 25 August 1947

Jinnah listening intently to a refugee's tale of woes

Ahmed Ali (Jinnah's brother) and wife Emy



Jinnah arriving at Lahore (Also in the picture are Fatima Jinnah, Francis Mudie & S. Wajid Ali)

I have been through this with Gen Rees

The upshot seems to be :—

(1) Gurdaspur less Shakargarh Tahsil goes East

Action to transfer Shakargarh Tahsil bodily to Sialkot District.

(2) An unspecified number of villages of Lahore District go East.

Action to transfer these villages as soon as defined from Lahore to Amritsar (Tarn Taran Tahsil)

(3) Ferozepur and Zira Tahsils go West

Action (i) to transfer these Tahsils to Lahore District

(ii) to constitute new Gurkha District (? at Moga) with Tahsils Moga, Muktiar, Fazilka, & Sub Tahsils Nathana and Abohar.

(a) Can best be done by IG Police. [illegible] 8/4)

2. We must now (a) get out infor. to Dy Commissioners Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, & Ferozepur (also perhaps Gujranwala & Shrikhupura) and (b) get off copies ready with blank names; also (c) make our dispositions.

3. Conference with IG Police & Gen Rees immediately [illegible] Gen Rees knows; [illegible] IG Police. [illegible] 8/4/47

Facsimile of Jenkins's Minute of 8 August 1947 about Ferozepore

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Hassan A. Shaikh to Fatima Jinnah

Telegram, F. 72-GG/30

BOMBAY,
1 September 1947

Miss Fatima Jinnah, Government House, Karachi

Regret inform you Ahmed Ali Jinnah expired this evening. Kindly accept my heartfelt feeling.[1]

HASSAN A. SHAIKH
President, Bombay City Muslim League

[1]Draft reply from Jinnah & Fatima Jinnah was: "Both deeply grieved hear sad news. Please make all necessary arrangements funeral, burial and thank you for your sympathies". See F. 72-GG/29 A. Not printed.

189

Soedarsone to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124 (3)-GG/1-4

CONSTITUTION HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
1 September 1947

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Your Excellency,

I am instructed by Prime Minister Sjarifudin to inform you that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia intends to establish diplomatic relations[1] with Pakistan.

I, therefore, herewith request Your Excellency to grant me an interview to discuss this matter, which is of the utmost importance to us.

However, in the meantime I take liberty to explain to you briefly the position as it is now:

Article 15 of the Linggadjati Agreement[2] reads as follows:

> In order to reform the Government of the Indies in such a way that its composition and procedure shall conform as closely as possible to the recognition of the Republic and to the projected constitutional structure, the Netherlands Government, pending the realization of the United States of Indonesia and of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, shall

forthwith initiate the necessary legal measures which will adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation.

With a true implementation of this article, the development of the Republic can be assured, her foreign relations in particular.

The Dutch, however, fearing that these relations would undermine their interests, proposed in a Note to set up a council, under chairmanship of the Head of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Interim Government was not to have a representation of her own. And although Indonesians were to be admitted in the Embassies this is not enough to comply with our wish to have our own representatives to make the foreign service a fruitful one. Needless to say that this only can be achieved if the Representatives are appointed by their own Government who thus assure them of the fullest support.

Nevertheless to meet the Dutch interests we proposed in our Reply Note only to have Trade Commissioners or Representatives without particular determination.

On the 21st July when the Dutch started their "police measures" the Lt. Governor-General tore up the Linggadjati Agreement. We, on our part, then did the same and now consider ourselves free to have our own representatives abroad. But as Your Excellency will be aware it is now of imperative need to have our Representatives in friendly neighbouring countries.

I need not stress that particularly the exchange of Representatives between Pakistan and the Republic of Indonesia will deepen and extend the feelings of brotherhood between the two peoples.

Furthermore, as the Security Council decided to tender her good offices for the establishment of an arbitration committee it will be of great help to us in the coming discussions to have our foreign relations already firmly established.

I shall be most grateful for an early reply to this letter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most
obedient servant,
SOEDARSONE
Representative,
Republic of Indonesia in India

[1]Jinnah had earlier sent a message to the Indonesian Republican Government expressing the hope that friendly relations between the two States would be strengthened. See *Pakistan Times*, 30 August 1947.

[2]See No. 138, note 4, Vol. I, Part I, 265.

190

Shah Pasand Khan and Others[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

Telegram, F. 46-GG/22-7

TANK,
2 September 1947

H. E. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

About ten thousand Masuds, Wazirs, Bhitanis, Jatatar etc. assembled at Tank on first Sept. 47 under the presidenship of Nawab Qutabuddin Khan of Tank and passed unanimously first that they were shocked about the sad and cruel happenings in the Eastern Punjab and therefore they offer every drop of blood under the leadership of Nawab Tank in support of their Muslim brothers in the East Punjab.[2] Second that Quaid-i-Azam Governor-General Pakistan be informed that they were ready to march five thousand armed tribesmen at once twenty thousand in subsequent groups as required on the only subsistence of conveyance and rations. Thirdly that since the separation of Frontier from Punjab our tribes have been ignored and committed our leader in the government [*sic*]. Hence request that Nawab Tank be taken in Cabinet to represent our districts and tribes. Though [he] be not desirous of it, [he] be compelled without request to serve our purpose at the risk of his personal duties and multifarious affairs of his task [*sic*].

SHAH PASAND KHAN MASUD
Colonel
AND OTHERS

[1]These included Malik Walizai Khan Waziri, Subedar Giazgul Khan Bhittani of Jandola, Dost Muhammad, *Lambardar* of Tank, Khan Arsala Khan Totor, Muhammad Bux Chughtai, and Secretary Muslim League Tank, Pir Mishshar of Kanigurram.
[2]See Annex.

Annex to No. 190
Charles Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall
Telegram, U. S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/9-1047

RESTRICTED

AMERICAN EMBASSY, KARACHI,
10 September 1947

TRIBAL UNREST IN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Sir,

I have the honour to inform the Department that according to press reports a *jirga* lasting two days was held a few days ago at Sardaryab

in the North-West Frontier Province by representatives of the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Zalme Pakhtoons, and certain tribal agencies. The representatives are reported to have passed resolutions reaffirming their faith in the establishment of Pathanistan and expressing their strong dissatisfaction with the recent dismissal of the Khan Sahib Ministry,[1] on orders of the Central Pakistan Government. It is stated that the resolution on Pathanistan defined this proposed entity as "a state which will comprise the present six settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province and all other such contiguous areas inhabited by the Pathans which may wish to join it of their own free-will and are willing to concede Defence, External Affairs and Communications to the Dominion of Pakistan by negotiations". The reference to association with Pakistan appears to be a considerable concession, as heretofore the Pathans who have been clamoring for Pathanistan have shown little inclination to align themselves in any way with Pakistan Government. It is understood that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was present at the conference.

The conference is also stated to have issued an appeal to the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province to render every possible aid to the victims of the communal outrages in the Punjab. It was not stated publicly what form this aid should take but it appears to be definitely confirmed by reports from other sources that there is a strong desire on the part of a large number of Pathans to take direct action against the non-Muslims in the Punjab. It is understood that numerous offers by Pathan leaders have been rejected by the Pakistan Government to muster their forces and proceed to the Punjab to settle account with Sikhs and other elements who have been attacking the Muslims.

While the Government has endeavoured to restrain these Pathans from taking any such action to redress the wrongs perpetrated on Muslims their efforts have not been entirely successful. The most serious indiscipline has taken the form of attacks on three special troop trains carrying troops from the North-West Frontier to India. These attacks were made early in September by Pathan raiders in the vicinity of Kohat, North-West Frontier Province. The exact number of casualties has not been published but is reported to run into several scores of killed and wounded. Most of the troops are stated to have been Gurkhas who had been transferred to the Indian army. The trains were waylaid by armed Pathan raiders bent on revenge for the episodes occurring in the Punjab including the wrecking of Pakistan-bound trains. The attacks were strongly condemned by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Premier of the North-West Frontier Province, but it is doubted that the

Pathans were much disturbed by his condemnation.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES W. LEWIS, Jr.,
Charge d' affaires a. i.

[1]See No. 74.

191

Ataullah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/82

SAIDU SHARIF,
SWAT STATE, NWFP,
2 September 1947

Dear Iftikhar Husain Khan S[ahi]b,

I thank you very much indeed for your letter of 27th August, 1947.[1]

I am enclosing herewith a cheque No. 578007 dated 2-9-1947 for Rs. 20,000 only from the Ruler of Swat, as his contribution for the relief of the refugees from the East Punjab.[2]

Two other cheques No. 059293 dated 2-9-47 (19,000) [and] No. 23368 dated 1-9-47 (for 1,000) total of rupees twenty thousand are also enclosed. This is also a contribution for the relief of the refugees from the East Punjab as collected by the Swat State public.

Please acknowledge.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
ATTAULLAH
B.A., LL.B.
Secretary to the Ruler of Swat

[1]Not traceable.

[2]As all such donations were to be sent to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund set up under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam, this donation received towards Punjab Provincial Muslim League Relief Fund, was transferred to that Fund. See F. 80 (Vol.I)-GG/44, 71, 81 & 91. Not printed.

192

F. Amin to Mohamed el Attar

F. 76-GG/23

2 September 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 25th August 1947[1] addressed to the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

I am to state that the album in question was never asked for and the question of payment does not arise. It was sent as a complimentary copy and was accepted as such.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Mohamed el Attar,
Farouk First Historical Museum,
27 Malika Farida Street, Cairo, Egypt

[1]No. 111.

193

Hassanally A. Rahman to M. W. Abbasi

F. 685/460

SIND MADRESSAH BOARD,
KARACHI 2,
2 September 1947

Sir,

I beg to express my sincerest regrets for the delay in sending the receipt[1] for Rs. 5,000 donated by His Excellency, the Quaid-i-Azam to the Sind Madrassah Girls School.

Permit me to mention that our institution has during the recent months been unfortunately convulsed by a most serious strike which dislocated all normal functions of the office and the classes.

I request that this apology be accepted by the Quaid-i-Azam.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
HASSANALLY A. RAHMAN
Bar-at-Law
Honorary Secretary

[1]No. 282, Vol. III, 540.

194

Hasan Albanna to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, O/346

CAIRO,
2 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General, Karachi

Akhwan al-Muslimeen are mourning for bloodshed of Muslim brothers in India. We pray Almighty to bestow high grade martyrdom upon wrongly killed [and] to grant you all patience. I wired Mountbatten, Gandhi, Nehru, holding them responsible for not adopting adequate measures to prevent these wrongs. We all sympathise with you morally and practically. We have approached all embassies here. We did all and shall do all we can and all you ask for. Patience and fortitude are preamble to victory.

HASAN ALBANNA
[*Supreme Guide of Muslim Brotherhood Association*]

195

M. Hayaud Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/146-7

KARACHI,
3 Sep[tember 1947]

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you which I hope you will not

mind. I was hoping to get a chance to have an interview with you but I understand you are very busy. My stay here is very short too, as I am leaving tomorrow for Rawalpindi.

I have just returned from U.K. by sea. On board the ship S.S. *Otranto* the Muslim passengers consisting of naval and army personnel returning to Pakistan held a small function to celebrate the independence of our nation. A collection was made for the Pakistan Fund[1] and I was authorised to deliver the money to the appropriate authorities.

I herewith enclose a cheque for the amount which I place at your disposal. I am also enclosing another cheque for Rs. 500 as a personal contribution from me. This is part of the *Zakat* dues which I also lay at your disposal. I wish to remain anonymous about this.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. HAYAUD DIN
Colonel
[G.] *H.Q., Pakistan Army*

[1]See No. 128, Vol. II, 297-9.

196

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

F. 61-GG/4

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S LODGE,
SIMLA,
3 September 1947

My dear Governor-General,

Thank you for your letter No. 65-GG/47, dated 21 August 1947.[1] I have written to Admiral Palliser and informed him that you would be very pleased to meet him on the occasion of his visit to Karachi in the first week of January, 1948.

2. I have asked him to make detailed arrangements regarding his visit with the Flag Officer Commanding, Royal Pakistan Navy, in the usual way.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTABTTEN OF BURMA

[1]See No. 61.

197

T. S. Padmanabhan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 72-GG/37

POST BOX NO. 2,
KARACHI, N.W.R.,
3 September 1947

Your Excellency,

Please accept and also convey to Miss Fatima Jinnah, sincere condolences from my wife and children and myself in your bereavement occasioned by the death at Bombay of heart disease of your dear brother, Mr. Ahmed Ali Jinnah, on Monday, the Ist inst[ant] about which we read in the *Times of India* of Bombay, dated 3. 9. 47.

May his soul rest in peace eternity is our fervent prayer [*sic*]!

Yours respectfully,
T. S. PADMANABHAN

198

B. M. Koyatty & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/169

THEKKUMTALA,
CALICUT,
(S. MALABAR),
3 September 1947

Our beloved leaders,

The fifteenth of August 47 was great and historic to the hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent and four hundred million of the other Muslims of the world, and on which day our beloved and great leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has cheerfully received the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan which has been achieved by tireless and sincere endeavours of the Musalmans during these forty one years [*sic*]. This Day will go down in the history of India as a day that has laid the foundation of the greatest Muslim State and the fifth greatest [*sic* for largest] country of the world.

We have greatest pleasure to send our heartfelt congratulations

and greetings to Pakistan which is a God's blessing to the Musalmans who marched to the goal under the able and dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

The following is the full text of the resolution unanimously adopted by the general body meeting held to mark respect and honour to the new state on 31-8-47, under the auspices of the Young Muslim Association, Calicut, Mr. B. M. Koyatty presiding.[1] We, herein earnestly request you, our prominent leaders, to send us your precious messages for which we are anxiously awaiting [*sic*].

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Muslims of Calicut resolve[s] to convey the heartfelt congratulations of the Muslims of Calicut to our beloved and great leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and to all his colleagues on this momentous and historic occasion of having brought Pakistan into existence.

This meeting also consider[s] the August 15th, [19]47 as a day that has laid the foundation of the greatest Muslim State, Pakistan, and which will be memorable in the heart of every Musalman in this subcontinent.

This meeting appreciate[s] with great regard and respect the sacrifices done [*sic* for made] by the leaders for the attainment of a separate home of Muslims which has now become an established fact.

This meeting fervently hope[s] that the beloved leaders of the Muslim community will gladly receive our sincere and heartfelt greetings, and further we are anxiously awaiting precious messages from our leaders for the memory of the newly established Muslim sovereign state, Pakistan.

B. M. KOYATTY
President,
Young Muslim Association

Copies to:

Prime Minister, Ministers and all prominent leaders of the Muslim League

[1]The resolution was moved by C. Usman Koya and seconded by K. M. Abdu, the Honorary Secretary of the Association.

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Helen J. Sioussat[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 17/2-GG/7[2]

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM,
485 MADISON AVENUE,
NEW YORK 22,
4 September 1947

Sir,

Thank you so much for your interest and courtesy in accepting our invitation[3] to speak in connection with your assuming the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan.

It was indeed unfortunate that quality of reception was too poor to rebroadcast your talk to our listeners.

I believe our President, Mr. Stanton, has written to you,[4] but I wish, too, to tell you how much we appreciate your co-operation and express the hope that I may, at some future time, have the pleasure and honour of arranging a program, with you, with better success.

With all good wishes,

Most cordially,
HELEN J. SIOUSSAT

[1]Director, Department of Radio Talks, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 2 October 1947. See F. 17/2-GG/8. Not printed.
[3]See Nos. 103 and 232, Vol. IV, 178 and 341, respectively.
[4]No. 146.

200

M. M. Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120(Vol. III)-GG/62

ZAHEER MANZIL,
RED HILLS,
HYDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
4 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

On the eve of your departure for Karachi I had the honour to send you a synopsis of my book entitled *Democracy in Islam and A Code for the Good Government of Mankind*.[1] Now I beg to enclose a final draft of

part IV and V of the same book.[2]

I can do no better than to enclose my first letter[3] to you which speaks for itself. In addition to my previous letter, I take permission to quote a para from your Lahore broadcast which reads as follows:

> Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly [and selflessly] in the service of our nation...[4]

I pray that Providence may win [*sic*] your heart and thus give me an opportunity to serve you and Pakistan.[5]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. MAHMUDULLAH JUNG

[1&2]Not traceable.
[3]Enclosure not printed. See No. 62, Vol. IV, 102-4.
[4]See No. 175.
[5]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 22 December 1947. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/65. Not printed.

201

Lloyds Bank Ltd., London to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1125/5

62 BROOK STREET,
GROSVENOR SQUARE,
LONDON, W. 1.,
4 September 1947

Your Excellency,

On the 28th June last I wrote[1] to you pointing out that by payment of your cheque for £1,000 in favour of R.E. Willcoxs & Company[2] your No. 1 current account[3] is overdrawn to the extent of £283-19-11. The balance in the No. 2 account, as you are aware, has credit of £4999-10-0.

I fully appreciate of course that current events have been such as entirely to occupy your attention and I do not wish to worry you with this matter. It does occur to me, however, that you will not be anxious to have interest charges accumulating against your account. I am therefore writing to remind you of the position.

Should you wish a transfer made between the accounts to rectify

the position, I shall of course be pleased to act upon your instructions.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Manager

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 56, Vol. II, 115-6.
[3]See Appendix II. 17, note 1, Vol. III, 739.

202

Hubert Rance to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 11-GG/7-8

IMMEDIATE

RANGOON,
4 September 1947

Governor-General Pakistan, Karachi

From Governor Burma. Following is text of my telegram today to Governor-General India. *Begins.* Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for Burma, accompanied by Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Mr Harris and lady stenographer will arrive B.O.A.C. Calcutta Wednesday 10th September. Grateful [if] you confirm prior arrangement between you and Lord Listowel for visit to you by your plane from Calcutta and onward passage to rejoin B.O.A.C. at Karachi. Leaving Karachi Friday 12th 11 a.m. Sending copy of this to Governor West Bengal at Calcutta and Governor-General Pakistan at Karachi. *Ends.* I would be most grateful if you would arrange transport between planes.

[HUBERT RANCE]
Governor of Burma

203

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 11-GG/6

NEW DELHI,
5 September 1947

Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi

My Dakota will be positioned at Dum Dum at 10.00 hours on

10 September to bring Lord Listowel and party here for night tenth—eleventh September. Will send them on to Karachi leaving here 2 p.m. on eleventh September. Repeated Governor West Bengal and Governor-General Pakistan.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

204

Adamali Y. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 72-GG/33

YUSUFI MANZIL,
GARDEN LANE,
KARACHI,
5 September 1947

May it please Quaid-i-Azam,

I learnt with profound sorrow of the sad demise of brother Ahmed at Bombay on Sunday last, and I beg to express my deep sympathy and convey my heartfelt condolence to you and sister Fat[i]ma in this sad bereavement.

Dear Ahmed was my classmate at the Sind Madressah and we were friends and I used to come with him to your house on Outram Road, about the time Your Excellency returned from England as Bar-at-Law.

May God bless the departed soul. Amen.

With respects,

I beg to remain,
Yours obediently,
ADAMALI Y. ALAVI
J. P.

205

Note by S. V. McCoy

F. 1113/52-3

ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEALS, TEA, ETC., FOR CERTAIN PERSONNEL

6 September 1947

In order to reduce the expenditure of food in the House thereby

releasing more food for poorer people of Pakistan, it has been decided[1] that only the following meals may be served to members of the staff in Government House:

1. *Office Assistants.* Those who live outside Government House[2] may have afternoon tea but those who live inside the compound must provide their own. A list of all such people will please be prepared by A. S. [Assistant Secretary] and sent to me.
2. *The Telephone Operator* who is on duty in the early morning will be provided with eggs, tea and toast. The Telephone Operator on duty in the afternoon will be provided with afternoon tea.
3. No other meals will be taken from Government House kitchen without the prior sanction of the Comptroller.

[S. V. McCOY]
Major

[1]The proposal was approved by Fatima Jinnah.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 205

F. 1113/54

LIST OF OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT (SUPERIOR) WHO LIVE OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT HOUSE

1. Mr. H. N. Braganza	Superintendent
2. Mr. Sajandas Bhojwani	Accountant
3. Mr. S.M. Ahmad	Tour Superintendent
4. Mr. I. M. Moghal	Steno
5. Mr. Ram T. Mansukhani	Clerk
6. Mr. Rashid Ahmad	Clerk
7. Mr. Abdul Haq	Clerk
8. Mr. Rahat Ali Mahmood	Clerk
9. Mr. M.A.P. Qureshi	Clerk

206

Hamidul Haq Chaudhary to M.W. Abbasi

F. 25 (2)-GG/10

EAST BENGAL SECRETARIAT,
DACCA,
6 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I am going to Karachi to meet Quaid-i-Azam in connection with the very serious food situation[1] that has arisen in Bengal. As his personal intervention in this matter is necessary it was thought necessary that I should see him. I will be leaving Bombay, where I shall be on the 10th regarding cloth distribution, on the 11th morning for Karachi. I would be very much obliged if you could arrange an interview[2] in the afternoon of 11th or on the 12th inst[ant].

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDUL HAQ [CHAUDHARY]
[*Minister for Commerce, Labour, Industries, Communications, Works and Buildings, etc.*]

[1]Also see No. 159.
[2]Jinnah agreed to the request for interview at 11.30 a.m. on 12 September.

207

Archibald Rowlands to K. H. Khurshid

F. 30-GG/45

MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT,
KARACHI,
6 September 1947

My dear Khurshid,

I think that the Quaid-i-Azam might like to see the enclosed extract[1] from a letter I have just received from Sir Alexander Aikman who was

Leader of the European Group in the Central Assembly from about 1936 to 1940.

Yours sincerely,
ARCHIBALD ROWLANDS

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 207
Alexander Aikman to Archibald Rowlands

F. 30-GG/47
[Extract]

MIDDLESEX [COUNTY, ENGLAND],
29 August 1947

You will have plenty of opportunities of seeing our old colleague, M. A. Jinnah. On a suitable occasion perhaps you will convey to him from me—an old colleague of his in the Assembly—my outstanding admiration of his courage and determination in carrying through his purpose and achieving Pakistan. To my humble mind this is a display of "guts" such as I have never heard of.

Good luck to him and Pakistan.

208

F. Amin to M. Y. Akbary

F. 76-GG/3

6 September 1947

Dear Sir,

Please refer to the Quaid-i-Azam's letter to you dated 12th August.[1] I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to ascertain from you the details of vehicles you have very kindly offered to him, together with their present place of location. Also please let us know the conditions of your offer, i.e. whether the trucks will be given free, or on loan, and, if so, for how long?

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

M. Y. Akbary, Esq.,
Trucks and Car Dealer,
Akbary Garage, Manaitand,
Dhanbad, [Bihar]

[1]No. 230, Vol. IV, 340. Also see No. 44.

209

Note by S. V. McCoy
F. 1113/50

7 September 1947

ARRANGEMENTS FOR "AT HOME" TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY, 7TH SEPTEMBER 1947

The "At Home" is to be held in the garden between Miss Jinnah's private sitting-room and the swimming bath. I suggest the following furniture be moved out:

a. Sofas and easy chairs to seat 20. For these, 8 teapoys will be provided.
b. The Y.M.C.A. have some coloured umbrellas which they are willing to lend. These might be useful in case of strong sunshine.

Refreshments[1]—The following refreshments have been arranged:
Sandwiches: Cucumber, eggs, chutney, ginger snaps and ice cream
(The above to be provided by Govt. House)
Two jam sponge cakes and 6 dozen
small cakes to be ordered from the Cafe Grand
Pakoras to be made by the Quaid-i-Azam's cook
(Miss Jinnah has given orders for this)
Drinks—Drinks will be cold coffee and ambrosia squashes
Arrangement for serving tables will be made by Mr. Joseph in consultation with the Comptroller.[2]

S. V. McCOY
Major

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]A copy was sent to Jinnah for approval.

210

M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Bombay[1]

Telegram, F. 685/464

8 September 1947

Please transfer to your Karachi Branch my current account No. 2

immediately telegraphically.

[M. A.] JINNAH

[1]Jinnah was informed by the Bank on 10 September that the account stood transferred to Karachi. See F. 685/465. Not printed. Also see No. 245.

211

M. S. Shunmugasundaram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65-GG/146

CUDDALORE O. T.,
8 September 1947

Respected Sir,

We have proposed to have a Dravidistan Separation Confederation at Cuddalore Junction on 14-9-47. Mr. S. Muthiya C.I.E., (ex-Minister of Madras) is presiding. Dr. A. Krishnasami M. A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law (son of Sir A. Ramasami) is opening the Confederation. Periyar E.V. Ramasami and other leaders are participating.

Now by the efforts of Your Excellency a new history has been created and it would be another success if we in the South attain our goal, that is an independent Dravidistan State.

The local Provincial League leader Janab M. Mohamed Ismail has issued a press statement that the League will support our right cause. This was received with great joy by the Dravidians. Further, your honour's telegraphic message[1] to *Kadhiravan,* a Madras Tamil journal, wishing it to work for the uplift of the Dravidians and the Muslims, enhanced the feelings. Now once again I request your honour to be pleased to send a message to both the brothers to this Confederation and we would be much obliged for you [?].

Yours sincerely,
M. S. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Dravidistan Separation Confederation, Tirupapuliyur

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 152.

212

S. V. McCoy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1113/55-6

8 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

The following servants are still employed in Flag Staff House:

Name	Designation	Pay
Manuel Gomes	Cook	90-0-0
Sam Petambi	Butler	70-0-0
Nanak Chand	*Masalchi*	38-0-0
Babu Lal	*Dhobi*	30-0-0
Magan Dasu	Sweeper	38-0-0
Balu	Sweeper	38-0-0
Ram Bharosa	*Mali*	39-0-0
Kasidin	*Mali*	39-0-0

Of these, only the butler who is in charge of the house, the two sweepers, and the two *malis* are working. May I have Quaid-i-Azam's orders[1] regarding the other servants as to whether they may still be retained or should be dismissed.

I would point out in this connection that Manuel Gomes is an exceptionally good cook for English style of food.

I have been in consultation with the Military Secretary and the Accountant regarding the establishment of cooks for Government House, and the following has been suggested:

One Head Cook	@ Rs. 100 per month	
First Assistant	@ Rs. 70 per month	(This man to be responsible for the running of Flag Staff House when that is used for guests)
Second Assistant	@ Rs. 60 [per month]	
Third Assistant	@ Rs. 60 [per month]	

The cooks who are working at present will accept this pay as opposed to the consolidated pay which they were getting at Rs. 300 per month. The new arrangement would entail a saving of Rs. 10 in the House, in addition to the pay of Flag Staff House cook.

Apart from this, there is the Quaid-i-Azam's personal cook. Should he be retained in addition to the other cooks, or absorbed in the establishment for Government House already given?

May I please have orders regarding Quaid's personal cook's rate

and account to be debited, as he has not received his pay for long.

S. V. McCOY
Major
Comptroller, [Quaid-i-Azam's Household]

[1]Jinnah noted "remain" against the names of Manuel Gomes and Nanak Chand; "retain" against Magan Dasu and Balu; and "must go" against Sam Petambi and Babu Lal.

213

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 51-GG/6

NEW DELHI,
8 September 1947

Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

Reference your letter of the 26th August[1] about the exhibition in London. Your suggestion "Exhibition of Pakistan and Hindustan Art" is not acceptable to the Prime Minister or to Mrs Naidu. I have suggested that the title should be Exhibition of Art from the Dominions of India and Pakistan. I think this would be agreeable to the Prime Minister and I hope that it will also be acceptable to you and that you will also agree to be an Honorary President of the Exhibition. I should be grateful for an early reply as the printing of the necessary placards and programmes must be proceeded within the United Kingdom at an early date.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

[1]No. 117.

214

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 51-GG/8

MOST IMMEDIATE *9 September 1947*

Governor-General India, New Delhi

Reference your telegram 8th September,[1] I accept your suggestion that the title should be "Exhibition of Art from the Dominions of India and Pakistan" and it follows that I accept the honour of becoming President of the Exhibition. High Commissioner Pakistan in London

will be informed also to accept the honour of becoming Vice-President of the Exhibition.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN

[1]No. 213.

215

G. A. Browne to M. W. Abbasi

F. 25(2)Vol. I-GG/27-8

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
9 September 1947

Sir,

Having arrived only recently in Karachi to which my Government has posted me as Trade Commissioner to Pakistan, it is hoped that His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam may be able to find time, in the near future, to grant me an interview, and I accordingly write to ask if you would be good enough to present my compliments to His Excellency and inquire whether, at His Excellency's convenience, I might have the honour of an appointment.[1]

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
G. A. BROWNE
Acting Canadian Government
Trade Commissioner

[1]F. Amin informed Browne that Jinnah would see him at 11.30 a.m. on 15 September 1947. See F. 25(2) Vol. I-GG/26. Not printed.

216

Note by E. St. J. Birnie

F. 125(6)-GG/2

10 September 1947

I return herewith this letter[1] to Mr. Faruqui.

I have spoken to him and also to Mr. Clee[2] and the latter promises me that none of that land will be offered to anyone without prior

reference to us.

Mr. Clee also says that he feels sure the Polo Ground is already Government House property.

I have asked the P.W.D. to prepare a chart showing all lands belonging to us.

E. St. J. BIRNIE
M[ilitary] S[ecretary] to the Q[uaid]

[1]Enclosure.
[2]An officer of Revenue Dept., Sind.

Enclosure to No. 216
Charles Lewis to N. A. Faruqui

F. 125(6)-GG/1

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
4 September 1947

Dear Mr. Faruqui,

As I told you a few days ago I have been authorized by my Government to enter into negotiations for the purchase of property in Karachi for an Embassy, a residence for the Ambassador and houses for members of the staff of the Embassy. While it may take sometime, I am nevertheless of the opinion that considering the scarcity of existing structures in Karachi which would be suitable for our needs it would be much wiser for us to purchase vacant land and build according to our own specifications. In searching for land which might be suitable I have taken note of the land immediately to the north of the Palace Hotel which, I understand, belongs to the Government. I would be very much obliged to you if you would advise me whether the Government would be willing to sell this land to the United States Government and, if so, what the price would be.

As this matter is of some urgency I would appreciate it if you would inquire into this question as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES W. LEWIS, Jr.
Charge d'affaires, a. i.

N. A. Faruqui, Esquire,
Collector of Karachi

Copy to M. Ikramullah

217

D. H. Daruvala to F. Amin

F. 25(2)Vol. I-GG/61

MERCANTILE CHAMBERS,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
[OFF] BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 September 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

I have got a friend of mine Mr. H. W. Oddin Taylor, Engineer, P.W.D. & Secretary to A.G.G. [Agent to Governor-General] Baluchistan, now retired, in Quetta. Also I have got my connections with him and we attend to each other's work whenever necessary.

So if you have got no objection, you may send me the particulars of the property[1] and I shall be able to get all particulars and information and its value. Mr. Taylor is quite competent in his work and fully reliable.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
D. H. DARUVALA
B.E. (Civil), M.I.E. (Ind)
Chartered Engineer

[1]Refers to Eileen Bond's Five Springs Estate, Quetta, which she had offered for sale to Jinnah. F. Amin informed Eileen Bond on 11 September that the said property did not suit Jinnah's requirements. See F. 16-GG/26. Not printed.

218

Randolph S. Churchill to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25(Pt. I)-GG/154

MELBOURNE,
10 September 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was greatly disappointed that I did not have a chance of seeing you while in Karachi.

It was most good of you to send your Military Secretary to see me.

May I take this opportunity of sending every good wish to you and to the new Dominion of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL

219

M. A. Jinnah to Clement Attlee

F. 32/5[1]

11 September 1947

Dear Mr. Attlee,

This is just to introduce to you Mir Laik Ali, who is one of the biggest magnates in the industrial life of Hyderabad, and is now interested in the industrial progress of Pakistan; besides he is a personal friend of mine.

He is one of the ablest heads of the commercial and industrial life of the subcontinent and, at present, controls and manages the biggest industries in Hyderabad. I thought that you might spare some little time and meet him. He is going as one of our delegates to the Session of the U.N.O. which is being held on 16th September, and he has been advised to halt in England for a few days on his way. He belongs to Hyderabad and enjoys the respect of His Exalted Highness the Nizam; and I believe that he is carrying a personal letter from him to you. Therefore, he might have the opportunity to meet you and discuss matters of trade and commercial interest between Great Britain and Pakistan, as he is bound to play a very prominent part in the future industrial and commercial development of Pakistan.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]For another version see F. 32/2, *QAP*. Not printed. The copy bearing Jinnah's signature, and received by the British Premier, is available in Public Record Office, London, File No. PREM 8/568.

220

M. A. Jinnah to Winston Churchill[1]

F. 32/3

11 September 1947

Dear Mr. Churchill,

This is just to introduce to you Mir Laik Ali, who is one of the biggest magnates in the industrial life of Hyderabad, and is now interested in the industrial progress of Pakistan, besides being a personal friend of mine.

He is one of the ablest heads of the commercial and industrial life of the subcontinent and, at present, controls and manages the biggest industries in Hyderabad. I thought that you might spare some little time and meet him. He is going as one of our delegates to the Session of the U. N. O. which is being held on 16th September, and he has been advised to halt in England for a few days on his way. He belongs to Hyderabad and enjoys the respect of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Therefore, he might have the opportunity to meet you and discuss matters of trade and commercial interest between Great Britain and Pakistan as he is bound to play a very prominent part in the future industrial and commercial development of Pakistan.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Leader of the Conservative Opposition in British Parliament.

221

M. A. Jinnah to Harold Macmillan

F. 32/4

11 September 1947

Dear Mr. Macmillan,[1]

May I take the opportunity of introducing to you Mir Laik Ali, the bearer of this letter. He is one of the most prominent industrialists here and there are numerous big concerns under his control in Hyderabad. Now he has directed his attention to Pakistan and I think that he is bound to play a very big part in the industrial future of Pakistan.

I do hope that you will meet him and also help him in establishing contacts with prominent leading men in the commercial, financial and

political world of Great Britain.[2]

With kind regards and hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Member of the Conservative Opposition in British Parliament.
[2]Acknowledged by Macmillan on 7 November. He informed Jinnah of having had a talk with Mir Laik Ali and of the latter having already contacted Winston Churchill and Richard Butler. See F. 485/19, *QAP*. Not printed.

222

F. Amin to Archibald Rowlands

F. 30-GG/48

11 September 1947

Dear Sir,

Reference your D. O. letter No. 16/Adv. GG dated the 6th September.[1] I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for forwarding an extract[2] from Sir Alexander Aikman's letter, and to request you kindly to convey his cordial thanks to Sir Alexander for his good wishes on the establishment of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

[1&2]No. 207.

223

Appeal by M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (Vol.1)-GG/1-3

12 September 1947

The sufferings that have been inflicted on our people in East Punjab, Delhi and various other parts of the Dominion of India have few parallels in their extent. They have confronted Pakistan on the morrow of its birth with problems of gigantic dimensions. Since we assumed office, my Government and myself have been spending the best part of our time and energy in dealing with this grave crisis which continues to assume graver proportions as one disaster follows another. We have now to think in terms of affording relief to those millions of our brethren who have been stricken by this calamity. The nation is aware that an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet has been constituted for

the purpose which is meeting daily and a separate Ministry for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation has been set up. We are determined to mobilize the resources of the State to the fullest possible extent to cope with this colossal task and to overcome all difficulties. But in a national crisis of such magnitude the resources of the State must necessarily be supplemented by those of the people themselves, and private charity and their support and cooperation can accomplish much which Government organisations and aid alone cannot. I have given the most anxious and careful thought as to how this can be done, and have decided to institute forthwith a fund to be known as the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. The Fund will be administered by a Central Committee consisting of six members—myself, the Finance Minister, the Minister for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation, the Governor of Sind, the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and the Auditor-General of Pakistan who will be the Treasurer. Under the Central Committee, Provincial Committees with the Governor (in the case of Baluchistan the Chief Commissioner) as Chairman will be set up which will in turn organize District Committees.

2. I appeal to the nation to come forward with generous contributions to this Fund and to stint no sacrifice or effort for this purpose. There are millions who are living in safety and security and enjoying the comforts of life while countless numbers of their fellow human beings have suffered and are suffering grievously. Now is the time for the former to make the greatest possible voluntary sacrifices of comfort and of the material things they possess. Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on an austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life, and let the money, foodstuffs and clothing thus saved be brought to this common pool for the relief of the stricken. The winter is approaching and in the Punjab and Delhi particularly it is very severe and we must provide refugees protection against it. In these circumstances I have every hope and feel confident that our people will rise to the occasion, and give all the support to me that is possible for them to give.

3. The following instructions should be noted:

(1) All cash contributions including cheques, drafts etc. should be sent to the Treasurer of the Fund at the following address:

Honorary Treasurer,
Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund,
243, Staff Lines,
Karachi

(2) All correspondence should be addressed to the
Honorary Secretary,

Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund,
P.W.D. Secretariat,
Karachi

(3) No authority is given directly or indirectly to any individual to collect subscriptions to the Fund. The names of those who are expressly authorised to collect subscriptions will be announced later by the Central and Provincial Committees.

(4) All the moneys in the Fund will be controlled by the Central Committee who will, from time to time, make such allotment as may be necessary to meet the needs of each zone.

(5) Contributions in kind should be sent to such centres and addresses as may be announced by the Provincial Committees.

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L. Grafftey-Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 125(2)-GG/6

KARACHI,
12 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A reply to the telegram sent about Lancaster House has only just reached me. It reads as follows:

> It is very much regretted that Lancaster House which has to be used by H. M. Government for so many purposes these days cannot be spared. Position in regard [to] accommodation is extremely difficult and it is understood H. M. Government are being pressed to allow London Museum to return to Lancaster House. Every possible assistance is being given to Pakistan High Commissioner to secure Nos. 15 and 16 Fitzharding Street, W. 1. Ministry of Works will also assist with loan of furniture.

I am sorry that it seems to be impossible to acquire Lancaster House for your High Commissioner.

H.M.G. have, of course, their own accommodation problems, and the overall situation in London will be unpleasantly like that in Karachi, for some time to come.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

225

U. K. High Commissioner, New Delhi, to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations

Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/119

TOP SECRET
No. 738

NEW DELHI,
12 September 1947

Following from Grafftey-Smith

I have received on afternoon of September 10th following message marked most immediate and most secret, from Prime Minister of Pakistan to Prime Minister with request that I send it in our cypher because Pakistan Government fear any message from them may be intercepted.

2. Pakistan Government request repetition of this message to Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa but not repeat not to India.

3. Please transmit message urgently to Prime Minister and repeat to Prime Ministers of four Dominions mentioned.

Message begins:

Developments in India and the relations between the two Dominions of India and Pakistan are now entering a critical phase. The Pakistan Government consider that the time has come to put your Government and the other Governments of the British Commonwealth in possession of the salient features of the present situation.

2. British India had been the scene of spasmodic communal strife for nearly a year. Calcutta, Noakhali, Bombay, Bihar, Garhmukteshwar in the U.P., Rawalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar, and some other places had successively witnessed communal tension breaking out into a short-lived frenzy of murder and arson. Except in Bihar and Garhmukteshwar, where there was a pre-arranged plan organized on a large scale, all these incidents were in the nature of civil commotion, although more severe than usual. But the chain of events which started with an attack by the Sikhs on a special train carrying Pakistan Government employees and their families from Delhi to Karachi on the 9th August[1] and which had inflicted untold suffering on millions of people in the Punjab was of a very different character. It was a deliberate and organised attempt by the Sikhs encouraged and actively assisted by the Hindus to liquidate by violent and bloody means the entire Muslim population of the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and Ludhiana in the East Punjab and simultaneously to bring in the

Sikh population out of the West Punjab in order to settle them there in place of the Muslims.

3. The object of the plan was to concentrate the Sikh population in the East Punjab in order to lay claim to the creation of a Sikh State adjoining the Sikh States of Patiala, Faridkot and others. Planning and preparation by the Sikhs for a concerted attack on Muslims had been in progress for a long time with the active assistance of most of the Sikh States. Lord Mountbatten and Field Marshal Auchinleck were aware of these preparations and their magnitude. In spite, however, of constant and emphatic declarations that immediate and drastic measures would be taken and in spite of definite assurances given from the middle of July, the Viceroy and Governor-General who had also the powers did not, for some reason or the other, which we are unable to understand, take any action to nip this movement in the bud. This inaction continued until the appointed day, viz. 15th August came and passed and he is now completely helpless and the India Dominion have failed to maintain order.

4. The attack was launched on the 9th August 1947 and soon developed into wholesale murder, rape, abduction of women, forcible conversion, arson and loot[ing]. Armed bands of considerable strength struck at the cities and roamed about the countryside killing Muslims, kidnapping their women, burning their towns and villages, desecrating and destroying mosques. These bands were armed with (besides the Sikh sword *kirpan*) a considerable number of modern weapons and means of transport—rifles, Bren guns, jeeps and military trucks—procured from the Sikh States or Indian Army stores with the connivance of Hindu [and] Sikh officers or by other illegal means. They were well-organised and often included mounted men who were used as scouts for reconnaissance. They committed acts of inhuman savagery, sparing neither women nor children. The toll of human life has been terribly heavy and damage to property very extensive. No proper estimate of either is possible in the present disturbed conditions, but there is good reason to believe that the death-toll runs into six figures.

5. The civil administration in the East Punjab, particularly the police, assisted these armed bands in numerous cases in carrying out destruction of Muslim life and property or refrained from taking action against them. There are instances where Hindu and Sikh troops have also been guilty of the same conduct.

6. As the Muslim refugees in hundreds of thousands poured[2] into West Punjab with their tale of woe, retaliatory measures were taken by local population in some places. Our Government have done their best

to keep the people under control and although there have been regrettable incidents we have on the whole succeeded in our efforts to a very large extent. There has undoubtedly been a large-scale migration of Hindus and Sikhs, mostly the latter, from the West Punjab, but there is evidence to show that the Sikh migration, particularly the controlled exodus from Montgomery [now Sahiwal] District and the more recent one from Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] District, was a part of the Sikh plan.

7. The wave of violence which started in the above-mentioned districts of the East Punjab is now spreading out to other parts of India. The Ambala Division of the East Punjab is badly affected and conditions there are getting as bad as those in Jullundur Division. The neighbouring States of Alwar and Bharatpur had even earlier adopted a hostile and oppressive attitude towards their Muslim subjects and have since helped the communal movement in East Punjab in various ways by supporting the Hindu and Sikh onslaught upon the Muslims. Delhi has been the scene of carnage on a large scale. There is every indication that throughout the India Dominion life will be made impossible for the Muslims. Their life, property and honour is now unsafe over vast areas.

8. The Government of India are apparently unwilling or powerless to restore order. While stern and ruthless action is called for, speeches and appeals to reason are being made instead without any effect on those who are determined to achieve their object of destroying the Muslims. The appeals recently made by the India Government to their administration indicate that orders of Government to enforce law and order are being disobeyed with impunity. In the capital of India, murder, arson and loot[ing] have been going on for the last seven days in broad daylight without any real check.[3] Our High Commissioner in Delhi has been rendered completely ineffective through failure of the India Government to give him adequate protection. He is cut off from contact with the outside world. In the last message he managed to send, he described his position as "more or less that of a prisoner except that prisoners are assured of food and protection".[4]

9. In the circumstances set out above, the Government of Pakistan feel that the retention of their Representative in Delhi is serving no useful purpose. It is the considered opinion, therefore, that failing an immediate improvement in the situation in India Dominion and in the attitude of the India Government, they will be compelled to consider seriously the question of withdrawing their High Commissioner from Delhi.

10. It is clear that the India Dominion as a member of the British

Commonwealth has failed in the primary duty of protecting the life, property and honour of one section of its citizens—the Muslims who are marked out for death and destruction. The Pakistan Government, therefore, urge that the Government of the U. K. along with other members of the Commonwealth, should immediately consider effective ways and means of saving gravest situation in India which presents a serious threat not only to the peace of this great sub-continent but to that of the whole world, unless concrete action is taken forthwith to arrest and stop the orgies of death and destruction which are going apace, the consequences will be most disastrous and beyond imagination. *Message ends.*

[1]See Appendix III. 15, Vol. IV, 426.
[2]See Appendix III. 20, ibid., 431-32.
[3]Disturbances in Delhi and surrounding areas flared up towards the end of August and reports thereon were rendered by Zahid Husain, Pakistan High Commissioner. See Appendix III.
[4]See Appendix III. 12.

226

Central Relief Committee, Hyderabad, Sind, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/2-3

13 September 1947

Governor-General, Karachi

Refugee figures reached sixteen thousand. Thousands pouring in daily with harrowing tales of atrocities in Hindu States and normal area. Not a single Musalman left. Kindly send Rehabilitation Officer with adequate staff. One Pakistan Minister must study problem on spot here. Local civil hospital staff and medicine stocks most inadequate. Pray arrange imm[e]d[ia]t[e]ly supply of doctors, nurses, medicines. Also take imm[e]d[ia]te action on points already discussed with Premier Sind. Problem of sanitation most acute, sweepers running away. Likely break up of electricity and water supply, telephone service. Essential services ordinance most essential to stop workers. Special cloth quota necessary. Evacuees from Sind carrying rationed commodities and arms. Strong instructions to all district magistrates, police for vigorous se[a]rches essential. Major Nihal Singh, Inspector Railway Police, harassing Muslim[s]. Pray take quick action. Special petrol quota [for] trucks necessary.

CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

227

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 143(Part I)-GG/1

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE,
KARACHI-4,
13 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I send herewith, for your consideration, a copy of the reply[1] of His Highness the Aga Khan to my letter to him regarding the institutions in which he is interested.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 227

Aga Khan to G. H. Hidayatullah

F. 143(Part I)-GG/2

C/O LLOYDS N.P.F. BANK,
GENEVA,
4 September 1947

My dear old friend,

I have just received your letter of 27th August.[1] I think His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam has forgotten the exact conditions of my letter[2] to the Nawab of Bhopal. Here, they are for yourself—and you can convey the information to His Excellency when he is not very busy:

1. 20 lakh, if one crore more is found for West Pakistan, the institutions to be erected at Karachi or any healthy place near there as may be decided, but not in Punjab or on [sic] the Frontier, though Quetta is all right.[3]

2. 20 lakh for a similar institution in East Pakistan between Dacca and Chittagong; one crore more to be found.

Neither of these institutions are for medical relief, but for great scientific work—medicines being one of the subjects to be studied. Generally, however, each is to be on the lines of the famous Zurich Polytechnic which turns out engineers, mining and other electrical specialists, agriculturists and the highest scientific research workers as

well as chemical research workers for medicines and cures.

As you can well imagine we are terribly backward in theoretical science compared with the Hindus and applied science follows theory.

Further conditions are that the whole of this capital should be spent on buildings, getting scientific instruments and other capital expenditure, while the upkeep should be paid by Pakistan—half for Western and half for Eastern.

There are one or two technical difficulties in my way which I fully explained to Sir Zafrullah when he came to see me in London. He has told all this to the Nawab of Bhopal and I hope this will be overcome when Your Excellency and your colleague of Eastern Bengal realise how necessary it is that these difficulties should be removed.

You will probably meet Zafrullah one of these days and he or the Nawab of Bhopal will explain the difficulties fully to Your Excellency.

Salaams to Her Excellency and all good wishes [for] family.

[AGA KHAN]

[1&2]Not traceable.
[3]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.

228

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. Ikramullah

F. 125(2)-GG/10

FLAT 19/20 STANMORE COURT,
ST. JAMES STREET, LONDON S. W. 1.,
13 September 1947

My dear Ikramullah,

With reference to your letter[1] asking me to open negotiations for Lancaster House, I have seen the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Arthur Henderson, Minister for State, Commonwealth Relations Department, immediately on my return from Geneva. I have put our case strongly, but he seemed very doubtful if it would be possible, in view of the premises being used by H.M.G. themselves for entertainment purposes. He has, however, promised because of my insistence, to convey this request of

the Pakistan Government to the Cabinet and will let me know in due course.[2]

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA
High Commissioner for Pakistan

M. Ikramullah, Esq.,
Sec[retar]y to the Govt. of Pakistan,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Also see No. 224.

229

Jayantilal C. Mehta to K. H. Khurshid

F. 757/184-6

89 NEW STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING,
APOLLO STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
13 September 1947

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

We are in due receipt of your letter dated the 27th August 1947.[1] We have made inquiry from Mr. Brijmohan Lakshminarayan, a member of our exchange, and have to inform you that the dividend on the *35 shares of the Simplex*[2] Mills Ltd., might have been received by His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam from the Company as the said shares were taken delivery of by the Union B[an]k of India, Ltd., on the above broker's behalf on the 14-5-46 and were lying blank with the bank at the time of the closing of the books, i.e. 25-5-46 and he is entitled to the same. These shares were among the 1st lot of 100 shares delivered by us on 7-5-46.

A cheque for Rs. 1800 was received by us on 200 shares sold as another lot and were to be delivered ex-divid[end] into the market.

As His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam had sold off his shares and if surplus dividend is received by His Excellency, you have to send us a cheque[3] *for Rs. 315*, being the divid[end] on the said shares and stamped receipt from the party will be forwarded to you.

Further, we have received a copy of a letter from the Jwala Bank Ltd., addressed to His Excellency claiming the dividend of Rs. 55 on 5

shares of the Simplex Mills held blank by them and paid recently by the Company. The shares were inspected by us. If you have got the dividend warrant on the same, you will also forward the same to us or a cheque[4] for *Rs. 55 to be paid to the said bank against* their stamped receipt.

We have to inform you that the Alcock Ashdown Co. Ltd., has declared a bonus of one share free per every share held.

Hope this will find His Excellency in the best of health.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
J. C. MEHTA
Share and Stock Broker

[1]No. 132.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3&4]Cheques for Rs. 315 and 55 sent by K.H. Khurshid to J.C. Mehta on 1 October 1947. See F. 88/12, *QAP*. Not printed.

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R. Gerard to M. A. Jinnah

F. 57-GG/80-1

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA,
14 September 1947

Jinnah, Esq., Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi
Your Excellency,

Having examined with great interest the new flags of India, I take the liberty of sending you enclosed two sketches of the Pakistan national colours.

Flags,[1] coat of arms, scales and coins bear the same heraldic emblems which are symbolic and subject to heraldic rules.

Rightly your country has chosen the green "sinople" ground, being the holy colour of Islam and the Hadj, the *crescent* of Islam and five-pointed *star* of Solomon (wisdom).

In sketch *A*, I show the "*growing*" crescent of the moon, turning to "dexter" [right side] and the flagstaff: " ☽ "=D "decrescent" [diminishing] (by contrary) the growing moon, symbolically the ascendancy of a *growing* and prospering country.

The present flag B shows the crescent turning to "sinister" [left hand] and away from the flagstaff (or hump). The " ☾ " stands for "*cres-*

cent" [increasing] (*by contrary*) in the northern hemisphere where India lies, "decrescent", the diminishing moon, which symbolically is not of happy augury.

As these heraldic points are today little known, I take the liberty of pointing this out to you. This mistake is sometimes made, but if you examine books on heraldry and for instance Black's Atlas, Paris 1663 or P. Mortier's, Paris 1693, a fount of heraldic emblems as old flags, you will *mostly* find the crescent in the right position.

After a few weeks it might not be too late to rectify this point. Anyway I thought you might like to be clear about this point.

Hitler did apparently not know that there are two swastikas, the one out of which "luck falls", (open to "sinister") and the one which "holds luck", (open to "dexter"). 卐 (unlucky), 卍 (lucky).

I am, Your Excellency,
Faithfully yours,
R. GERARD
Member of Academy of History of Mexico and several European and American Heraldic Societies

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

231

M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

F. 46 (1)-GG/20

14 September 1947

Dear Sir George,

In continuation of my letter of the 27th of August,[1] I regret that after my return from Lahore I had no time to take up your suggestion of having a third Minister. As you know, we are overwhelmed with the sudden developments that have taken place in both Punjabs—East and West—and now the appalling situation created in Delhi. Personally I think this matter can wait.

As regards the other matter referred to in your telegram (No. 9/G dated the 21st of August)[2] I am going to draw the attention of the General Secretary [*sic*], Pakistan Government, to inform the Minister at Kabul of change of Ministry in the NWFP.

As regards giving you authority to use your discretion to keep the Ministry at Kabul informed of political developments in your province and of tribal affairs, I have considered the matter and I think you

may do so if and when you think it necessary, but I hope you will send me a copy of your communications to the Ministry at Kabul and any replies that you may receive from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 130.
[2]No. 64.

232

M. A. Jinnah to Othman Woo

F. 30-GG/99

14 September 1947

Dear Mr. Othman Woo,

Thank you very much indeed for your message of congratulations[1] and good wishes on the occasion of the establishment of Pakistan, which I deeply appreciate.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr Othman Woo,
c/o Chinese Ambassador,
New Delhi

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 232
Othman Woo to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/98

NANKING,
13 August 1947

Mr. Jinnah, Karachi,

Congratulations on the creation of Pakistan.

OTHMAN WOO
c/o Chinese Ambassador, New Delhi

233

Margaret Bourke-White to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83-GG/1-3

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
14 September 1947

Your Excellency,

My latest book came out just recently, and I thought you might enjoy having a copy of it. It was written just before I met you last year, and I am sending you a copy with this letter.

The New York office of *Life* magazine sent you three copies of pictures I took of you — sometime back, and I hope you have received them safely.

I am very happy to be here in your country again. In America there is the greatest interest in Pakistan, the new nation. *Life* magazine would like to run a series of photographs on the theme: "Birth of a Nation".

When I return to Karachi—which will be soon—I should like to consult you to get your suggestions about this. It is no small thing in history when a new nation is born, and it deserves to be recorded.

I hope that you have been well, in the face of your enormous responsibilities, and that your sister too [has] been well.

My best regards and good wishes to both you and your sister.

Sincerely,
MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE

234

M. A. Jinnah to Margaret Bourke-White

F. 83-GG/4

15 September 1947

My dear Madam,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 14th[1] and your good wishes.

I have also received a copy of your latest book, and I shall certainly read it with great interest.

When you come back to Karachi I shall be glad to see you and discuss other matters mentioned in your letter.

I shall be looking forward to meeting you again,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Miss Margaret Bourke-White,
c/o Lord Ismay,
Govt. House,
New Delhi

[1]No. 233.

235

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89-GG/1-4

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
15 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you and Miss Jinnah for your warm welcome and generous hospitality. The comfort and the peace of your home was a most delightful change from the discomforts and tension of New Delhi.

It was most charming of you to give me so much of your time, and I shall ever remember the interesting talk that we had on many topics.

I have today taken up the question of an R.A.F. Dakota for your personal use and I will try to rush the matter as fast as possible.

I have also seen Mr. Mian Abdul Aziz[1] and I find that we met about 16 years ago in Ambala. I have assurred him that anything that I can do to help him will be very gladly done.

I sincerely hope that some day, my wife and I will be able to take advantage of your very kind invitation to pay another visit to you: and I most earnestly pray that by the time that day arrives, peace will have been restored throughout this sub-continent.

With my renewed thanks and most respectful good wishes to

Miss Jinnah, and yourself for all the trouble you have taken.

I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
ISMAY

[1]Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.

236

F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 125(2)-GG/7

15 September 1947

Dear Sir Laurence,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 12th of September,[1] and to thank you for it. I am further to add that he was sorry to hear that Lancaster House could not be spared,[2] but he asked me to thank you for all the trouble you have taken.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom,
Karachi

[1]No. 224.
[2]Also see No. 228.

237

Mian Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 125(2)-GG/8

HIGH COMMISSION FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
15 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Please accept my grateful thanks for entrusting me during

Mr. Zahid Husain's absence with the responsible task of carrying on the office. I will try my best to do what with our limited resources is possible in the circumstances that prevail in Delhi.

With best wishes,

Yours ever sincerely,
[MIAN ABDUL] AZIZ

238

Pir Ishaqjan Sirhindi to M. A. Jinnah
Telegram, F. 106-GG/17

SAMARA,[1]
15 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Governor-General, Karachi

One thousand men ready for Pakistan military need for training and arms.[2]

PIR ISHAQJAN SIRHINDI

[1]Presently in District Umarkot, Sindh.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin conveying Jinnah's thanks for his offer on 16 October 1947. See F. 106-GG/18. Not printed.

239

Z. H. Burney to H. I. Rahimtoola
F. 51-GG/9

KARACHI,
16 September 1947

EXHIBITION OF ART FROM THE DOMINIONS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

As you are aware, preparations have been on foot for some time for an exhibition in London to be called the "Exhibition of Indian Art". The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be the President of this exhibition. The Governor-General of India and the High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom have accepted the invitation of the Royal Academy and the Committee of the exhibition to be Honorary President and Honorary Vice-President, respectively, and the sponsors have invited[1] the Governor-General of Pakistan to be Honorary President and you to be Honorary Vice-President of the exhibition.

2. The Quaid-i-Azam has consented to accept the invitation and to agree to your doing so on condition that the name [*sic*] title of the exhibition will be the "Exhibition of Art from the Dominions of India and Pakistan". This proposal has been accepted by the Governor-General of India, and is expected to be agreed to by the Prime Minister of India also. Final confirmation of the title has not yet been received; but on the assumption that the title is as approved by the Governors-General *but not otherwise*,[2] you should please accept.

Z. H. BURNEY
Under Secretary to the Government of Pakistan

The High Commissioner for Pakistan
in the U. K.,
London

[1]No. 214.
[2]Underlined in the original.

240

M. Ikramullah to F. Amin

F. 112-GG/36

SECRET

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS &
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
16 September 1947

Dear Amin,

I mentioned to the Quaid-i-Azam yesterday that I had received certain proposals[1] from the Governor of North-West Frontier Province with regard to the treatment of Frontier States and the Tribal Areas. Sir George Cunningham's proposals are being examined and will be submitted to the Cabinet when the Prime Minister returns. I am also in consultation with Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.[2] Would you very kindly show this letter to the Quaid-i-Azam and give him an advance copy of Sir George Cunningham's proposals[3] so that he may glance through them before the case is submitted to him through the Cabinet?

Yours sincerely,
M. IKRAMULLAH

[1]See Enclosure 1 to No. 282.
[2]See Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 282.
[3]See note 1 above.

241

M. Ikramullah to F. Amin

F. 125(2)-GG/9

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS &
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
16 September 1947

Dear Amin,

I enclose, for the information of the Quaid-i-Azam, the following:

1. Copy of a telegram[1] from the British Minister, Kabul, conveying the Afghan Government's concurrence to the appointment of Nawabzada Saidullah Khan [as Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Kabul].
2. Copy of a letter[2] from Mr. Habib Rahimtoola about his approach to H.M.G. for Lancaster House.

Yours sincerely,
M. IKRAMULLAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 228.

242

Abdul Razak Abdulla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25(2)-GG/24

25, CENTRAL HOTEL,
KARACHI,
16 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have just reached here with a view to hire suitable accommodation to shift my family from Bombay. I feel it my bounden duty to pay my respects to you and Miss Jinnah. May I, therefore, request the favour of an appointment to meet Your Excellency?

My mother, Bai Rukhiabai Bawla, has particularly asked me to convey to Your Excellency and to Miss Jinnah her congratulations on your unparalleled success and her blessings to you both.

With respectful regards,

I remain
Yours sincerely,
ABDUL RAZAK ABDULLA

243

E. St. J. Birnie to S. G. Murtaza

F. 25(2)-GG/29

KARACHI,
16 September 1947

Dear Mr Murtaza,

With reference to your conversation with my Assistant Secretary, I write to confirm that the Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to see you[1] and Mr. Brown[2] together tomorrow, Wednesday the 17th September 1947, at 11.30 a.m. instead of 11 a.m. as previously arranged. I understand that you have confirmed this engagement with Mr. Brown.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
E. St. J. BIRNIE
Colonel

S. G. Murtaza, Esq.,
Superintending Engineer,
Sind PWD,
Karachi

[1&2]Jinnah wanted to see Murtaza & Brown of Sind PWD in connection with reinstatement of his bungalow No. 241 Staff Lines, Karachi.

244

M. H. S. Dakhan to M. W. Abbasi

F. 30-GG/148

P.O. DAKHAN,
SUKKUR, SIND,
16 September 1947

Sir,

I shall feel highly grateful if you w[oul]d please convey my following submission to H.E. the Quaid-i-Azam:

> I offer my humble services for any duty honorarily for the benefit and services to the Muslim community, sufferers of recent troubles or for any other cause I am commanded by H.E.

I am 40, and belong to a most ancient ruling family of Sumras of Sind.

Regarding my services to the League, I may submit that I will

furnish you with full account of it when I am called for an interview by you.

I was a title holder[1] and I renounced the same responding to the Bombay appeal[2] of H.E. the Quaid-i-Azam. I was the first man from the zamindari class of Sind to have renounced the title on 8th September [19]46 in the open session of the Sind Provincial Muslim League held at Karachi.

I am a zamindar paying a yearly assessment of about twenty five thousand of rupees.

I am most obediently yours,
MOHMED HASSAN S. DAKHAN
J.P.

[1]Khan Sahib.
[2]See Annex III to Appendix V. 2, Vol. III, 930.

245

Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, to M. W. Abbasi

F. 685/468

KARACHI,
16 September 1947

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise having received[1] from our Bombay office a sum of Rs. 26,020-3-4 (Rupees twenty six thousand twenty, annas three and pies four only) for credit of account No. 2 of His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

As we have no account in the name of His Excellency, we shall be obliged if you return the enclosed forms duly signed by him to enable us to open an account in his name.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Agent

[1]See No. 210.

246

M. Yunus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 117-GG/1

DAR-UL-MALIK,
FRASER ROAD, PATNA,
17 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing[1] copy of a letter I have addressed to the Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin and some other documents[2] connected thereto for such consideration as you may think desirable.

Yours sincerely,
M. YUNUS

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 246
M. Yunus to Khwaja Nazimuddin
F. 117-GG/2

PATNA,
17 September 1947

My dear Khwaja Sahib,

From your letter, I find that you suggested that we should suggest some names for forming a committee, and a permanent scheme for the benefit of the Bihar Muslim sufferers, which should be approved by Quaid-i-Azam.

I am enclosing copy of a permanent scheme,[1] and I have already written to you about the present liabilities, especially for the education of students we have taken in hand for the last 9 or 10 months, and only 3 months are left for completing courses of the year. It is desirable that we should see them through, and we should also help Muslims (who are being falsely prosecuted) for their defence, and help Muslims who have been injured and who have been prosecuting their assailants. For this purpose for the next 3 or 4 months nearly a lakh of rupees would be needed.

As regards the committee, I suggest the following names:

1. Khwaja Nazimuddin, Premier, East Pakistan
2. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Lucknow
3. Sardar Latifur Rahman, Leader, Bihar Muslim League Legisla-

tive Party
4. S. Jaffar Imam, President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League
5. Syed Abdul Aziz, Bihar
6. [Nawab] Mohammad Ismail Khan, President, U.P. Muslim League
7. Mr. Mohammad Yunus, Bihar

Yours sincerely,
M. YUNUS
Vice-President, Central Muslim League
Bihar Relief Committee

Khwaja Nazimuddin, Esq.,
Premier, East Bengal, Dacca

[1]F. 117-GG/3-11. Not printed.

Enclosure 2 to No. 246
Note by Zamiruddin Ahmed
F. 117-GG/22-6

CENTRAL BIHAR RELIEF COMMITTEE,
PATNA,
1 September 1947

REPORT ON THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS

After the great carnage (25 Oct. to 11 Nov. 1946), the problem of education of students also came into prominence. A large number of families—victims of the carnage—were financially crippled and were unable to afford education to their children. As it was the close of the session, some of the students were immediately granted [assistance of] Annual Examination Fees and University Examination Fees. Relief was then given to some of the applicants in their admissions in schools and colleges. To a large number of them grants were made for the purchase of books, which were supplied through approved dealers. Some of the students reading at the Aligarh University were suddenly stranded owing to stoppage of regular tuition fees from their guardians. Hence on the recommendation of the university authorities, the sum of rupees fifteen thousand (Rs. 15,000) in two instalments was sent to them.

At Patna proper and in the *mofussil*, the more needy and in distress were allowed even boarding charges. At Patna proper, the system of ration coupons @ Re 1 per head per diem was introduced and supplies were arranged with the Majestic Hotel. At other places, grants were

sent to them through the Headmaster[s] of the institutions or the local Muslim Relief Committees or the latter themselves took up the burden on their own shoulder.

[Subsequent 11 paragraphs omitted]

ZAMIRUDDIN AHMED
Hon[orary] Secretary of Education Committee

247

F. Amin to D. H. Daruvala

F. 25(2)Vol.I-GG/60

17 September 1947

Dear Mr. Daruvala,

Thank you for your letter dated the 10th September.[1] Quaid-i-Azam would like to see you tomorrow (Thursday) at 2.30 p.m. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know per bearer whether the time and date will suit you.

Yours sincerely,
[F. AMIN]

D. H. Daruvala, Esq.,
10 Parsi Colony,
Karachi

[1]No. 217.

248

S. Rasool & Co. to K. H. Khurshid

F. 861/148

14 HALL ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 September 1947

Dear Sir,

Our Mr. Qadri[1] has arrived here as a refugee from Delhi. We would be highly obliged if you remit [to] us immediately the sum of Rs. 700 being the audit fee for Bihar Relief Fund Audit and Muslim League National Fund Audit. We trust you will place this humble request of

ours before Quaid-i-Azam as Mr. Qadri requires immediate help.

Yours faithfully,
S. RASOOL & CO.
Registered Accountants,
Auditors

[1]See No. 44, Vol II, 101.

249

B. L. Ramchandani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/129

HARRIS ROAD,
KHARADAR, KARACHI,
17 September 1947

Sir,

I have great pleasure to communicate the following resolution passed by the Ismailia Scouts Council at their meeting held on 15 September 1947 in connection with offering their services to the Pakistan Government for the poor refugees and sufferers of riot victims [*sic*]:

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Ismailia Scouts Council, Karachi, are [*sic*] greatly grieved to here [*sic* for hear] the news of the murder and butchery of thousands and thousands [of] innocent Muslims in Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere.

In order to give practical help to the riot sufferers, this Council offers the services of our scouts and officers of this organization and places their entire services at the disposal of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam for rendering service to the injured Muslims in any part of the country as he deems fit.

I, as Honorary Organizing Scout Commissioner for Pakistan and India, shall be very glad to receive instructions from your goodself for placing the services of my scouts at your disposal for the above purpose.

Awaiting an early reply,

I remain,
Yours in Scout Service,
BULCHAND L. RAMCHANDANI

250

Pakistan Optees from UP, Bihar, CP, etc. to M. A. Jinnah

F. 38(2)-GG/12-4

KARACHI,
18 September 1947

Dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is with a grave sense of urgency that we have decided to approach you. In this engulfing all-round darkness, our thoughts automatically and naturally turn to one man for help and guidance. It is mere waste of words to try to tell you the unrelieved tragedy of Punjab and Delhi; you know it and are yourself grieved. The Pakistan Government and particularly you have gone all-out to help the sufferers and evacuate them. But it is about the forgotten front of U.P., Bihar, etc., that we want to put a few suggestions.

It is no secret that with a view to paralysing the Government of Pakistan, our Hindu and Sikh enemies have made it their first and sacred duty to kill, arson, loot or at least hinder the employees of the Pakistan Government. They tried to derail their trains, hindered their inflow into the promised land in every mean way; and also in the recent butchery, the families of the Pakistan Government employees had the unenviable honour of receiving special savage attention of these brutes. In these circumstances, how can we people, who came here with our minds set on hard and selfless work, perform our duties with enthusiasm? We are told that U.P., Bihar, C.P. etc., are still undisturbed, but who knows how long this treacherous thin ice of peace can last the furious volcano of violence underneath it; and even now in these "peaceful" places the families of the Pakistan Government personnel are being teased and threatened. We, therefore, put the following suggestions for your consideration and immediate implementation:

1. In all the Ministries, within two or three days, complete lists (district-wise) of the families of the Government employees should be prepared under the following heads:

Name of the Govt. servant	Name of province	Full home address	Name of the person or guardian whom to contact	No. of members and other details of family	Railway line on which the place is situated

2. These lists from various Ministries should be consolidated by the Ministry of Refugees, Relief and Rehabilitation.
3. After forming an estimate of the persons to be evacuated, arrangement of special trains should be made to evacuate them and Government of India Union should be asked to give a surety as to the safe arrival of these trains. If not, the trains should be run under the strong escort of Pakistan forces.
4. If Government of India fails to provide the special trains, every effort should be made by the Pakistan Government to make available the required rolling stock by cutting down non-essential services in Pakistan territory to the extreme minimum.

In the first instance, the work of evacuating the families of those Government servants, who left them behind in response to the Transfer Office appeal, should be undertaken in right earnest, since such Government servants are passing anxious time and cannot, therefore, devote themselves to their duties. After the families of the Government servants have been evacuated, general and mass evacuation of Muslim population may be considered.

It is understood that the Pakistan Government are at present engaged in evacuating from Delhi and East Punjab only and propose doing this work in respect of other places after completing [it in] Delhi and East Punjab. As Your Excellency is aware, the Indian Government has, on the other hand, been undertaking evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from all over the Western Pakistan, viz. N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind and West Punjab. Every patriot would have to realise the sudden and unforeseen problems with which the Pakistan Government have been confronted at the outset, but the urgency thereof suggests that places other than Delhi and East Punjab should be given simultaneous attention to avoid mass massacres and looting which were resorted to by non-Muslims in the East Punjab and Delhi, particularly the latter, where people were taken unaware.

It is hoped that this appeal of ours would receive your immediate and full attention.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most devoted servants,
[*Optees*] *belonging to UP, Bihar, CP, etc.*

251

M. A. Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F. 30-GG/110

18 September 1947

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

I received your letter of the 26th of August,[1] and thank you very much for your good wishes for the people of Pakistan and myself. I need not say how much I appreciate your personal kind references to me, especially coming from you.

I join in your wishes that my association with your country may be fruitful in years to come for the good of both.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 125.

252

Sardar Allahdad Jafar to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 106-GG/15

MURGHA, [BALOCHISTAN,]
18 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Karachi

Awaiting your command with five hundred armed tribe [*sic*] for help and action in Punjab.

SARDAR ALLAHDAD JAFAR
[*Chief of Jafar Tribe*]

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin conveying Jinnah's thanks for his offer on 16 October 1947. See 106-GG/16. Not printed.

253

Mohammad Amin Al-Hussaini to M. A. Jinnah

FOA, O/346

CAIRO,
18 September 1947

Your Excellency,

Muslims of the whole Arab world are not only glad, rather proud, of the establishment of the most powerful new Muslim State of Pakistan and, therefore, congratulate Your Excellency and the Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan for the achievement of this noble and honoured goal of an independent Muslim State.

We are glad to inform Your Excellency that an organization by the name of Pakistan Association has been formed at Cairo by the Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan.

Its President is Mohammad Aleem Ullah Siddiqui from Allahabad, and the Secretary, Dr. S. Mohammad Yusuf, Alig., from Bhopal, and others as members of the Executive Council.

The aims and objects of this organization is [*sic* for are] to promote the cultural, economical [*sic* for economic], religious and social relations between Egypt, other Muslim countries and Pakistan. This Association is in touch with us and we cooperate and collaborate with it. This Association will get every possible help from us.

We hope that Your Excellency will also approve this Association to achieve its noble aim[s].

MOHAMMAD AMIN AL-HUSSAINI
Grand Mufti of Palestine,
Chairman, Arab Higher Committee

Copy to:

Liaquat Ali Khan, Esq., General Sec[retar]y,
All India Muslim League, Karachi

254

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187(3)-GG/1

HORDLEY HOUSE,
KARACHI,
18 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I enclose herewith copies of the two Ordinances which my Government intend to promulgate at once. The first relates to the Maintenance of Public Safety,[1] and the second is an Ordinance to amend the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) Act of 1947.[2]

I hope that Your Excellency will kindly go through these two Ordinances and will give me your advice and guidance in the matter.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sin[cere]l[y,]
M. A. KHUHRO
[*Premier, Sind*]

[1]F. 187(3)-GG/3-15. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., 17-8. Not printed.

255

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

JIC. 346/525-6[1]

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN,
THE BARCLAY, NEW YORK 17,
19 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I reached New York on the 11th and spent a day in Washington on the 13th. I went there to select a suitable building for the Pakistan Chancery. I have telegraphed my selection to the Foreign Office, and have requested them to arrange to place one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($150,000) at my disposal, to cover the cost of the building. I hope this will be done without delay as there are others after the building.

The Leader[2] of the Pakistan Delegation to the U.N. along with Pirzada [Abdus Sattar] and [Mohammad] Ayub, are already here and [Mir] Laik Ali is expected to reach New York on the 21st. We have no news of the fifth delegate. It is expected that we shall be elected as members of the U.N., a week hence when the item of election will come up before the Assembly.

News from home is far from satisfactory. Reports and statements show that the large scale massacre still continues. I held a press conference in London because Habib [Ibrahim] Rahimtoola requested me to meet the press when I spoke to him over the long distance. I held another informal press conference at Washington.[3] In both conferences, I laid the blame for recent happenings solely at the door of the Sikhs who have been the real villains of the piece. We are waiting for admission and once this wait ends, it is proposed that Sir Muhammad Zafrullah [Khan] should hold a big press conference and deal, at length, with the situation prevailing in Northern India. Tactically we do not want to queer the pitch before our admission.

I met the top executives of General Motors Company who have taken prompt note of your requirement[4] of a Cadillac super-limousine. Their representative, who is in Bombay at present, will be visiting Karachi shortly, and will finalise the order after knowing your special requirements. General Motors has assured me that arrangements would be made for the delivery of the car at Karachi as soon as possible, and will override all other prior bookings. I have not been able to see the Lincoln people yet. I hope to do so in the course of the next week.

In regard to the special aeroplane, my friends and I have contacted some leading manufacturers in this country. I shall be in a position to report finally on the progress I have been able to make positively by the end of next week.

I hope to present my credentials to the President of the United States some time next week and enclose,[5] for your private information, copy of the speech that I shall deliver at the time I present my credentials.

I hope you are keeping good health. My warmest regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 1936-48, Karachi, 1976, No. 346, 525-6.
[2]Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. See *Pakistan Times*, 12 September 1947.
[3]Held on 14 September 1947, ibid., 17 September 1947.
[4]For list of cars in Governor-General's garage see Annex.
[5]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 255

[PROPOSED SPEECH BY M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

JIC. 346/526-7[1]

WASHINGTON,
[*Undated*] *September 1947*

Mr. President,

As the first Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, it is my great privilege to present to you, Sir, my Letters of Credence, which open a new chapter in the relations between the East and your great country.

Pakistan came into existence just like her neighbour, the Dominion of India, as a result of the recent partition of British India. We are, Mr. President, a new country in name, but old in history, tradition and culture. Ours is an ancient race, akin to your own. Our forefathers, like yours, came from the steppes of Central Asia and the Caucasian mountains. In one of the great movements which, from time to time, changed the history of mankind, our people moved South and East and set up an empire in the fabled Indies. After several centuries, renowned throughout the world for their glory and culture, the sceptre passed, less than a century ago, from our hands, into those of the British. Now, again, our people stand free and independent in the territories where, once more, our national flag flies high, a guarantee of brotherhood and justice for all who live under its protection, and for all who bear it true allegiance and good faith.

We shall endeavour our utmost, Mr. President, to develop and maintain friendship and collaboration with every country which is willing to reciprocate equally and frankly, our cordial sentiments, and with none more so than with the United States, to whom I have the honour, as Ambassador, to bring the sincerest greetings from my government and my people, and from the father of our nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani*, Enclosure to No. 346, 526-7.

Annex to No. 255
Note by Gul Hassan

F. 1108/145

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
12 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam
Sir,

Attached is a list of cars in your garage. Your own Packard has not been included in it.

GUL HASSAN
Captain
ADC Incharge Garage

MAKES AND MODELS OF CARS IN GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S GARAGE

1. Buick Eight 1947
2. Humber Pullman 1946
3. Humber Pullman 1946
4. Humber Snipe 1946
5. Chevrolet 1947 (Station Wagon)
6. Chevrolet 1947 (3 ton lorry)
7. Chevrolet 1941 (Old Station Wagon)

CARS FROM DELHI

8. Rolls Royce (Phantom 3) 1937
9. Austin 16 1946

256

Ali Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/1

NAKODAR,
[JULLUNDUR,]
19 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Karachi

Three lakh Muslims staying in Nakodar Camp unprotected, starving.

Kindly help, otherwise lives in danger.

ALI MOH[AMMA]D
Sec[retar]y, Nakodar Muslim League

257

Young Muslims Union to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/4-5

MIRPUR KHAS,
19 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Moh[amma]d Ali Jinnah, K[a]r[achi]

Three thousand Musalmans at Luni junction, Jodhpur railway, held up since last seven days for want of railway communication. Several refugees lost lives due [to] food and deficiency of water. Luni is deserted place. Kindly intervene Jodhpur railway immediately for lives [of] children, ladies and Musalmans.

YOUNG MUSLIMS UNION

258

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 89-GG/6

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
19 September 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have now had a long talk with the Supreme Commander and Air Marshal Walmsley[1] about placing a Dakota at your disposal,[2] and I am glad to be able to tell you that the latter hopes to make arrangements which will be quite satisfactory to you.

He will be sending the aircraft in question to Karachi on Monday or Tuesday of next week, and has given instructions to one of his officers to show it to you and explain his proposals in regard to its operation and maintenance.

I have not myself seen the aircraft, but I gather that it is fitted almost precisely in the way that you wish, i.e. four seats and two bunks. In addition, it has a long-range tank which enables it to do long flights

without refuelling.

I will not, however, attempt to go into detail, since you will be seeing the machine yourself within the next few days. I sincerely hope that you will be pleased with it and with the arrangements which the Air Marshal proposes.

With kind regards and thanks,

Yours very sincerely,
ISMAY

[1]Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, India.
[2]Also see No. 235.

259

G. M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/338

SINGAPORE,
19 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

We the Pakistan[i] officers of Singapore propose giving Pakistan celebration buffet dinner on 23rd. Governor, C-in-C, Consular and high civil-military officials attending. Grateful if you could send your blessing message.[1]

G. M. KHAN
Major

[1]Not traceable.

260

S. G. Mohatta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/147

PEOPLES' B[UI]LD[IN]G,
SIR P. MEHTA ROAD,
FORT, BOMBAY,
19 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very grateful to you for your granting me interview on Wednesday.

I enclose herewith plan[1] of Mohatta Palace, Clifton. The land is about ten thousand square yards and structure is of original Agra type, Jodhpur stone towards seaside and Jodhpur and Gizru stone mixed on remaining three sides with minors [*sic* for *minars*] and dombs [*sic* for domes]. It has got three bed rooms with bath attached, one sitting room and one drawing room with spacious verandah on the ground floor. On first floor, five bed rooms, one drawing room and a terrace facing the sea. On the second floor, a small suite consisting of two bed rooms, one prayer room, one drawing room and a bath and dressing room. In basement, a swimming pool and a strong room with Chubbs double steel doors. A kitchen with which is attached ■ dining room of Indian style. Besides, there is also a guest house, one large and two small garages, servant quarters, cowshed, etc. High compound walls made of cement blocks.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHIVRATAN G. MOHATTA
C/O B.R. HERMAN & MOHATTA, LTD.

[1]Not traceable.

261

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187(4)-GG[102]/1

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
19 September 1947

D.O. No. C-624

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I propose to promulgate under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, as amended by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, an ordinance—*Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947*.[1] The draft[2] is submitted for your instruction under Section 88 (proviso).

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]F. 187(4)-GG[102]/2-3. Not printed.

262

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 187(4)-GG[102]/4

19 September 1947

Dear Shaikh Ghulam Hussain,
Reference your D.O. No. C-624 dt. 19.9.47[1]

I hereby instruct you, under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order 1947, to promulgate the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance 1947.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 261.

263

Fakhruddin Valibhai to K. H. Khurshid

F. 33-GG/19

VALIKA TEXTILE MILLS LTD.,
HAROON CHAMBER, SOUTH NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
20 September 1947

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

As desired by the Honourable Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, I am enclosing herewith a letter[1] to you, which I hope you will please place before Quaid-i-Azam and let me have his favourable reply.[2]

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
FAKHRUDDIN
Director

Please place the enclosed letter before Q.A. [Quaid-i-Azam] and convey his reply to the gentleman whom I have asked to ring up

tomorrow at 12 noon.

K. H. K[HURSHID]

Mr. Chundrigar rang up to say that he supports the request.

F. AMIN
21-9[-47]

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Also see Nos. 40 & 56.

Enclosure to No. 263
Fakhruddin Valibhai to K. H. Khurshid

F. 33-GG/20-1

VALIKA TEXTILE MILLS LTD.,
HAROON CHAMBER, SOUTH NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
20 September 1947

Dear Sir,

We hereby approach you to place before His Excellency the Governor-General our request to him to kindly perform the foundation ceremony of the mill's building by his auspicious hands on Friday the 26th September 1947 at 6 p.m. or any time convenient to him.

You must be aware of the fact that this textile mill consists of 25,000 spindles and 500 looms and is the first complete textile mill in our country with a capital of Rs. 75,00,000. Moreover, all classes of our Muslim brothers specially the poor class have spontaneously come forward to the call and have subscribed the majority of the shares in this pioneer enterprise in our country. The mill will be situated on the Government of Sind's Trading Estate area, which is at a distance of about two [?] miles from the Government House on Manghopir Road.

We earnestly hope that His Excellency will encourage us in our pioneer enterprise by gracing this occasion by his auspicious presence and we feel certain that this occasion will be a signal to all Muslim industrialists to come forward to the call of our dear country and bring all essential industries with them so that our country may march forward from day to day to prosperity and happiness.

We are well aware of the fact that our beloved leader is greatly overloaded with pressing work. But, nevertheless, we still hope that he will agree to our request and encourage us as well as the Muslim nation by giving us a few minutes of his very valuable time on the

above said auspicious occasion.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
FAKHRUDDIN
Director

264

M. A. Mufti to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/8

LAHORE,
20 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Karachi

Sonepat condition serious. Pakistan employees stranded. Immediate protection and evacuation requested.

MOHAMMAD AHMAD MUFTI

265

M. A. Burney to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120(IV)-GG/178

PERSONAL

BAITUS SALAM,
SAIFABAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
20 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Peace be on you and *Allah's* blessings.

I hope you have duly received my last letter dated 5 instant[1] despatched, registered by air mail.

I am sending you this letter at much shorter interval than usual, because the present urgency seems to demand it.

It is essentially necessary that you and your comrades and co-workers keep in heart and mind Quranic outlook and Quranic background of the situation which you have to face in all seriousness, and face with success, *Insha Allah*. I do not and cannot mean that Quranic guidance is lacking with you, I only want to do my humble bit to satisfy my own instinct in the matter.

In continuation of the Quranic passages noted in the previous letter,[2] some more relevant to the present situation are enclosed herewith according to items noted below:

a. The righteous or *Muttaqeen* in Islam
b. Life of sacrifice and success in Islam
c. The so-called Muslim nationalists in India
d. Hindu plots against Muslims and probable reaction
e. War confidence in Islam

Quranic passages, such as these, should inspire the Muslims through League writings and speeches at this hour of mental and moral crisis, to protect and promote Muslim morale, and to lead them to ultimate victory, *Insha Allah. Maulvis* and leaders can, with due care, infuse sober Quranic spirit, free from irresponsible fanaticism, which has also to be avoided at any cost.

I may or may not write more just at present; but in any case, I do not expect any reply from you to save your invaluable time.

With best wishes and fervent prayers,

Ever sincerely yours,
MUHAMMAD ALIAS BURNEY

[142]Not traceable.

266

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 107-GG/1-2

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
20 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of an appeal[1] by the Bishop of Lahore to which, at his request, I have given publicity. I thought that you might like to see it. He did not send it to you himself as the post from Simla is so uncertain. He sent it to me by hand of a friend who was coming to Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS MUDIE

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 266

F. 107-GG/2

A SPIRITUAL APPEAL TO STOP MURDER

Last May, I sent to all my clergy, Indian and English, a prayer to be used daily for the Punjab, asking that all occasions of strife and discord, destruction and bloodshed might cease and peace and goodwill might prevail. The Catholic Bishop of Lahore has sent out a very beautiful prayer for peace to be used in all the Catholic Churches of his diocese every day. Thus, the two Bishops of Lahore make our appeal for return to sanity and the restoration of peace in our two dioceses which cover both India and Pakistan.

Our Christian people are comparatively small in number. I am sure our Indian brothers, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs are looking for the same appeal from their *maulvis*, priests and *gurus*. Could not these spiritual leaders make a swift and urgent appeal from every mosque, temple and *gurdwara* in the land that murder must cease and peace prevail? We all know that in all our sacred books murder is contrary to God's will. Let all spiritual leaders say so with one voice. So, may we hope to bring peace to people, in the words of my Brother, the Catholic Bishop of Lahore, "mortally sick with blind hatred and fear and bleeding to death through fraternal strife and ruthless slaughter of innocent men, women and children".

GEORGE [D. BARNE]
Bishop of Lahore

267

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 167(2)-GG/1

BURDWAN HOUSE, DACCA,
20 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly allow me the liberty to encroach on your most valuable time. I have to make a personal request to you to kindly persuade Mr. Ali Nawaz Jung[1] from Hyderabad to come over to East Bengal, and to become official adviser to Government for the *Kurnaphuli Hydro-Electric Project*[2] near Chittagong. We are proposing to set up an Industrial Planning and *Power Development Board*,[3] and we would like him to act as one of the members. The Board will hold its meeting once a month at Dacca.

You know all about Mr. Ali Nawaz Jung. He is one of the recognised experts on hydro-electric projects and irrigation schemes. The future industrial development of East Bengal largely depends on the Kurnaphuli Hydro-Electric Project. The scheme is going to cost crores, and it is essential that we should have the best and the most reliable advice. We may have to approach the foreign experts and companies to actually carry out the scheme, specially as financing a scheme of this kind will be an extremely difficult matter, but if Mr. Ali Nawaz Jung could be persuaded to advise us we will know how to set about it on the right lines, and also to keep an eye on the foreign experts, so that they may not swindle us. As the future prosperity of the whole of Pakistan to a large extent depends on this, I hope you will kindly use your personal influence with him to come and to help us. I realise how busy and anxious you must be on account of the situation in the Punjab, Delhi and U.P., but I do hope you will be able to spare a little time for this suggestion of mine.

I think it is only right that I should mention that our rice situation is very very serious, and unless another ship-load of rice leaves Karachi before the end of this month, we will face disaster. I, therefore, hope you will kindly see that at least one more ship leaves Karachi before the end of September.

By the grace of God, the situation is quiet, but reports of happenings in East Punjab and the minority provinces keep the Muslims in tense and anxious mood. I pray to God that we may be able to keep peace in East Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

[1]Enclosure.
[2&3]Underlined in the original.

Enclosure to No. 267

F. 167(2)-GG/2-3

ALI NAWAZ JUNG

He was for a very long time Chief Engineer in the Hyderabad State, and later became P.W.D. Minister. He was the Chairman of the National Planning Committee of the Muslim League, and is said to be very well known to the Quaid-i-Azam. He is 70 years of age, and at present he is temporarily looking after the State P.W.D.

One of his outstanding achievements is the Godawari Valley Development Scheme for which both he and Ehsan Yar Jung are responsible.

268

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187(4)-GG[102[1]]/14

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, KARACHI,
20 September 1947

D. O. No. 626

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I propose to promulgate under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order, 1947, an ordinance—the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947. The draft[2] is submitted for your instruction under Section 88 (proviso).

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See No. 261, note 1.
[2]F. 187(4)-GG[102]/15-28. Not printed.

269

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 187(4)-GG[102]/29

20 September 1947

Dear Shaikh Ghulam Hussain,

Reference your D.O. No. 626 dated the 20th September 1947.[1]

I hereby instruct you under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order 1947, to promulgate the Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 268.

270

J. B. Kripalani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 99-GG/1

C/O HIRANAND KARAMCHAND,
AMIL COLONY NO. 2,
KARACHI,
21 September 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I came here after consulting Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. The purpose of my visit is to induce the Hindus not to migrate.[1] I came to put my services whatever they are worth at the disposal of the two communities and the Government. In this connection I would like to meet you.

I am leaving Karachi tomorrow at 1 p.m. as I have to attend the Working Committee meeting on the 23rd. I hope it will be possible for us to meet before that. Any time that is convenient to you will also be convenient to me.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI
[*President, Indian National Congress*]

[1]Kripalani had earlier instructed the minorities in Pakistan not to celebrate the Independence Day on 15 August 1947. See Annex to Appendix III. 11, Vol. IV, 419-421.

271

M. A. Jinnah to J. B. Kripalani

F. 99-GG/2

21 September 1947

Dear Mr. Kripalani,

I have received your letter of today's date,[1] and I thank you for it.

Since you are leaving tomorrow, I shall be glad to see you this evening at 6 o'clock.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 270.

272

Note by S. Shamsul Hasan

F. 151-GG/6

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
21 September 1947

I hereby authorise Mr. Maqsood Raza Khan, the bearer of this note and a member on the staff of the All India Muslim League whose signatures are given below, to shift and despatch the furniture, office equipment and all other moveable properties of the Central Office, All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi[1] to Karachi. He has also been given charge to arrange for the transfer of the said office staff and their families in Delhi to Karachi by Rail or Air as the case may be. He may approach the proper authorities on behalf of this office to secure help and advice in this connection.

S. SHAMSUL HASAN
Office Secretary

MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN
Signatures of the holder

[1]Also see No. 337.

273

Mohamed el Attar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/24

FAROUK FIRST HISTORICAL MUSEUM,
27 MALIKA FARIDA STR[EET],
CAIRO, EGYPT,
22 September 1947

Excellency,

I am honoured with your letter[1] dated the 2nd inst[ant] contents of which have been carefully noted.

In reply I have to inform Your Excellency that the "Farouk First Historical Museum" is a private institution and supported by high personalities as Your Excellency, from whom I expect a good help to fulfil my duty as a historian. The amount I asked for the Album is only

for Historical Museum expenses and needs [so] as to enable him [*sic*] to serve the cause of the Muslims and Oriental Nations.

You are considered, Excellency, as the leader of a beloved great nation and all attention from other Muslim nations is directed to Your Excellency.

I hope that Your Excellency will give my demand[2] his [*sic* for your] best consideration and to agree with [*sic*].

Thanking Your Excellency in anticipation,

I am,
The most loyal and obedient
servant of the Quaid-i-Azam,
MOHAMED EL ATTAR

[1]No. 192.

[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 19 October 1947 conveying Jinnah's message that he took a dim view of the course he (Attar) adopted to muster support for his book, declining also his request. See F. 76-GG/25. Not printed.

274

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Bombay[1]

Telegram, F. 88/5

EXPRESS

KARACHI,
[*22 September 1947*]

Please transfer immediately balance my current account with you to your Karachi Office immediately telegraphically.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Habib Bank Ltd., Bombay, informed Jinnah on 23 September 1947 that the balance of Rs. 57725-11-0 had been transferrd. S. M. Yusuf confirmed the action on 26 September. See F. 88/2-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

275

S. Rasool & Co. to M. W. Abbasi

F.861/150

PERSONAL

14 HALL ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 September 1947

We sent letter No. 2151 dated 17-9-1947[1] to Mr. Khurshid Hasan,

Personal Secretary. We informed him that our Mr. Qadri reached here from Delhi and requested him to acquaint Quaid-i-Azam and have his instructions to make payment of our audit fee bills amounting to Rs. 700 for Bihar Relief Fund and Muslim League Fund. Our Mr. Qadri has reached here without any luggage and penniless. He requires immediate help. We shall feel grateful if the case is placed before Quaid-i-Azam and amount in question is remitted by means of draft on any bank in Lahore as cheques on Delhi Banks cannot be cashed owing to disturbed conditions.

Yours obediently,
S. RASOOL & CO.
Registered Accountants,
Auditors

[1]No. 248.

276

L. Grafftey-Smith to M. A. Jinnah

F. 18-GG/8-9

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL KARACHI,
22 September 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been asked to deliver to you the following confidential message from the U.K. Prime Minister.

> *Begins.* Listowel has told me of his talk with you, in which you expressed the strong desire to keep Rowlands[1] for longer than three months and to appoint him as Governor of East Bengal.
>
> As you know, I had been reluctant to refuse a similar suggestion previously. I have thought the matter over again; but, in view of our own pressing need for key men in the field of economic rehabilitation, I am afraid I have reached the same conclusion as before—namely, that we cannot spare Rowlands from London for more than three months.
>
> I can assure you that I would have been only too glad to meet your wishes if I possibly could, but I am unable at present to find any adequate substitute for Rowlands. *Ends.*

2. I wonder whether you would be able to receive me for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour in the near future? I find the contradiction between various appearances rather baffling and should much

welcome illumination.

Yours very sincerely,
LAURENCE GRAFFTEY-SMITH

[1]See No. 173, Vol. IV, 271.

277

F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 25 (2)-GG/62

22 September 1947

Dear Sir Laurence,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to inform you that he will be pleased to see you at Government House at 12.30 p.m. tomorrow, Tuesday, the 23rd September 1947.[1] I hope that suits you.

Kindly confirm.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
High Commissioner for the U.K.
in Pakistan

[1]See No. 276. Also see Annex.

Annex to No. 277
L. Grafftey-Smith to P. J. Noel Baker

Telegram, PRO, Prem 8/584

No. 82 KARACHI,
IMMEDIATE *23 September 1947*

Mr. Jinnah informed[1] me today that reference of India-Pakistan problem to United Nations was not repeat not contemplated at present. Pakistan had asked and hoped for a round table discussion of present difficulties by Commonwealth members with a view to finding an amicable solution of the present critical difficulties.[2] He wished to keep matters on this family footing and not to call in outsiders to mediate between two members of the Commonwealth. He made it clear however that if every other approach failed, he reserved Pakistan's right as a member of the United Nations to appeal to that tribunal.

2. He said people everywhere and everyday were talking of (omission) to take this or that question to U.N.O. Mr. Zafrullah Khan's language[3] in New York was not an official announcement as he himself had been at pains to emphasise and should not be taken as formal committed Pakistan policy. I referred to Pakistan Prime Minister's conversation with me yesterday reported in my telegram[4] under reference and to today's articles in *Dawn*[5] about U.N.O. observers.[6] Mr. Jinnah poohpoohed any suggestion that these were (? however) an individual and (omission) currently (corrupt group) train of thought. It is not impossible that all this talk about reference to United Nations is intended to impress H.M.G. with urgency of need for Commonwealth mediation.

3. Mr. Jinnah wanted a team of Commonwealth representatives to visit India and Pakistan for joint discussion. On the face of it, the appeal (? seems) moderate and reasonable enough and I should personally deprecate a refusal to consider it. There is no prospect of success for further exhortations to both sides to get together. Some new element must be introduced into situation if we want present violence to stop.

4. Mr. Jinnah's own strongly expressed view was that Indian Government should face facts of Sikh planning and (corrupt group) and take an absolutely firm line with (? the Sikhs).

5. Other points in my (? conversation) will be separately reported.

[L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH]

[1]Grafftey-Smith was given an appointment for 23 September 1947 by Jinnah. See Nos. 276 & 277.
[2]See No. 225.
[3]See *Pakistan Times*, 16 & 18 September 1947.
[4]Not traceable.
[5]*Dawn's* editorial, 23 September 1947.
[6]Pakistan's proposal to invite observers of UN to study communal situation in both the Dominions was turned down by India. See *Pakistan Times*, 30 September 1947.

278

F. Amin to Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah

F. 76-GG/41

23 September 1947

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter dated 5th September 1947.[1] The Quaid-i-Azam has asked me to request you to please arrange to

remove the furniture from the Flag Staff House at a very early date.[2]

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah,
Proprietor of H. Kader Bux & Sons,
Koragen Lines, Poona

[1]Abdullah informed F. Amin that he would arrange disposal of the furniture in a fortnight. See F. 76-GG/40. Not printed.
[2]Amin sent a telegraphic reminder on 24 September. Abdullah replied the next day that he would contact him within a couple of days. See F. 76-GG/42-3. Not printed.

279

Douglas Brown to F. Amin

F. 25(2)-GG/32-3

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
23 September 1947

Dear Mr. Farrukh Amin,

The *Daily Telegraph*, so far alone among London newspapers, has decided to maintain a permanent correspondent in Pakistan and it has sent me here in that capacity. I believe I am the only foreign newspaperman now resident in Karachi.

I write to ask whether the Quaid-i-Azam would be good enough to grant me an interview for my paper.[1] If I saw His Excellency I should first wish respectfully to convey to him the sincere good wishes of the *Daily Telegraph* and its readers for the prosperity and happiness of the Pakistani Government and people.

At the same time I should like to hand to the Quaid-i-Azam a letter[2] from my father, Sir Frank Brown,[3] whom I hope His Excellency remembers as a lifelong friend of Muslim India.

I understand that on such occasions the Quaid-i-Azam likes to have a few questions submitted to him in advance, so that the best use can be made of the time available. I therefore enclose a number of questions with some of which, at least, he may feel he can usefully deal. They are the sort of questions the intelligent British newspaper reader is likely to want to ask about Pakistan, and on which the Quaid-i-Azam's views would be read in England with the keenest interest and sympathy.

Thanking you personally, Mr Farrukh Amin, for putting my request—as I trust you will be able to put it—before His Excellency,

I am

Yours sincerely,
DOUGLAS BROWN
Special Correspondent of the
London Daily Telegraph in Pakistan

[1]Interview granted on 30 September 1947. See F. 25(2)-GG/31. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Editor of *Bombay Gazette* and *Indian Daily Telegraph*.

Enclosure to No. 279

Questions by Douglas Brown For Interview to be Held on 30 September

F. 25(2)-GG/32-3

23 September 1947

1. If you had known that the division of India would lead to so much human suffering would you still have fought for it?
2. Is the general lawlessness now apparent in so many parts of this sub-continent a symptom of moral collapse? If so, what has caused the collapse, and how can it be remedied?
3. Victims of savagery in the Punjab were all individually attacked, whereas victims of savagery in the blitzed cities of Europe were collectively and impersonally assaulted. Do you draw any moral distinction between the two kinds of savagery?
4. Diehards in Britain find it easy to say "I told you so" when discussing Indian events since August 15. Is there anything you would like to say to them?
5. You yourself hold three offices in the State which, on the British analogy, would make you at one and the same time King, Speaker of the House of Commons and Chairman of the Labour Party. As you know, we in Britain feel almost passionately that each of these offices is essentially incompatible with the other two. May one assume, then, that Pakistani democracy will in form be quite different from ours?
6. What is the future role of the Muslim League? Do you expect that party government will eventually develop here on political instead of communal lines?
7. Are you satisfied with the average Pakistani Musalman's reaction to his new national status? In other words, do you feel that Pakistan

has yet, to the man in the street, become a fatherland as well as a political entity?

8. Do you wish Pakistan to remain within the Commonwealth? Could it do so if Hindustan left?

9. Is there anything you would like to say about Palestine?

10. What is Pakistan's best potential contribution to world civilization? What now, in your view, could be England's?

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

F. 107-GG/3

23 September 1947

Dear Sir Francis,

Thank you very much for your letter[1] dated the 20th of September [19]47 enclosing a copy[2] of an appeal by the Bishop of Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir Francis Mudie, KCSI, KCIE, OBE,
Governor, West Punjab,
Lahore

[1]No. 266.
[2]Enclosure to No. 266.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/55-61

SECRET GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,
23 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had intended to write sooner, but I have been very busy. We have had a very difficult time since I last wrote.[1] I was then inclined to be optimistic about the general position. I have ceased being so.

The general law and order position has continued to improve in the sense that, though attacks on Hindus and Sikhs do continue, they are becoming more and more isolated incidents and on the whole the

country-side is peaceful. There has, however, been a deterioration in the political situation, about which Liaquat will have told you. I feel that my Ministry are rapidly losing touch with the public and becoming more and more to represent only themselves and their small clique within the League. Mamdot's difficulty of making up his mind seems to be on the increase, and there is a greater tendency even than before to waste time in long inconclusive discussions. His method of work is very curious. He agrees to something and then refuses to pass orders or passes different orders. I have just telegraphed to Liaquat about his ordering searches of evacuees and evacuee camps after agreeing, not only with me but at a meeting at which both Dominion Prime Ministers were present,[2] that they should cease.

In these circumstances I welcomed the appointment of Iftikhar-ud-Din as Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation.[3] So far he has been very helpful. Of course, like the rest, he is without experience, but I think that his outlook is broader than that of the others. His first job is to get his staff together and get them working on some system. We have them all housed together in the Residency, which should help.

Our position *vis-a-vis* the East Punjab and India is becoming more and more difficult. A number of evacuee trains came in recently from the East, which had been heavily attacked and which contained a number of dead bodies and wounded people. Result: indignation in Lahore leading to attacks in Lahore on non-Muslim evacuee trains bound for the East. This again resulted in a rise in temperature in Amritsar and in the authorities refusing to take the risk of allowing our foot convoys through that city. This, when it is known, will lead to further distrust on this side. We have told the Sikh Major-General[4] who is in command at Amritsar that unless our people are allowed through Amritsar, we will hold up the Sikhs who left Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] about a week ago and who are now about to cross the Sutlej to East Punjab. This is said to have made a considerable impression on him.

It is becoming daily more clear that the East Punjab Government has lost all control of the situation and that , in fact, it has practically ceased to exist as a Government. The Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, a Hindu, told Moss[5] that he was practically powerless before the local Sikh " Committee of Action". A British Colonel, whom I met by chance on the Ferozepore bridge when I went there yesterday just to see the frontier and who had come from Ferozepore to inspect his picket, told me that, as far as I [*sic* for he] could see, matters in the East Punjab were bound to get worse and worse. Iftikhar-ud-Din was told the other day by some of his Hindu Congress friends that the attitude of

the Sikhs in the East was intolerable and insulting to Hindus. Even Brij Lal Nehru, late Accountant General here, wrote recently to Gandhi to the effect, I understand, that conditions in the East were far worse than in the West and that nothing could be done anywhere unless the Government of India took action in the East. His letter was intercepted. I will send you a copy[6] when I get one.

We have had one meeting of the Provincial Committee of your Relief Fund.[7] Work has already started in some districts. I hope, as the result of the labours of my niece, to get a complete set of instructions, receipts, store registers, etc. out to districts this week. Then we can get to work in earnest.

A fortnight ago everybody hoped that the Hindus as a body would stay and that it would be possible for the Muslims in the Ambala Division to stay there. But since the Sikh attack on Muslims in Delhi[8] the situation in that Division has greatly deteriorated, and I think that we must accept the position that we will have to receive all the Muslims from there. Otherwise they will be exterminated. The Government of India is obviously not sufficiently interested to protect them. Also the Sikhs in the colonies are accustomed to large holdings and they will have great difficulty in squeezing themselves into the much smaller holdings of the Jullundur Division. They are bound therefore to invade the Ambala Division unless, which is a possibility not to be ignored, they attempt to return to the West by force.

The number of Muslims in the East Punjab, including the Sikh States, is 54 lakh. Against this we have in the West Punjab 15 lakh Sikhs and 20 lakh Hindus. How then can we accommodate 54 lakh Muslims unless we get rid of the Hindus? Also the Hindus show no sign of regaining confidence. I think therefore that we must accept the position that all, or practically all, the Hindus must leave West Punjab if only for the reason that we have to find room for such a large number of Muslims from East Punjab.[9] It goes without saying that we cannot take any appreciable numbers from Delhi or beyond. We are having the whole question of the numbers that we will have to absorb, their trades, professions, etc. examined by an economist, who will, I hope, report in a week. The numbers that I have given are those of the 1941 Census and so, apart from killings, are too low.

After the main transfer has taken place, very difficult technical problems will arise regarding the property left behind by evacuees. We have at last got a Custodian of Evacuee Property, but he, of course, looks after only the property of Hindus and Sikhs who have left West Punjab. The East Punjab were to pass an Ordinance similar to our Evacuee Property (Preservation) Ordinance and to appoint a Custodian.

But so far they have done neither. I doubt if they are capable of either. Similar problems will doubtless arise in Sind and in Baluchistan.

Presumably in the end we will have to recognise and regularize the transfer of population. Then difficult questions will arise. Under what conditions will Hindus and Sikhs be allowed to live in West Punjab? The Hindus don't much matter and if their houses, etc. are all taken up by Muslims, they are unlikely to return in large numbers and so may be ignored in this connection. But the Sikhs are different. Apart from the danger of their being murdered if they come across here, which might raise international questions, their ingress would have to be very strictly limited for security reasons. We cannot ignore what they have done, to plan, in the last six weeks or their inordinate ambition. When they find themselves confined to the comparatively infertile lands of the East Punjab, there is, in my opinion, every likelihood of their trying to return to the West. They might, if in the meantime they have not been put in their place by the Government of India, try to return by force. But it is more likely that they might try infiltration tactics to be followed by an attack on the frontier aided by fifth column pockets which they would have established. This may sound alarmist, but if any one six months ago had predicted what the Sikhs have accomplished in the last two months, he would have been laughed to scorn. We can afford to take no risks.

I am afraid that this is rather a pessimistic letter, but it is hard to see the light. I am very glad that Liaquat is to make Lahore his headquarters for some time, but I hope the era of platitudinous joint communiques by the two Dominion Governments is over. They are only red herrings across the trail of the real question which is the suppression of the Sikhs.

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS MUDIE

PS.

I add the following which has just come to my notice since this letter was drafted:

I have already informed[10] you that we have stopped the movement of the Sikh convoys. I am informed, however, this morning that a Muslim convoy started from Amritsar down the Canal bank. Still I think our action will do good, as apparently Sikhs from Lyallpur are trying to persuade the Sikhs in Amritsar not to massacre Muslims for fear of retaliation on Sikhs here.

According to today's papers the East Punjab have issued an Ordinance. It seems to me that the best line to take is to try to get the Government of India to declare Martial Law in East Punjab. I have it from General

Lockhart, who I presume should not be quoted, that they very nearly declared Martial Law the other day, but in the end did not do so as they realised that Martial Law would have to be administered by General Lockhart, a British officer.

There is accumulating evidence of the paralysis of the East Punjab Government. I have had a talk with Sher Khan, the Liaison Officer with Chimni's Force. He describes the state of affairs, particularly in Amritsar, as anarchy. The Hindu D.C. has gone on ten days' leave and will probably not return. He has handed over to his Sikh A.D.M. He himself has been officially told by Chimni that he would rather that he (Sher Khan) confined his movements to his bungalow and his office, as otherwise Chimni cannot be responsible for his safety. We are not sending any Liaison Officers to East Punjab, as their lives would be in extreme danger. Sher Khan told me, though presumably he should not be quoted, that he was present at a meeting held by Trivedi[11] the other day, at which Trivedi told the I.G. Police (a Sikh) that he would like to see the whole of the East Punjab Police shot, including the I.G. I merely mention these incidents to show the state of affairs in East Punjab. I have asked Sher Khan to submit a report,[12] which should strengthen the demand for Martial Law.

As far as I have been able to see light, the way we should play our hand is as follows: Both Mountbatten and Nehru have world reputations. Both are therefore sensitive to world press, U.N.O., etc. It would be very difficult for them if they were to refuse, first, the demand for neutral observers and, secondly, the demand for Martial Law.[13] Now that the demand for neutral observers has been made public, I doubt whether they could face a similar publication of their rejection of the demand for Martial Law. Pressure of this sort therefore might compel them to agree to Martial Law.

The fact that the R.S.S. Sangh are participating with the Sikhs in attacks on Muslims in Amritsar seems to me to be very significant. I understand that the R.S.S. Sangh has the blessings of Vallabhbhai Patel. We have therefore two Members of the Government of India, Patel and Baldev Singh, neither of whom would do anything to stop anarchy in the East Punjab. Ishar Singh Mujhail, one of the new Ministers of the East Punjab, along with Udham Singh Nagoke are said to be the leaders of the Sikh party principally responsible for massacring Muslims in East Punjab. The appointment of the former therefore is hardly likely to be helpful.

I enclose a copy of Brij Lal Nehru's letter referred to in this letter earlier.

[FRANCIS MUDIE]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]The decision to discontinue searches of evacuee convoys and evacuee camps in the two Punjabs was taken up by Liaquat and Nehru in the inter-Dominion Conference held on 14 September. See *Pakistan Times*, 16 September 1947.
[3]Appointment made on 18 September 1947. See *Pakistan Times*, 19 September 1947.
[4]B. S. Chimni.
[5]Secretary, Refugees & Rehabilitation Department and Chief Refugees Commissioner, West Punjab.
[6]Enclosure.
[7]Meeting held on 18 September 1947. See F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/83. Not printed.
[8]See Appendix III. 4.
[9]The Pakistan Government wanted non-Muslim citizens not to migrate. This was emphasised in press statements and in public speeches. Jinnah strongly advised Muslims in Pakistan to maintain peace and law and order. He asked them to refrain from resorting to retaliation or adopting any action in spirit of revenge. Apart "from such action being contrary to Islamic teachings", he said, "it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Musalmans who happen to be minorities in Hindustan or elsewhere in the sub-continent". See Annex II to No. 166. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, a federal minister, among others assured non-Muslims that the Pakistan Government was committed to the protection of minorities. See *Pakistan Times*, 9 September 1947.
[10]See Appendix III. 23.
[11]C.M. Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab.
[12]Enclosure to No. 293.
[13]Mountbatten had "suggested that there was only one way to control this [riots], namely the imposition of "Martial Law". See *Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1995, 347-354.

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Enclosure to No. 281
Brij Lal Nehru to M. K. Gandhi

F. 675/53-4

CONFIDENTIAL

1 WARRIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 September 1947

Revered Bapuji,

You must have thought about all that we and the others have said about the position in the Punjab and must have come to some decision about the action to be taken. If so, Shri Ramoshuri and I would be grateful to have some indication of it so as to regulate our actions accordingly. We have been waiting for the instructions promised in your wire from Calcutta but they have not arrived, probably because of the breakdown of the postal arrangements. Kindly send a line or

two for our guidance through the bag of the High Commissioner, if possible. Letters have a better chance of reaching that way.

The position here is no better than it was. The searches of the refugee convoys have no doubt been stopped, but a new terror has supervened. Instead, the convoys are being attacked by armed gangs and considerable damage inflicted. On Sunday last a large body of refugees marching on foot were attacked at or near Balloki. The official account mentions 100 killed and 100 wounded. But in the Ganga Ram Hospital, they received over 500 wounded persons—men, women and children. Yesterday a convoy proceeding from Lahore to Amritsar was attacked a few miles from here and suffered a loss of 17 killed and 34 wounded. Similarly refugees' trains are being held up indefinitely—in one case for 36 hours—without provision for food and drink. Often enough, these trains are also attacked and large casualties are suffered by them. Looting of course takes place at the same time; what the poor refugees have saved from the wreck is often lost this way.

The stock excuse given by everybody here high and low, for this undesirable state of affairs is that the East Punjab Govt. is permitting worse things to happen on their side and are taking no steps to bring this kind of thing to an end. In order to ascertain the views of the other side also, we sent another deputation to interview the Prime Minister and the other ministers. The members of this deputation consisted of the old friends and co-workers of the P.M. so that a free and frank exchange of views might take place. They did have this kind of exchange of views and have come back convinced that the Govt. of East Punjab is neither willing to stop the carnage on their side nor has it the power of doing so even if they wanted to. The situation in the West Punjab is bad enough but, according to the reports brought by our friends, it is immensely worse in the East Punjab and there is no hope of things mending under the present management. Everybody who has had anything to do with them is agreed on this point. A strange kind of paralysis has overtaken these gentlemen. They appear to be absolutely callous to the sufferings of the people on this side of the frontier or are too wedded to the doctrine of retaliation to care what happens here so long as they can have their own back on their side. This is a kind of vicious circle which only you can break. The main object of this letter is to suggest that the time has arrived, if not overdue, for you to look personally into the administrative side by sending for the P.M. and the Home Minister of East Punjab and getting their explanations in person. It seems to me that they have had ample time and opportunities to show what they could do and have signally failed in the attempt. It is time therefore to think of having some other

arrangement. I do not know exactly what the Constitution permits but I believe there is provision, in a case of breakdown of law and order, for the Govt. of India to take over responsibility direct or through the Governor. I beg to suggest that this should be done at once, regardless of the personal feelings of some persons concerned. The issues of life and death involved and of the future of India are much too grave to be governed by personal sensitiveness of some people. What is wanted today is a live administrator and not a comatose body of the kind we are unlucky enough to have at such a critical time.

I may also mention one thing more. At present the Sikhs are said to be completely out of hand and do what they like without caring for the law of the land and there is no one to say them nay. This is explained by the administrative set up we have today. The Home Minister is a Sikh, the I.G.Police is a Sikh, the S.P. at Amritsar is a Sikh and the officer in charge of the military, arranging for guards and evacuation, is also a Sikh. Now I have no bias against the Sikhs or against any of these officers personally, (I do not even know them), but it seems to me that to inspire confidence we should certainly have a somewhat different set-up. If an administrator of the kind I have suggested is appointed he can be trusted to see to such details himself. The great thing is to have a live man who can issue orders at once and one with a vision of the great possibilities and the dangers of the situation. And I do hope you will kindly take this matter into your urgent consideration. Otherwise I fear that greater disasters still await us. I beg you to save us from them. I enclose a cutting from *Civil & Military Gazette* of 7. 9. 47 for perusal.[1]

Yours with great respect,
BRIJ LAL NEHRU

[1]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 281

F. 675/52

TOO MANY LEADERS AND OFFICERS IN AMRITSAR[1]

Refugee Administration in Hopeless Mess

AMRITSAR, Sept.6: Despite the dawn of freedom, Amritsar's administrative machinery has reached the breaking point. There is thorough misrule, maladministration, hopeless inefficiency, lack of co-ordination, disorganised and aimless running about by officers and workers.

Complete chaos prevails here, and there is general helplessness among the officers.

This in effect is the view expressed by some 20 officers and as many public men contacted during the past three or four days. No one knows where to begin, what to do and how to do it. There are far too many officers, all poking their nose in every matter concerning the refugee problem, too many leaders and practically no solid or sound workers ready to carry out the orders. A few subordinates and volunteers who do so are working in a state of utter resignation, but they too, are equally critical of the state of affairs that prevails in the administrative machinery of Amritsar.

Refugees, in a state of sheer desperation after moving from door to door for the solution of their problems, are not the only ones who criticise and occasionally indulge in some forms of demonstration here and there, either at the refugee camps or in the houses and offices of high officers. They are joined and frequently encouraged by local elements — some with a purpose and others out of fun. The latter are the louder and more vociferous in their condemnation of the officials and political parties.

The funniest part of the situation is that even officers in charge of responsible jobs do not lag behind in this competition in criticism. They express their helplessness and throw the blame on to the shoulders of someone else sparing neither the Ministers nor the Governor nor the Army and the Police, nor even the highest in the Government of India.

The criticisms are justified to a great extent. There are a few important matters which merit consideration. To mention a few out of the plethora of criticisms and the spate of suggestions made by persons in all walks of life, officials included:

CHAOS IN OFFICIALDOM

1. The officials are not pulling their weight. Some of them grumble that they have no proper direction regarding their duties when their duties are specified, they would not step beyond the letter of the orders. Some officials grumble of too much interference in the performance of their duties, both from higher officers and public men.

It would not be correct to accuse the officials of disloyalty, but some of them are still undecided about their allegiance. A casual talk with any official in Amritsar will convince even a stranger that they are not working in a spirit of co-operation or collaboration. Almost all of them seem to be labouring under some grievances, real or imaginary.

2. There are at present one Deputy Commissioner, one Additional

Deputy Commissioner, one Additional District Magistrate, one Magistrate combining in himself the duties of ■ Civil Supplies Officer, Textile Control Officer and District Rationing Authority for petrol and transport, and half a dozen other magistrates. Five more officers of the Central Administrative Services (formerly I.C.S.) are expected in a day or two. They constantly grumble that they are overworked, they get their meals at late hours and have shorter hours for sleep. Some of them talked of an impending break down in their health.

NO PLAN

3. It is for the Deputy Commissioner to chalk out his plans, to entrust particular duties to everyone and if he is still short of officers to ask for more. That will smoothen the administration to a very great extent. In the absence of collaboration and a proper plan, there is naturally considerable waste of time and energy. To take one instance, the Additional District Magistrate called a meeting of some 60 leading representatives of the city and sought their co-operation in the restoration of peace and order. They promised to do all that was necessary for the purpose. Three or four suggestions were made. One of these related to the rehabilitation of refugees in houses deserted by Muslims. It was agreed to prepare a list of such houses by the officers-in-charge of the police stations with the help of two leading citizens for each of the five police divisions. This was done with the greatest speed. The Additional District Magistrate had agreed to send down a Magistrate the following day to allot the houses. Although the non-official and the police officers appeared at the police stations in time, no Magistrates ever came. Later it was discovered that only one Magistrate was already doing this job.

POLICE LOOTERS

4. The police have played an ignoble part in the drama of lawlessness witnessed occasionally in Amritsar. Responsible officers have frequently complained that their force lacks discipline. Policemen, and even some officers, have taken part in loots. The excuse that they were walking in the foot steps of the police in Pakistan is hardly convincing. If some have not participated in criminal acts, they have connived at the misdeeds of their subordinates or colleagues.

Apart from other things, this has shaken the public confidence in the capacity of the police to prevent lawlessness and Magistrates have remarked that the police are completely out of control. One of the senior police officers expressed his helplessness in the exercise of his authority, while a subordinate said that it was the share of the loot

which prevented interference. By no means are the two branches of the administrative machinery, namely the District Magistrate's and the police, pulling together as they should.

5. The Indian Army has all along been regarded as a disciplined force by the bulk of the population. There have been no complaints of lack of discipline, nor has there been any instances of troops having participated in looting. There have been several instances of partiality and communal bias; there have been a few reckless shootings; and their co-operation with the civil authority has been badly lacking.

The decision to abolish the Boundary Force has been welcomed here. It was regarded by the people on this side as a grave menace to the peace and security of the area. There have been many frictions between the Army and the Civil authority over matters of escorts for convoys.

PUBLIC WORKERS

6. All these could have been avoided if the authorities had chalked out a plan and worked in a spirit of co-operation. If the refugee problem is to be handled smoothly by any official agency, there must be an agreed plan and it should be worked in a spirit of service.

7. What applies to the officials is equally true of our public workers. Party faction reigns supreme and lust for power holds sway over the minds of our politicians. It takes no time to diagnose this malady of Amritsar.

There is utter confusion in most of the refugee camps. Courage, grit and determination in those who had undergone untold sufferings for the freedom of the country are needed as an ample measure to remove the misery of the vast numbers of refugees who are pouring day after day. Here is an opportunity for constructive work, but, in the absence of any solid work, one hears not infrequently unpalatable things about the Congress and its leadership.

In the midst of the hopeless inefficiency and confusion all around, one Congress worker, Miss Mridula Sarabbhai, personal representative of Pandit Nehru, has been working sincerely day and night to bring order out of chaos. During her brief stay here, she has worked wonders and has set in motion the entire machinery of the Government of India.

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, 7 September 1947.

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Mohamad Ali to F. Amin

F. 112-GG/1

MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET CABINET SECRETARIAT, [KARACHI,]
23 September 1947

I place below the following papers which the Prime Minister proposes to discuss with the Quaid-i-Azam at his interview today at 6 p.m. He would be grateful if the Quaid-i-Azam could find time to glance through them:

1. Memorandum on Frontier Policy by Sir George Cunningham.[1]
2. Letter from General Messervy on the same subject.[2]
3. Letter from Sir George Cunningham reviewing the position in the light of General Messervy's comments.[3]

MOHAMAD ALI
Secretary-General

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.
[3]Enclosure 3.

Enclosure 1 to No. 282
Memorandum by George Cunningham

F. 112-GG/37-50

SECRET [PESHAWAR,]
10 September 1947

FRONTIER POLICY

It is desirable that at as early a date as possible the Govt. of Pakistan should come to a decision as to their future policy towards the tribes and States of the North-West Frontier Province, and as to the agreements to be made with them. For the present, a sort of "Standstill Agreement" has been generally accepted. But matters should be put, as soon as possible, on a more definite footing.

2. The constitutional means by which the Government of Pakistan will give effect to their tribal policy will not, I think, present a problem of great difficulty, and I feel that it is possible forthwith to get down to a practical and detailed examination of the whole question.

3. I hope it will be of assistance if I summarise in this memorandum all the various practical problems which have to be decided—political

relations with the tribes and States, allowances, *Khassadari*, Civil Armed Forces, etc. All these factors are so intermingled that it is difficult to separate them. I propose also, even at this preliminary stage, to indicate my own provisional views.

4. In the first place, I make certain assumptions:

a. With the establishment of a Pakistan Government our tribes (100 per cent Muslim), though still jealous of their internal independence, will, I believe, be influenced by the religious bonds between them and their Government. A new sentiment will be created, which I hope will lead to a great improvement of feeling between Government and the tribes. The Government will have to do all that is possible and reasonable to take advantage of this Islamic sentiment.

b. With the partial exception of Waziristan,[1] the tribes are on the whole perfectly happy with the existing arrangements between them and Government. Wherever we can, therefore, we should try simply to carry on the old agreements with a few necessary modifications. The existing allowances and *Khassadari* should be continued. Such obligations as we expect from the tribes (as regards outlaws, preservation of peaceful conditions, etc.) should continue.

c. The tribes will, for the present at any rate, want to preserve their old internal independence. This means that they will not want police, tahsildars, land revenue, taxation, law courts, etc., anywhere in their country, except where they have them already. It is essential that the Government of Pakistan should convince them that they do not mean to interfere with this independence, and have no intention of occupying any fresh tribal territory.

d. We should not aim at anything in the nature of a federation of tribes, I have seen this proposal put forward from one or two quarters, but I am sure it is bad policy. What we want to get rid of is the idea that the tribes are essentially different from other Pathans, or that there is an antipathy between the people of tribal territory and those of the settled districts. On the contrary, we want to aim at linking each tribe with its contiguous settled district, as this is the best hope of improving economic and social conditions. In any case, I do not believe for a moment that the tribes would agree among themselves to form a confederacy.

e. Wherever civil armed forces are necessary we should try if possible to raise them from the people of the neighbourhood; i.e. they should be Militias in the real sense of the word. Kurram is the prime example of the value of this. An exception will probably be

the Frontier Constabulary whose organisation is of a different character.

THE MACHINERY OF CONTROL

5. a. As at present, the 5 Agencies (Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan) should continue each with its Political Agent and his Political Staff.

b. It will be for decision whether the control of these Political Agents is to lie in the hands of the Central Government or the Provincial Government. I am strongly in favour of delegating this authority to the Provincial Government. I believe that for ensuring unity of control on both sides of the present administrative border, and for dealing with such questions as outlaws, petty raiding or kidnapping, boundary disputes, trading facilities, development of public health, education, etc., the local knowledge possessed by the Ministers of the Provincial Government will be of real value. Moreover, if the Provincial Government were to be put out of the picture, the Central Government would presumably have to use the Governor as their Agent, and this might easily lead to friction between the Ministers and the Governor. I have felt this danger for sometime, and expressed my views as above to the External Affairs Department as long ago as 18th February 1945.

The big difficulty involved in placing the responsibility on the Province's shoulders will be the question of finance. If the Centre is to provide funds, they might reasonably ask for at least some measure of day to day control. I do not see, however, why a subvention should not be given to the Province for these purposes just as it is given now for the settled districts; the big items would be earmarked for specific purposes, such as Frontier Constabulary, allowances, *Khassadars*, and certain other main heads, and the Provincial Government would be bound to observe this appropriation of funds. The Centre would preserve a sufficient measure of control by a provision that the subvention would be periodically liable to review.

I am not aware whether it is intended to nominate the Governor as Agent to the Governor-General; I think it will probably be found to be advisable to do so. In practice, however, the Governor would act, for tribal affairs, simply as the constitutional head of the Provincial Government, as advised by his Ministers. I would always be in favour of the Chief Minister assuming the tribal portfolio. The Provincial Government would ordinarily make its

wishes known to the tribes through the Political Resident; if a heavier weapon had to be used, the Governor (if possible, accompanied by the Chief Minister) would be the Provincial Government's mouthpiece.

The only modification of ordinary constitutional practice which I would suggest is that the Governor should have not only the right but [*sic*] of addressing the Governor-General direct, if he finds himself at variance with his Ministers on an important matter of frontier policy.

c. The bigger questions of frontier policy as they affect our relations with Afghanistan, or questions of the defence of Pakistan against external aggression, would have to be reserved to the Central Government. I think that the Scouts and Militias will also have to remain under Central control, via the Agent to the Governor-General.

6. I will now deal with each portion of the frontier from north to south. Except where specifically mentioned, I recommend that in every case a new brief agreement should be drawn up, to the effect that the old relations existing between the tribes (or States) and Government hitherto should continue between the tribes (or States) and the Government of Pakistan. Allowances and *Khassadari* should continue unchanged.

HAZARA DISTRICT BORDER

7. a. *Tribes*

The last written agreements with these tribes were made in 1891. Their general purport is to provide for freedom of movement by Government forces, responsibility for offences in British territory and restoration of persons kidnapped or property stolen, settlement of cases by the ordinary law or by custom, and the preservation in general of peace on the border.

Allowances are Rs. 5, 600.

The protection of this part of the border is entrusted to Frontier Constabulary, none of whom are stationed actually in tribal territory.

b. *The Nawab of Amb*

No written agreement seems to exist between the Nawab and Government. The greater part of State (Tanawal) is a feudatory *jagir* in Hazara District, and is part of British India. In this area the Nawab has criminal powers in all cases not punishable with death, and collects revenue. It will be for decision whether this feudatory area is to be treated as part of the State proper. It has been classed as an "Excluded Area".

The small adjacent State of Phulra is in the same category.

The Nawab of Amb receives an allowance of Rs. 15,300 per annum. There is pretty well complete freedom of trade between Amb State and British India, except that the Nawab levies a toll on any timber leaving his State, and he cannot import arms or ammunition without the permission of the Central Government.

The Deputy Commissioner of Hazara District should act, as at present, as Political Agent for the Hazara border tribes and Amb State.

MALAKAND (DIR, SWAT AND CHITRAL) AGENCY

8. I will first deal with 3 States—CHITRAL, DIR AND SWAT—which differentiate this Agency from all others:

a. *Chitral*

The essential points in the extant agreements with Chitral are:

i. that His Highness the *Mehtar* receives an annual allowance of Rs. 1,71,160 of which Rs. 30,000 is for the upkeep of a body-guard;
ii. that the Chitral State Scouts, 973 strong, are maintained in the State at the charge of the Central Government;
iii. certain restrictions on trade in *charas;*
iv. acknowledgment of the suzerainty of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir (a thing which the Mehtar of Chitral violently resents);
v. certain obligations regarding internal administration (e.g. forced labour, decision of cases, etc.);
vi. definition of the boundaries of the State—His Highness the *Mehtar* has for sometime been trying to extend his authourity to Ghizar and Yasin (part of the Gilgit Agency which has now been handed over to Kashmir). This will be a difficult question to decide, and we might have to agree that it should go to arbitration.

b. *Dir*

The important agreement between the Nawab of Dir and Government dates from 1925. The main provisions are that the Nawab keeps open the road from Chakdarra to Chitral, and allows trade to pass to Chitral free of tax, that he recognises the boundaries of his State as fixed by Government, that he allows Government certain modified control over his forests (he always tries to wriggle out of this), that he prevents anti-Government activities from his State, and that he will co-operate in preventing outlaws harbouring in his State.

He receives a payment of Rs. 50, 000 per annum from Government. [The] Government also meets the cost of 275 levies recruited from and posted in Dir State. The only new provision which we might include

in the agreement would be for the construction and protection of a telegraph line from Malakand to Chitral. At present, the line goes through Kashmir, via Gilgit.

c. *Swat*

The agreement with the Wali of Swat was drawn up in 1926. Under it, the *Wali* promises to be loyal to Government, to prevent raiding or harbouring of outlaws, etc., not to interfere with the people of certain tracts, and agrees to modified Government control of his forests. The limits of his State are not definitely defined.

He receives a yearly allowance of Rs. 10,500 (a mere token grant, as his present revenue is, I believe, Rs. 50 lakh).

The *Wali* has greatly extended the borders of his State since this agreement was made. This has generally been all to the good. He has introduced law and order, and is not an exacting ruler. The only area which may lead to controversy is Kalam, i.e. the upper waters of the Swat Valley. Chitral, Dir and Swat were all warned off this area by an agreement made between the Kalam tribes and Government in 1928. The Mehtar of Chitral has just complained that the Wali of Swat has sent troops to annex this area. I think this matter will have to be referred to arbitration.

The *Wali* maintains his own Army at his own expense.

d. Allowances are also paid in this Agency to:

Dir tribes	Rs. 13,010
Maliks and headmen of Swat	Rs. 8,700
Khans of Swat	Rs. 21,500

Such agreements as have ever been made with these tribes have been ephemeral. Our present relations are satisfactory.

e. I have mentioned the Dir Levies above. They should be continued. We also have a force of Malakand Levies (400 strong) who are located in posts in the neighbourhood of Malakand itself and in Utman Khel territory. They carry out ordinary police duties (serving warrants, making arrests, etc.); and do a good deal of patrolling of roads. They are under the direct control of the Political Agent, and have no Commissioned Officer.

Hitherto the Forts at Malakand, Chakdarra, and Dargai have been garrisoned by regular troops. The battalion has now been withdrawn, but a weak company of regular troops has been left for the present simply to hold the buildings. We must decide what force, if any, we are to substitute for these regulars.

I am not in favour of introducing a body of Scouts on the analogy of the Waziristan Scouts Corps, i.e. containing Pathans from distant parts of the Frontier. I think that, whatever the force is to be, it should be

composed of the local Yusafzai and Utman Khel Pathans. Moreover, their duties will be as they are at present, much more in the nature of police work than of military operations, and I do not think a Militia trained up to Scouts' standard is necessary. There are in any case objections to having two separate forces i.e. Malakand Levies plus a force of Militia. I would, therefore, simply increase the strength of the present Levies. In view of the fact that they will essentially be working for the Political Agent and will not be a real fighting force, I would make the Political Agent ex-officio Commandant, with a good Adjutant and Quartermaster under him. A strength of 800 men (including the existing 400 Levies) would probably be sufficient. The present cost of the Malakand Levies is Rs. 97,500 per annum. The cost of the enlarged body would be Rs. 2,05,800 per annum.

If, however, it were decided that a regular Militia is necessary, the cost of the additional 400 men (including 4 officers) would be initial Rs. 2,70,300 and recurring Rs. 4,58,800. This would be in addition to the present expenditure of Rs. 97,500 per annum on Levies.

TRIBES LINKED WITH PESHAWAR DISTRICT

9. a. *Mohmands*

Various agreements are in force. Their main provisions are maintenance of peaceful conditions, friendly relations with Government and with the Afghan Government, responsibility for outlaws, allowing Government and other traffic on the main road into their country.

They receive in allowances and *Lungis* Rs. 59,614-12-0 per annum, and have 193 *Khassadars*, mostly in posts along the road.

b. *Hassan Khel Afridis*

Their agreements have roughly the same provisions as those of the Mohmands.

They receive Rs. 1,505 in allowances and have 18 *Khassadars* (all on the main road).

c. The Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar, should act, as at present, as Political Agent for all these tribes.

KHYBER AGENCY

10. a. *Afridis* ([by] far the most important tribe on the whole frontier).

Their agreements lay down general friendly relations, responsibility for offences and for outlaws, maintenance of peace on the roads and railway through the Khyber, and permission to Government forces to move about on the Khajuri Plain (west of Peshawar).

They receive Rs. 2,73,120 in allowances and *Lungis*.

They have 1336 *Khassadars*, mostly protecting the road and railway and the Khajuri Plain.

At Landi Kotal, at the top [of] the Khyber Pass, are the headquarters of the Khyber Rifles (an all-Khyber Corps, disbanded in 1919 and re-created in 1946).

b. *Shinwaris, Mullagoris, Shilmanis*

Small tribes of the Khyber Agency, and akin to the Afridis, whose main obligations are maintenance of friendly relations, responsibility for offences, and preservation of certain minor roads, buildings, etc.

They receive allowances, viz.

Shinwaris	Rs. 32,000 per annum
Mullagoris	Rs. 5,000 " "
Shilmanis	Rs. 5,000 " "

They have 345 *Khassadars.*

TRIBES LINKED WITH KOHAT DISTRICT

11. a. *Orakzais*

Their agreements with Government are mostly very old—probably barely remembered—and deal with the usual questions of outlaws, responsibility for offences, etc.

They receive Rs. 65,942 in allowances and *Lungis.*

They have 527 Levies (practically the same as *Khassadars*).

b. *Kohat Pass Afridis*

The important extent [*sic* for extant] agreements with them are dated 1923 and 1936, by which they undertook to safeguard very important Kohat Pass road (main road from Peshawar to Kohat), in addition to the ordinary obligations as to outlaws, offences, etc. They receive Rs. 22,348 per annum in allowances and *Lungis.* They have 58 *Khassadars* for the protection of the road.

c. *Biland Khel*

Their agreement dated 1926 has the usual provisions about responsibility for offences, and also an undertaking to protect their section of the Thal-Bannu road through North Waziristan. They receive Rs. 2,500 as allowances, and have 29 *Khassadars* for road protection.

d. The Deputy Commissioner, Kohat, should act, as at present, as Political Agent for all these tribes.

e. There is, in addition, the problem of safeguarding the extreme west of Kohat District, where it adjoins Waziristan. For many years, there has been a brigade of regular troops at Thal.This is being withdrawn, and as a temporary measure a garrison company is being left in their place. I propose that as a permanent measure a wing of the Tochi Scouts should take over the existing barracks. The annual cost would be approximately Rs. 10,00,000 per annum initial cost. This figure is included in the total of Rs. 42,10,000 given as the cost of North Waziristan

Scouts in para 14(f).

KURRAM

12. The Kurram Valley was taken over by Government in 1892, and since then has been administered under a loose form of administration based mainly on tribal custom. There seems to be no written agreement with the Turis, who own most of the valley, but with some of the smaller adjacent tribes there are agreements requiring friendship to Government, responsibility for outlaws, offences, etc. They receive allowances, *Lungis*, and *Inams*, amounting to Rs. 22,934. The protection of the valley is carried out admirably by the old-established Kurram Militia.

TRIBES LINKED WITH BANNU DISTRICT

13. These tribes are portions of the Wazir tribes and of the Bhitannis. The important agreement is that of 1922 by which, as part of the general Waziristan settlement, all the Wazir tribes acquiesced in our occupation of Razmak. It is to be noted that when in 1940 we built a road through, and installed a Constabulary post in the Ahmedzai Salient (part of the Bannu Wazir country) we made no fresh agreement. The allowances drawn by these tribes are:

Wazirs	Rs. 24,120 per annum
Bhitannis	Rs. 1,750 per annum

They have 83 *Khassadars*.

They will have, I think, to be dealt with as part of the new settlement with the whole of Waziristan, as recommended below:

WAZIRISTAN

14. a. *North and South Waziristan Agencies*

North and South Waziristan have to be considered together. This is the most difficult of all our tribal problems. Our present relations with all the tribes of Waziristan date from the 1922 agreements, when Government decided to occupy Razmak. The essential points are:

i. We occupied Razmak with regular troops and built roads to it (Wana was subsequently occupied).
ii. We gave the tribes increased allowances.
iii. We enlisted *Khassadars*, who number 2191 in North Waziristan and 3078 in South Waziristan.
iv. The ordinary conditions about good behaviour, responsibility for offences, etc., were laid down, and certain assurances given to the tribes regarding such things as contracts for transport on the roads.

b. I think that we must now face a complete change of policy.

Razmak has been occupied by regular troops for nearly 25 years, Wana for a few years less. The occupation has been a failure. It has not achieved peace or any appreciable economic development. It ties up an unreasonably large number of troops, and for the last 10 years there have been frequent major and minor offences committed by tribal gangs against the troops. I do not propose to go into the reasons in further detail; I believe that the Defence Department agree with my conclusion that we should, within the next year or two, withdraw all regular troops from Waziristan. This may give us trouble at first, but in the long run it will be to our advantage.

c. I think, however, that Scouts should hold:

i. Miranshah, Spinwam and the smaller connected posts in North Waziristan as they do at present, but that they should be withdrawn from Datta Khel.

ii. Wana, Jandola and the intermediate posts in South Waziristan. Except for Wana, these are already held by Scouts.

d. I do not propose that, when troops are withdrawn from Razmak, we should instal Scouts in their place. Scouts at Razmak would have a dangerous L. of C. [Line of Communication] and this might easily lead us on to a major incident with the tribes. There is a good reason for putting Scouts at Wana, but not at Razmak. This is that we should site our Scouts Posts on the principle that our object is to develop the country and its people in the broadest sense; educational and material. There is scope at Wana, where there is a broad fertile plain, a potential water supply and a fairly amenable population. There is also scope at Miranshah and in the Daur Valley. But there is little possibility of development at Razmak, where land is limited, water practically nil, and there is no population to speak of for more than half the year.

e. I propose that regular troops should evacuate Wana about March 1948, 12 platoons of Scouts being installed in their place. The Scouts would occupy about half the present Cantonment of Wana, the remaining buildings, or most of them, being used for other civil purposes or handed over to the Ahmadzai Wazir Maliks if they want them (as I think they will).

f. I propose that about October-November 1948 we should evacuate Razmak Cantonment entirely; also the intervening camps on the L. of C. from Tochi to Razmak. The evacuation of Landha Post (held by Scouts) and the smaller posts between it and Jandola would be a corollary of the evacuation of Razmak.

The cost of Scouts at present is:

North Waziristan	Rs. 45,31,000 per annum
South Waziristan	Rs. 46,38,500 per annum

The cost under my new proposals would be:

North Waziristan	Rs. 42,10,000 per annum
South Waziristan	Rs. 32,58,500 per annum

Apart from the foregoing changes, I recommend a brief agreement continuing the present arrangements, including allowances and *Khassadari* as at present, costing:

North Waziristan	Allowances Rs. 1,00,758 per annum
	Khassadari Rs. 7,60,700 per annum
South Waziristan	Allowances Rs. 1,41,188 per annum
	Khassadari Rs.10,52,200 per annum

Our future policy in Waziristan should be announced to the tribes before troops are finally withdrawn from Wana (March/April 1948). Maintenance of *Khassadari* would be conditional on the tribes permitting civil officials to visit their posts. The question of the upkeep of roads will be important; many can be given up.

TRIBES LINKED WITH DERA ISMAIL KHAN DISTRICT

15. a. Dotannis	Allowances Rs. 2000 per annum
b. Sulaiman Khel	Allowances Rs. 4600 per annum
c. Bhitannis	Allowances Rs. 9470 per annum
d. Sherannis	Allowances Rs. 5988 per annum

Agreements have been drawn up in the past with all these tribes with the usual provisions about good behaviour, etc. They have 125 *Khassadars*.

16. The financial effect of my proposals would be:

a. Increase of Malakand Levies (para 8(e)) ... Rs. 1,08,300 per annum

b. Saving in Scouts in North and South Waziristan (para 14 (f))... Rs. 17,01,000 per annum

Total (saving)... Rs. 15,92,700 per annum

This redistribution of the Civil Armed Forces shows an annual saving on our present expenditure, and in addition means the release of a very large number of regular troops—a battalion from Malakand, a brigade from Thal, and practically a whole division from Waziristan. It will, however, I think be necessary to make a small addition to the strength of the Frontier Constabulary on the border between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts and Waziristan (particularly at the mouth of the Shaktu Nullah leading from Central Mahsud country) to deal with possible raiding gangs. It can be safely said, however, that there will be a considerable decrease in expenditure on the whole.

G. CUNNINGHAM

[1]In capital letters in the original.

Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No. 282
Note by Abdur Rab Nishtar

F. 112-GG/22-31

CONFIDENTIAL [KARACHI,]
Undated [September 1947]

I have gone through the notes of H. E. the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province.[1] The questions involved are of very great importance and I feel that it would be desirable if conclusions with regard to them are arrived at after a full discussion in a conference which should be attended by Hon'ble the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, H.E. the Governor of NWFP, a representative of the Frontier Ministry, a representative of the Defence Department and some experienced Muslim political officers who have worked in the Frontier. It is necessary to have an experienced representative of the Army also who knows something about the Frontier and can speak on behalf of the Army as well as the Air Force. If the Hon'ble Prime Minister considers that my presence at this conference will be useful, I shall be very glad to attend it. I also feel that the venue of such conference should be Peshawar. It will be advantageous if preliminary discussions are held here by the Hon'ble Prime Minister with such people who know something about the Frontier problems and are available at Karachi.

Brief remarks on the notes:

1. In para 4(a), the Governor refers to the religious bonds between the tribes and the Pakistan Government and has suggested that the Government will have to do all that is possible and reasonable to take advantage of these Islamic sentiments. Enquiries should be made as to what is being done or is proposed to be done for securing such advantages.

2. In para 4(b), the Governor recommends that the existing allowances and *Khassadari* should be continued. This recommendation, in my opinion, requires further investigation. If a withdrawal is to be effected from Razmak and some other areas, as recommended in later portion of the Governor's notes, then the continuation of *Khassadari* and allowances to people of the area that is to be given up is to be justified. Besides it appears from this note that the allowances were increased some time back. It is to be investigated as to when and why these allowances were increased and whether the reasons for which the increase was effected still hold good. It will also be worthwhile examining whether evacuation from some area can be used as a ground for getting the allowances reduced.

3. The recommendation in para 4(c) that the Government of Pakistan

should convince the Tribal Territory people that they do not intend to interfere with their independence and have no intention to occupy any fresh Tribal Territory is perfectly sound.

4. It is also to my mind a sound recommendation as given in para 4(d) that we should not aim at anything in the nature of a federation of tribes. Such a step besides being impracticable is fraught with dangers.

5. No doubt there is much to be said for the recommendations made in para 4(e) that Civil Armed Forces should be raised from the people of the neighbourhood, but with a view to avoid the chances of such forces refusing to fire on their own tribes, it would be desirable if the question of having a mixed force composed of different tribes drawn from places not far away from the neighbourhood is also examined. The Governor makes an exception in the case of the Frontier Constabulary because of its different character. That is correct. But I think the question of Frontier Constabulary itself requires re-examination. The officers of this force generally belong to the Frontier Police. The Commandant of this force is generally an officer next in rank to the I.G. of Police, NWFP. The existence of a separate force means extra expenditure and duplication of overhead charges. So far as I know this force is generally employed on duties within the administrative border of the NWFP though generally in areas close to the tribal border. It is to be examined whether it would not be better to make this force a part of the Armed Police of the NWFP. Such a step would mean greater co-ordination and less expenditure.

6. Para 5(b) raises a fundamental question. There are advantages, no doubt, if those who are at the helm of affairs in the Province have also to tackle the tribal problems, but at the same time some solution is to be found for the problems that will arise if such an arrangement is set up. For instance:

a. During the settlement of disputes between Tribal Areas and the settled districts the dice will be loaded against the Tribal Areas, because the Ministers being elected representatives of the people of the settled districts will naturally be inclined to favour their own electorates at the cost of the tribesmen.

b. A Government in the Frontier which may be hostile to the Pakistan Central Government will create immense difficulties for the Centre if tribal affairs are in their hands.

c. The problem of Tribal Areas is closely connected with the defence of the Frontier and in dealing with the Frontier tribes the Provincial Ministers are apt to forget those aspects which may have repercussions on the defence. As a matter of fact, it is not expected of them to know the actual consideration that weigh with the Defence Department so far as the Tribal Areas are concerned.

d. The expenditure on the Tribal Areas is beyond the capacity of the NWFP and therefore the Centre has to bear it. It is quite natural that those at the Centre would feel that whoever pays the piper should call the tune. On the other hand, when power to deal with the tribesmen is handed over to the Frontier Government they would resent any interference from the Centre. Therefore, there is likelihood of misunderstandings and differences arising between the Centre and the Frontier Government. The suggestion that an additional subvention should be given to the Frontier Government for this purpose would not work because no subvention can be fixed permanently and if as suggested it is made revisable after a specified period that would again mean trouble between the Centre and the Frontier Government. I know that Centre is always reluctant to increase subventions. The refusal of Centre to increase the subvention to NWFP even with regard to their normal expenditure has been a constant source of serious grievance in the Frontier against the Central Government. Therefore, the suggestion of the Governor that the Centre should preserve a sufficient measure of control by a provision that the subvention will be liable to periodical renewal, would be a perpetual source of trouble between the Centre and the Province.

The Governor also suggests that the Governor of NWFP may have the right and duty to directly address the Governor-General if he finds himself at variance with the Ministers. This to my mind is not a happy suggestion. The friction which the Governor in this very paragraph apprehends between the Governor of NWFP and his Ministers will be much less if the present system is continued as compared to the friction which may arise between the Governor and his Chief Minister when he complains to the Governor-General over the head of the Chief Minister with regard to functions legally assigned to the latter. I fear that if a Governor even complains against a Chief Minister in such a manner the result will be the creation of complications even in regard to matters of settled districts. At present the two duties of the Governor as constitutional head of the province and as A.G.G. for tribes as [*sic*] separate and well-defined and if the Governor does anything with regard to the Tribal Territory which is not to the liking of the Ministry both of them know that he has every right to do it and the other had no business to interfere with it or legitimately resent it. The recommendation of the Governor in para 5(c) also supports the view that the subject should be dealt with by the Centre through an independent

agency and not by the Provincial Government. It has always been urged that the Frontier Government should have a voice in tribal affairs. I think some other method should be found to give some voice to the Frontier Government.

It is also a question worth consideration whether it is desirable for the Foreign Department[2] to deal with the Frontier Tribes. There are people who feel that the very fact that the Foreign Department has been dealing with the affairs of the Tribal Territory shows that these areas are foreign territory. They think that this is one of the reasons why Afghanistan has continued taking interest in Tribal Territory. Therefore it should be examined whether it would not be desirable to set up a separate department for tribal affairs either independently or as a section of Defence Department. I may point out that the Agencies on the Frontier so far as I remember were considered a part of India (though not British India). The affairs of Tribal Areas some time may have a repercussion on foreign affairs. But this is not peculiar to the Tribal Areas of the NWFP. It is so with all those areas which are on the border of a State; the difference, if any, is only of degree.

7. The recommendations in para 6 seem to be correct except with regard to allowances and *Khassadari* being continued unchanged. This point I have already discussed above.

The Governor has dealt in the first five paras with the general administration of tribal affairs. From para 6 onwards he has dealt with various agencies separately. The proposals made by him require minute examination, therefore I do not want to express my opinion about every one of them. But there are some points to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government.

Para 6.[3] The recommendation that allowances and *Khassadari* should continue unchanged is to be examined in the light of what I have already said about this point.

Para 7. The problem of Hazara Tribes is not complicated. The only new point to be considered is that of the inclusion of excluded areas of Amb and Phulra in Hazara District.

Para 8. As pointed out by the Governor, there are three States in Malakand Agency. Out of them, *Swat* is the richest and comparatively better administered. This is mostly due to the personality of the present ruler who is known as *Wali* and his Heir Apparent a young enlightened graduate of Islamia College, Peshawar. The *Wali* is the founder of the State and he is the grandson of Akhund Sahib of Swat. He was a great religious leader of Pathans. The great-grandfather of Pir Sahib

Manki Sharif, who was the Founder of the Manki *gaddi*, was also one of the disciples of the Akhund Sahib of Swat. The Wali Sahib leads the life of a simple Pathan and is always dressed as an ordinary villager. His son, of course, is an educated man and lives in modern style. The Capital of the State is in plains of the Swat Valley and is known as Saidu Sharif. It is about 30-40 miles from Malakand. The Wali Sahib is not on good terms with Dir and Chitral due to some territorial disputes between them, and the richness of Swat is also a reason for rousing the jealousy of others.

Dir is a small State. While going from Malakand to Swat at about three miles on the bank of the Swat River the road bifurcates; the main road leading to Swat and the road turning to Chakdarra across the bridge leads to Dir and Chitral. Chakdarra is on the junction of these two branches and has got a fort wherein the office of Assistant Political Officer is housed. I think Dir is 15-20 miles away from Chakdarra. This State is very badly run. There are very serious complaints of maladministration against the *Nawab*. According to the reports so far received by me, I do not think he is friendly towards Pakistan. One of his brothers who has left the State and lives in village Hathian in the Mardan District is a supporter of the Muslim League. Maybe that this has something to do with the apathy of the Dir Ruler towards Pakistan. It is also possible that this attitude of Dir is due to the fact that his opponent the Ruler of Swat is staunch supporter of Pakistan.

Further on from Dir after passing Luari Pass which is about 14,000 feet high comes *Chitral*. The road to Chitral is not motorable to a great extent. People have to go upto a certain point by road and thence on horseback or donkeys. I think at some place in Chitral there is an aerodrome whereto the officers fly from Malakand and therefrom motor to the headquarters of the State. The importance of Chitral is mainly due to its proximity to Russian Territory though I do not think there is a route whereby one can, even with some difficulty, cross from Chitral into Russia. It is a poor State and mostly run on the heavy subsidy paid to it. I think its income is not more than 2-3 lakh of rupees per annum. But on account of the political importance its Ruler is styled as His Highness. Kashmir claims nominal suzerainty over it in recognition of which I am told a few goats etc., are given annually by Chitral to Kashmir, but Kashmir's interference in any way is not tolerated by Chitral. I think there exists some mountainous route between Chitral and Gilgit Agency which has now been handed over by the British Government to Kashmir. It is through this agency that one has to go from Kashmir to Chinese Turkistan. There is some agitation against the present Ruler who ascended the *gaddi* a couple of years ago

and some people challenge his right to the *gaddi*. Another brother of his who was Governor of a province of Chitral has been externed from the State and kept by the British Government in Baluchistan. When I was in charge of the States Department a deputation came to me complaining against the Chitral State administration and later on an emissary of the State came and expressed friendship of Chitral towards Pakistan.

In Malakand Agency the Government has to deal with these three States and their internal disputes. The Agency is not difficult or troublesome in any way. One question of importance is whether these three States are to be recognised as independent States and allowed to accede to Pakistan or they are to be dealt with as tribal areas with their Rulers enjoying the status of tribal chieftains.

I may also point out here that so far as Gilgit Agency is concerned it is cut off from Kashmir for the major part of the year and in some circles of the Political Department it is apprehended that when the route is blocked, Chitral or Swat may encroach upon Gilgit. I do not know whether this is a practical proposition, but if it is so it will give us a good lever against Kashmir. It is also to be noted that in view of the attitude of Kashmir it would be necessary for us to have a telegraph line direct from Malakand to Chitral because at present the line goes via Gilgit. The Governor has referred to it.

The suggestion that regular troops should be withdrawn from Malakand Agency and Malakand Levy increased is quite sound. It is also quite all right to have the Political Agency [*sic* for Agent] as ex-officio commandant, but it must be made clear that no extra allowance can be paid to him for undertaking this additional duty of commandant.

Para 9. No remarks.

Para 10. So far as this para is concerned, among others, the questions that require consideration are as follows:

i. During our discussion with Afridis, the question of Khajuri Plain may arise. This plain belonged to Afridis and is at a distance of not more than 20 miles from Peshawar city. In some part of the year Afridis used to come down from the hills and occupy it. In 1930 when the first civil disobedience movement started, the Afridis participated in large numbers and committed raids. It was suspected that Khajuri Plain gives them greater facility and, therefore, it was forcibly occupied by the Government. In March, 1931, Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and Congress prisoners and Red Shirts were released. Soon after that the annual session of the Congress was held at Karachi where on behalf of Afridis a demand was made from the Congress to press for the restoration

of this Plain to Afridis. Mr. Gandhi told them that Congress was helpless and when independence is achieved this Plain will be restored. Since then from time to time the demand for its restoration has been made and I think Pakistan Government might be confronted by the Afridis with this demand. Maybe that Red Shirts make them put forward this demand. We must be prepared with our answer one way or the other after examining the implications of the attitude that we decide to adopt. Afridis are not only one of the most important tribes but the bulk of them are very friendly towards Pakistan and it is in our interest to retain their friendship.

ii. So far as Khyber Railway is concerned, it is a huge commitment. It is a mere strategic railway particularly between Jamrud (a place 8-9 miles from Peshawar) and Landi Khana near Afghan border. The question that the Cabinet will have to decide one way or the other after fully examining the strategic importance of the railway is whether this railway should be maintained any longer. There are other railways also of strategic importance in various parts of N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan. Their case also will have to be considered.

Para 11. No remarks.

Para 12. No remarks.

Para 13. No remarks.

Para 14. There is much to be said in favour of the recommendations of the Governor that we should withdraw from Razmak. How the withdrawal should be effected so as to make some capital out of it is a different question. Another question that will arise would be this that when we evacuate Razmak should we declare that we withdraw in favour of any particular tribe or not. I think there was some dispute between Wazirs and Mahsuds about Razmak. If my information is correct then this point will have to be considered before withdrawal from Razmak is announced.

So far as giving up of roads is concerned, it is a question which requires detailed examination. Roads that are meant only for a cantonment are mere liability, but those that are meant for trade are assets and should be looked upon as such. A large number of roads have been constructed in pursuance of the "forward policy" and I doubt if they are really of much use if we are to withdraw from Razmak and some other posts. The constructions of such roads have been mostly responsible for troubles between the tribesmen and the Govt. of India because the construction of these roads was bitterly resented by the tribesmen. At the end of para 14, the Governor suggests that the maintenance of *Khassadari* would be conditional on the tribes permitting civil

officials to visit their posts. Presumably he means *Khassadari* posts in evacuated areas. It is to be considered whether *Khassadari* posts should be kept in the areas that will be evacuated or not.

The Governor also suggests in this para that allowances and *Khassadari* should continue as at present. I have already remarked that this recommendation should be examined particularly because it is suggested that we should withdraw from certain areas. The question is whether those tribesmen who reside in the areas which we evacuate should continue to get allowances or not and even if allowances are to be given, should they be to the same extent as at present.

[A. R. NISHTAR]

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
[3]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

Enclosure 2 to No. 282
Frank Messervy to George Cunningham
(Copy to Liaquat Ali Khan)

F. 112-GG/16-8

ARMY HEADQUARTERS, PAKISTAN, [RAWALPINDI,]
18 September 1947

SUBJECT: FRONTIER POLICY

My dear [Cunningham,]

I have read your paper[1] on the policy recommended with regard to the Frontier Tribes with great interest. It all fits in well with the reorganisation of the Pakistan Army except in one vital factor: *time.*

The extent and intensity of the Internal Defence and Frontier Defence commitments now placed on the Army are really so great that I can say without any doubt that it is and will be impossible for the Army to meet them and at the same time to reorganise, to set up schools and training establishments and generally to put its house in order with regard to the large number of problems consequent on reconstitution.

If there had been no Internal Defence problem we would have been able to accept a gradual reduction of the Regular Army on the Frontier, but that is now not possible without the grave risk of the Army breaking down altogether as an efficient organisation.

The general situation in all our units is that the strength of our officers is only at half establishment. That gives only an average of 6 to 8 in most major units and of those generally only one has over 10 years

service; the remainder are mostly ECOs,[2] many of whom are unfit for a regular commission on normal standards and have a very limited experience.

We are also some 8 to 10,000 deficient in men. This is not so serious, as we can make these up by the end of the year, but it is increasing the strain on units at the present moment.

I have now not a single battalion in reserve, every officer and man is being worked beyond his capacity and morale is consequently suffering. As the units of the Dominion of India are withdrawn—we still have 15 major units in Pakistan, 6 of which are in Waziristan—the strain will reach breaking point. We must therefore, save troops somewhere without delay.

It is probable that the Internal Defence situation will improve to some extent during the next month as the communal frenzy dies down, if for no other reason because of the removal of the target. But lawlessness is likely to remain a serious problem as an aftermath of the present disturbances, increased by the presence of thousands of destitute and therefore desperate refugees, whose settlement into peaceful employment, agricultural or otherwise, will take a very long time. I, therefore, see little prospect of a let-up for the Army in this direction.

An immediate acceleration of the accepted policy of the withdrawal of Regular Army troops from Waziristan is therefore, our only hope. I will now deal with this in more detail:

The advantages, as I see them, are:

a. It will give to the tribes an immediate sign of the Government's policy of regarding them as friends rather than as potential enemies. The fact will be made clear to them that the relations of the Government with them will be based on freely negotiated agreements rather than on force.
b. We will be moving out at a time when enthusiasm for Pakistan is high with most sections of the tribes.
c. If immediately implemented we will be moving out at the time of year which is tactically best: when the tribes are in their lower grazing grounds. If we delay, we have to wait another whole year before we can move with this advantage.
d. The Army will be able to reduce immediately to a strength which will enable units to be better off both for officers and men.

It might be argued that it would be better to keep the Army in position till the agreements with the tribes have been made, but I think that in fact the psychological advantage lies the other way, as I have said in sub-para (a) above. Further, it must be realised that the Pakistan Army in its present state, especially with regard to experienced officers,

is not capable of acting effectively in tribal areas, if such action were necessary.

By not holding Razmak as recommended by you, the delaying factor of the necessity of raising and training more Scouts has been removed. In fact, as you point out, Scouts and Militias will be somewhat reduced in strength.

I suggest therefore, that the following plan in outline is the only satisfactory course:

i. An announcement should be made to the tribes, preferably by the Quaid-i-Azam himself,[3] that all troops both of the Dominion of India and of Pakistan are to be withdrawn during the next three months, preliminary to coming to agreements with the tribes on the same general basis as previously. The tribes will be told that they must not molest in anyway the movements of units, either of Pakistan or of the Dominion of India. Both in their own interests and for the honour of Pakistan these moves must be allowed to be carried out rapidly and in peace.

ii. Wana will be evacuated during October 47 and taken over by Scouts. The Hindu/Sikh element will if possible be evacuated by air so as to avoid the possibility of incidents. A perimeter wall will be built by the troops themselves before evacuation and such demolitions carried out as are necessary to give security to the reduced camp.

iii. Razmak and Gardai will be evacuated during Nov/Dec.

iv. The dispositions in the NWFP will then be:

Peshawar Bde.	...	...	4 Battalions
Kohat Bde.	...	...	4 Battalions
including one Machinegun Battalion.			
Bannu Bde.	...	...	3 Battalions
(One in Bannu, two in Mir Ali)			
Nowshera Bde.	...	...	3 Battalions

But these Battalions will be more efficient and stronger both in officers and men than would be possible if withdrawal from Waziristan does not take place.

Yours sincerely,
F. W. MESSERVY
[*Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army*]

H.E. Sir George Cunningham, KCIE, CSI, OBE,
Governor NWFP, Peshawar

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Emergency Commissioned Officers.
[3]See Annexure to Enclosure 3 for draft Proclamation.

Enclosure 3 to No. 282
George Cunningham to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 112-GG/19-20

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NATHIAGALI,
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE,
20 September 1947

FRONTIER POLICY

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

I am writing with reference to Sir Frank Messervy's demi-official letter of 18th September[1] to me (of which he sent you a copy) regarding Frontier Policy. You have no doubt already received my long Memorandum of 10th September on this subject[2] which was sent to you officially.

2. I have thought over the whole question of Waziristan again in the light of the Commander-in-Chief's very strong arguments for speeding up the evacuation of regular troops from that area. It is an extremely difficult matter on which to give a definite opinion, as the views of officers with wide experience of the Frontier differ very greatly upon it. I have indeed just sent Major Khurshid, our new Political Resident, to Waziristan to reconsider the whole matter in the light of Sir Frank's letter, and to let me have his considered opinion before the end of this week. But on full consideration I feel that the responsibility must in the end be so completely my own that I have decided to give you my definite conclusions now, and I will abide by them whatever the local officers say.

3. The only forcible argument against accelerating the time-table in the way proposed by the Commander-in-Chief is the danger that it might lead to such disturbances in Waziristan, or neighbouring tribal territory, that the regular Army would again have to be called in to deal with the trouble, and that our purpose of "nursing" the Pakistan Army would thereby be defeated.

4. As to possible reactions on neighbouring parts of the Frontier, I do not think we need be anxious. In no other part of the Frontier are we at present carrying out a policy in any way analogous to that of Waziristan and, in point of fact, what we have done in the past in Waziristan has seldom had any repercussions of importance on other parts of the Frontier. So we may discount this part of it.

5. In Waziristan itself,

a. I think it is quite possible that when our troops are in the final act of evacuation some of the Waziristan gangsters (mostly followers of Ipi) will make a parting attack on them. These, however, are not

likely to be of a character which will involve serious counter-operations by troops or anything more than e.g. a tactical counter attack to assist the withdrawal, and I do not consider operations of this minor character would set the whole tribes ablaze again. I assume that the evacuating operation can be carried out by the troops now in Waziristan, and will not require extra military assistance from outside.

b. I do not anticipate that the evacuation of regulars will be followed by attacks on the Scouts when the latter have withdrawn their forward posts (we shall in this respect be almost in the same position as we were in the pre-1919 era). Relations between the tribes and the Scouts, though embittered about 10 or 11 years ago by the fact that Scouts had to join in with the Army in serious operations against the tribes, now seem to me to be pretty good, and I have little doubt that they will from now on improve further.

c. We shall have to face the possibility of raids on British territory, particularly by Mahsud gangs, but these are not likely to be more than can be dealt with by Scouts or Frontier Constabulary, or at most the Bannu Brigade.

6. I have every hope, as I indicated in paragraph 4(a) of my Memorandum of 10th September, that propaganda in support of the Pakistan Government will be effective. The chief arguments that I see at present are:

a. The general theme that Pakistan and Islam are really synonymous; anything done to weaken any part of Pakistan or to expose it to world's criticism is an offence against Islam.
Tribesmen will, I think, be peculiarly open to this type of argument.

b. Pakistan troops are sorely needed for internal defence, for helping our own Muslim refugees, and for protecting them against miscreant bands of other communities.

c. With the almost total disappearance of Hindus from our villages on this side of the administrative border, raids against British territory will merely be hitting Muslim villagers and Muslim shopkeepers.

7. My conclusion from all this is that we are justified in taking a risk straightaway. I have very little doubt that the Govt. of Pakistan will decide before long that evacuation of regular troops from Waziristan is necessary, and I think there is, as Sir Frank Messervy says, a psychological advantage in coming to this decision when Pakistan is in its first youth and enthusiasm is high.

8. I agree with the Commander-in-Chief that an announcement on this subject should come from the Quaid-i-Azam himself. I venture to enclose with this letter a draft[3] of the lines on which I suggest such an announcement might be made.

9. A question which will undoubtedly be raised by the tribes at the outset of our discussions is the position of the Faqir of Ipi. The matter is at present complicated by his championship of Pathanistan, and his attempt to lead some of the tribes in opposition to Pakistan. I am doubtful whether, when troops are withdrawn from Waziristan, he will find himself able to maintain this attitude with any great force. But until he is ready to renounce his opposition to Pakistan, it may be difficult for Government to come to terms in any way with him. Given, however, any favourable change of this kind in his attitude, I would suggest a further proclamation by the Quaid-i-Azam at the proper time (but not to be included in the first main announcement) on the following lines:

> I proclaim that I give a free pardon to the Faqir of Ipi for any offences against the British Government in the past. He is at liberty to reside freely and without hindrance anywhere in Pakistan that he may desire. I also give similar full pardon to his followers for any offences they may have committed within the limits of Waziristan against the British Government in the past. For any offence that they may have committed in the settled districts, I have instructed my officers to settle such cases by *Jirga* trial, and to decide them primarily with a view not to exacting severe punishment but to satisfying losses suffered by innocent private persons, and to establishing the peace of Pakistan.

10. The question is now one of terrific urgency as our political arrangements, quite apart from military ones, will be very extensive and will have to be thought out most carefully. There will be a good many things which cannot be decided at all until the Quaid-i-Azam's proclamation has been made, as they will involve a good deal of sounding of the tribes. I am doubtful, therefore, whether with the best will in the world we shall be able to get Wana evacuated by the end of October, but I am ready to come at a moment's notice to discuss matters with you, or with the Quaid-i-Azam if he so desires.

Yours sincerely,
G. CUNNINGHAM

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

[1]See Enclosure 2.
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure 3 to No. 282
Draft of Proposed Proclamation by Jinnah

F. 112-GG/21

I have decided, in consultation with my Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, to withdraw all regular troops of the Pakistan Army from Waziristan at an early date. This is a reversal of the policy initiated 25 years ago by the then Government of India, and I will give you my reasons for coming to this decision. I believe in the first place that by these means we shall forge bonds of friendship between the tribes of Waziristan on one side and the Islamic Government of Pakistan on the other. I believe also that this new policy will lead to your increased happiness and prosperity.

2. One of the objects of the policy of Government in the past was to improve the social, economic and educational conditions of the tribesmen. Little progress has hitherto been made in that direction, partly because some of you were suspicious of the British Government's real intentions. By removing all regular troops from your country I hope to convince you that the Government of Pakistan have no designs upon the independence of your country, and wish only to assist you to improve the social and economic conditions of your lives, if you yourselves so desire.

3. I have also decided to remove Scouts from their present posts at Datta Khel and Dosalli in North Waziristan and from Ladha, Sararogha and Kotkai in South Waziristan. Scouts will remain in Boya, Miranshah and Spinwam in North Waziristan and in Wana in South Waziristan, with the necessary posts on their lines of communications. These Scouts, as you know, are 100 per cent Pathans—your own brothers. They would stay in Waziristan as your friends, not as your enemies; not to fight with you, but to keep the peace; to help in the establishment of schools, hospitals, irrigation and other improvements—if you yourselves desire these things.

4. I have given orders that my decisions aforesaid shall be carried out as soon as possible, probably within the next 3 or 4 months.

5. I also propose forthwith to instruct my officers to enter into discussions with you regarding those other matters which affect your welfare. My desire is that the benefits which you now receive in the form of allowances and *Khassadari* should continue. In return for these benefits, you have in the past undertaken certain obligations with a view to the preservation of peace and security in your own territory and in the settled districts. I have instructed my officers to report to

me, after discussion with you, what obligations will be incumbent upon you for the future. They will also discuss with you what further benefits you desire in the form of schools, hospitals, irrigation works, or anything else; and, if the finances of Pakistan permit, I will endeavour to fulfil your desires.

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Jethmal Parsram Gulraj to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65(II)-GG/145

MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI-2,
24 September 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am respectfully approaching you on behalf of my paper, *Sind Herald*—a specimen copy of which I am herewith sending[1]—to write for the special Besant Centenary issue,[2] coming out on October 1st, 1947. It will be greatly kind of you, if you write something of your reminiscences of the period in which you and Dr. Besant were working together. If this is not possible at this time, do kindly send a message or a note.

I know I am venturing too far, by making this demand on you, at this critical period when you are busy with a task of stupendous importance, but it is exactly at this period, [that] your valued help is required.

You know she worked for the good of the world and served this country as few have done. I assure you, by complying with my request, you will receive the blessings for both yourself and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
JETHMAL PARSRAM
Editor-in-Chief
The Sind Herald

[1]Not traceable.

[2]Mrs Annie Besant, an Irish national, founded Home Rule League in India in 1915. She was elected President of the Calcutta Session of Congress (December 1917). See S. M. Burke and Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *The British Raj in India: An Historical Review*, Karachi, 1995, 157-8.

284

Malik Ghulam Haider and Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 106-GG/3-5

FORT SANDEMAN,
24 September 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam, Karachi

We all *Sardars, Maliks,* noblemen and public of Lower Zhob [Valley], Fort Sandeman ready to help the [*sic*] Pakistan in every way.[1]

MALIK GHULAM HAIDER
K. B. BAZGUL KHAN
MALIK ASMATULLAH
MALIK DAULAT KHAN
MALIK MIRADAM
MAULANA MOH[AMMA]D SHAH
SARDAR MURAD KHAN
SARDAR FAZAL KHAN
SARDAR SHER ALI

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin conveying Jinnah's thanks on 16 October 1947. See F. 106-GG/6. Not printed.

285

M. A. Jinnah to E. G. Brown

F. 1127/413

24 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th September,[1] and as requested I am enclosing herewith a pre-receipted bill in triplicate[2] according to the specimen enclosed with your letter under reply.

I hope that you will now be good enough to send me a cheque for Rs. 7065-1-0 as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,
[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 285
E. G. Brown to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/414

IMMEDIATE

DIRECTORATE OF LANDS,
HIRINGS AND DISPOSALS,
BRUNTON LINES, KARACHI,
24 September 1947

Your Excellency,

RE: BUNGALOW NO. 241 STAFF LINES, KARACHI

I am in receipt of your letter dated 20th September 1947,[1] returning four completed copies of the handover and discharge certificate.

In order that payment of your claim for dilapidations and rent may be made to you, would you please submit a pre-receipted bill in triplicate. A specimen of the type of bill required for this purpose is attached herewith.[2]

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
obedient servant,
E. G. BROWN
Area Hiring Officer
for Deputy Assistant Director

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 2 to No. 285
M. A. Jinnah to E. G. Brown

F. 1127/415

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
Undated [*September 1947*]

RE: BUNGALOW NO. 241 STAFF LINES, KARACHI

Received the sum of Rs. 7065-1-0 (Rupees seven thousand sixty five and anna one only) in full and final settlement of my claim for damages, deficiencies and dilapidations (totalling 49 items in accordance with annexure "A" of the handover and discharge certificate), to the above property whilst in the occupation of the Defence Department. Also

[received] my claim for rent for the period 1st June 1947 to 31st August 1947 and compensation in lieu of rent for the period 1st September 1947 to 22nd October 1947, being the period allowed for reinstatement of my property.

M. A. JINNAH

1Anna
Revenue Stamp

286

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Karachi

F. 685/472

24 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith ■ Demand Draft on the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, Bombay with a pay-in slip for Rs. 396-8-0 (Rupees three hundred ninety six and annas eight only) which amount, on realization, please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund account opened with you, and issue receipt in favour of Muslim Association, P.O. Box No. 28, Bronkhorstpruit (Transvaal), and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

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M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Karachi

F. 685/475

24 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a Demand Draft for Rs. 1278-11-6 (Rupees one thousand two hundred seventy eight annas eleven and pies six only) which amount, on realization, please credit to my Current Account No. 2 opened with your Bank and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

288

D. H. Daruvala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/364-5

RED VILLE,
10 PARSI COLONY,
KARACHI,
24 September 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I have come to know of a very good property. It consists of 2,787 sq[uare] yards and is situated on MacLeod Road in a very important locality and adjoining the office of Mackinnon Mackenzies. It has got three roads and [is] open to the west. The frontage on MacLeod Road measures about 158 feet and faces the BOAC Office. In my opinion, it is the best site on MacLeod Road and I would strongly recommend [to] you this plot; it has a very good future.

On this plot, there are some old buildings and godowns, occupied by Spencer & Co. on a monthly rental of Rs. 1,100. Spencer & Co. have occupied these premises for more than forty years as tenants.

The owner is a Hindu. He had an offer of Rs. 140 per sq[uare] yard a month back but would not sell it then . He may part with it now for about Rs. 325,000 (three and a quarter lakh of rupees) which will work out approximately to Rs. 116-8-0 per square yard.

If you are interested[1] in this land, I may sound the party concerned, on hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,
D. H. DARUVALA

[1]Also see Nos. 217 & 247.

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F. Amin to Fakhruddin Valibhai

F. 33-GG/22

IMMEDIATE *25 September 1947*

Dear Sir,

According to the programme fixed up by you in consultation with the Military Secretary,[1] you are to present an address of welcome[2] to

the Quaid-i-Azam at the Valika Textile Mills tomorrow. I shall be grateful if you will kindly send me an advance copy of your address per bearer or failing that, early tomorrow morning.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Fakhruddin, Esq.,
Haroon Chambers,
Karachi

[1]See No. 56.
[2]See Annex to Appendix IV.4.

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Clement Attlee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 93-GG/3

10 DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL,
[LONDON,]
25 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of September 11th,[1] introducing to me your friend Mir Laik Ali. I much enjoyed meeting him and we had a most interesting talk.

My colleagues and I are following events in Pakistan with the closest and most sympathetic attention. We earnestly hope and pray that the difficulties with which you are so sorely beset will soon be overcome, so that the peoples of this great new Dominion may be enabled to live their lives in security and peace.

Yours sincerely,
C. R. ATTLEE

[1]No. 219.

291

J. B. Kripalani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 99-GG/3-4

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
6 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
25 September 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

In our interview[1] on the 21st evening, among other things, I brought the question of the searches of passengers going out of Sind to your attention. You told me that you had the matter thoroughly investigated and that the complaints in the press were unfounded and that women were not searched at all and that the search of men and luggage was done by authorised government agents above suspicion. You asked me if I had evidence[2] that the searches were being made arbitrarily and cruelly and often by the National Guards who had taken upon themselves the duty of safeguarding the interests of the Pakistan State. I told you that apart from the press I had evidence of respectable people in whose veracity I had no doubt and who were eye witnesses at Karachi sea and air ports and at the Hyderabad station. To the evidence I already had is now added that of my wife who visited the Karachi sea port on the 19th and was in Hyderabad on the 21st. Her report could not be sent to you from Karachi because she arrived there from Hyderabad on the 22nd in time to catch the plane for Delhi. I am sending you this report.[3]

I hope that you will make further enquiries in the matter of the searches and the way the [non-]Muslim refugees are lodged in Hyderabad and afford whatever relief is possible.[4]

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI

[1]See No. 271.

[2]On Kripalani's instructions, Prof. Ghanashyam Jethanand Shivdasani, Congress party leader in the Sind Provincial Assembly, sent to Jinnah's Secretary, on 24 September, statements on searches etc. made by 14 persons. An acknowledgement was sent by F. Amin on 26 September. See F. 38(2)-GG/10-1. Not printed.

[3]Enclosure.

[4]S.M. Yusuf informed Kripalani, on behalf of Jinnah, that strict instructions were issued regarding searches and that the position about occupation of places of worship and houses of Hindu migrants had been fully explained by the Sind Government and the Sind Premier through the press. See F. 99-GG/8. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 291
Report by Sucheta Kripalani

F. 99-GG/5-7

STATEMENT OF MRS. SUCHETA KRIPALANI ON CONDITIONS IN SIND

I give below a short account of what I saw and the information I gathered at Karachi and Hyderabad during my last visit to Sind with the Congress President.

KARACHI

1. MANNER OF SEARCH AT KARACHI PORT

On the 19th September *Sonavati* was leaving Karachi Port for Okha carrying about 800 passengers. Most of the passengers were Gujeratis and Kathiawaris. I spent one hour in the morning and two hours in the afternoon watching the manner in which the searches were made. The passengers came to the port at about 8 in the morning. A very thorough and minute search was made of the luggage by the customs officials of the port assisted by the police who were almost all Muslims. Even food packages were opened and tins and paper packets of sweets, etc. examined. This search of food packages was so elaborate that the food became useless for the orthodox Hindus. I found the officers had no clear idea of the instructions regarding commodities allowed to go out. Conflicting instructions came in daily causing unexpected harassment to the passengers. We were told that only cotton rationed cloth was not allowed to go out and that the refugees could carry with them silk and woollen material. On enquiry I found that there were many cases where even silk and woollen fabrics were confiscated. Sewing machines were at first confiscated, but new regulations came in on the 10th allowing every family to carry one machine. The new rules which were shown to me on the 19th imposed stricter restrictions limiting the luggage to two trunks per family. No receipts were being issued for goods confiscated.

After the search of the luggage, men and women passengers were thoroughly searched before they were allowed to board the steamer. The women were herded like cattle into an enclosure and searched at its outgoing door. Though women preventive officers conduct the actual search, the women refugees have to undergo the humiliation of their persons being searched under the gaze of men officers stationed there. After this women refugees were made to wait for hours in the sun along the embankment under strict police watch on the plea that

they should be guarded against receiving arms from men. No seats of any kind are provided. I saw a few hundred women—some from the best families—squatting on the ground along the embankment. I was informed that on the 18th because of some confusion in the port, women had to queue up four times for examination. This inhuman treatment so exasperated them that they were heard to say that they would prefer to stay in Pakistan and brave all danger than submit themselves to such insults.

2. FORCIBLE OCCUPATION OF HOUSES

People complained bitterly that houses were being forcibly occupied by Muslims. Dr. Lalwani's surgical clinic was taken over by Muslims and the equipment damaged. Even a few hours' absence sometimes resulted in houses being broken open and occupied. A friend and neighbour had gone to see off her son and on her return found her house occupied by a Muslim. It was with much difficulty that she could get it back for herself. We heard several similar complaints.

HYDERABAD

Over 30 educational institutions (all Hindus except one or two) have been forcibly occupied by the National Guards and the Military for the refugees. I visited some of these institutions. The *Brahmo Mandir* is a purely religious institution and is used by the local *Brahmos* as a place of worship. This was occupied by the National Guards and released only on the 20th on representation by the authorities of the institution. When I visited the place I found that the building had been vacated but the whole place was filthy giving evidence of the recent occupation of the building by the refugees.

I was told that *Bandhu Ashram*, a children's school, was not only occupied but the prayer room was broken open and pages were torn from the *Granth Sahib*. The school authorities later succeeded in recovering and removing the mutilated *Granth Sahib* to a safer place.

Sri Ladharam Mohandas, the Principal of the Gurdasmal National High School, had a sad story to relate. He said that one afternoon the refugees led by a military officer simply marched into his school building without giving any previous intimation. The military officer in charge on entering the building started to break pictures on the walls. A big photo of Mahatma Gandhi greatly valued by the school and also by the citizens of Hyderabad was slashed and broken. He then broke open the cupboards and started looting the school stationery which he later restored through the intervention of a Muslim citizen. Some of

the girls' schools have also been occupied by the refugees. I visited one of them. Regarding the others I was told that the office had been ransacked and typewriter stolen and much of the equipment destroyed.

I visited the D.G. National College and found it in a very chaotic condition. There used to be a bust of Mahatma Gandhi in the garden. The bust was missing and the pedestal was in pieces. The police were unable to account for the disappearance of the bust. The refugees were housed in the laboratories and we were told that the equipment had been considerably damaged. We had heard that the Principal's house had been ransacked and looted. We wanted to go into the house and see it but the guard did not permit us. He, however, admitted that the lock had been broken open and later a new lock had been put on by the police.

HYDERABAD STATION

I accompanied the D.S.P. to the Hyderabad Railway Station about which we had heard many reports of harassment. The D.S.P. told us that he had succeeded in bringing more system and order at the station. The refugees said that in the beginning the National Guards had been conducting the searches and had collected for themselves whatever articles they fancied—cloth, jewellery, machines, etc. Even food for the journey was snatched away. The D.S.P. tried to convince me that everything was in order, but in his presence some miserable refugees came to me and complained bitterly of being harassed by the authorities and of being deprived of even their food stuffs. On enquiry the D.S.P. found that such harassing searches were carried out, in spite of his order , by the Deputy Collector, Mr. Channa; and the National Guards were helping him though they did not have the authority or permission to conduct any search. To circumvent the D.S.P.'s order prohibiting them from entering the station, the National Guards were now moving about on the platform without their uniforms. I was pointed out a few. One of them even had his uniform on.

The searches were so long and tedious that often the train would steam off carrying half the members of a family leaving the other half at the station still undergoing the search. One lady had 24 *sarees* out of which 20 were confiscated. No receipts were issued for goods confiscated. I saw a whole heap of confiscated articles; there were cloth, new and old, medicines, hot water bags, silver articles, cutlery, entire boxes confiscated, hand spun yarn (probably taken from some *khadi* wearing Congressmen), food tins and various other articles. I was informed that over 200 sewing machines had been confiscated at the Hyderabad

Station up to that date.

DIFFICULTY IN TRAIN SERVICE

Formerly larger number of trains used to leave Hyderabad. But at present only one train was leaving for Jodhpur. Though I saw the train completely packed, yet hundreds were still waiting at the station. I was informed that sometimes even this one train did not go out carrying full capacity of passengers as the searches held up a large number of people from boarding the train.

There was a general complaint that facilities were not given to the refugees to leave as quickly as possible and in as large numbers as they could. I had observed the same thing at Karachi Port also. Ships that could carry 2,500 had sometimes to leave with a much smaller number. I also heard reports regarding terrible black marketing that was going on in the selling of railway tickets.

I also visited the non-Muslim refugee camp which has been organised at Hyderabad by the Congress for people coming from all over the province. There were about 11,000 people in the camp. They were accommodated at the *Bhaibund Nari Shala* and the surrounding streets and lanes. As the house was full a large number of refugees were on the road without any shelter. I saw a family living in the street for days. One of the women had a few days' old baby. As all the rooms were full she had to be on the street. The entire arrangement was non-official. The Sind or Pakistan Government had so far not given the Hindu refugees any help whatsoever. Because of shortage of train service and dilatory tactics in searches the refugees were held up at Hyderabad for days. Many people had spent whatever they had and were faced with starvation unless some voluntary organization comes forward with supply of food. The Congress workers running the camp requested me to make some arrangements to get them funds for food. Transport facilities from the camp to the station are urgently needed because these refugees very often have to go to the station and return disappointed. Every time they go exorbitant amounts are charged by *gariwallas*. Many of the refugees have spent all their savings running to and from the station.

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Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, to PS to M. A. Jinnah

F. 685/477

KARACHI,
25 September 1947

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise having received for credit of His Excellency's No. 2 Account with the Bank, the sum of Rs. 58,210-11-10 from our New Delhi Branch by telegraphic transfer.

We have also received a message which reads as under:

"Funds in Account No. 1 insufficient for transfer as desired, writing".

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Accountant

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/62

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
25 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose two copies of the report by Colonel Sher Khan[1] referred to in the third paragraph of the PS to my letter of the 23rd September.[2]

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS MUDIE

[1]Enclosure.
[2]No. 281.

Enclosure to No. 293
Report by M. Sher Khan

F. 675/63-7

SECRET

AD[VANCE] H.Q. M.E.O.,[1] PAKISTAN,
AMRITSAR,
24 September 1947

REPORT ON EAST PUNJAB SITUATION

GENERAL

I have now been in East Punjab for eight days. During this period, as a result of my contacts with officials and non-officials, personal observations and information given by various individuals including political and social workers, non-Muslim agriculturists and businessmen, it appears that the civil administration is totally ineffective. I will enlarge on this statement in subsequent paragraphs.

INFORMATION

2. a. Between 16 September when I first arrived and 21 September large scale attacks on Muslims in villages and towns were on a very much reduced scale. This was largely due to the fact that there were no Muslims left to be attacked. Attacks on refugee camps and marching columns were fewer. Attacks on trains only occurred in Ambala, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore Districts but on a reduced scale. Arson had practically ceased. Looting was going on a free for all basis.

b. Since 21 September attacks on refugee columns and trains have been intensified in the Jullundur and Amritsar Districts. Amritsar itself was particularly disturbed on nights 21/22 September and 22/23 September resulting in an unprecedented attack on a refugee train in which every occupant was killed, wounded, or abducted and the train looted. Details of this are being submitted in a separate report.[2]

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

3. The Civil Administration is totally ineffective. I can say this with authority for Amritsar and Jullundur. I quote certain instances in support of this statement.

Amritsar: On 20 September Com[man]d[er] 123 B[riga]de asked the D.C. to impose a day curfew along the main road through Amritsar as he wanted to march the refugee column through that way. After the conference he turned to one of B[riga]de staff and said "I hope the people will observe the curfew". When the officer expressed surprise

at this statement, he went on "I know it will not be enforced. I have submitted my resignation if they do not remove me from here. In the meantime I am going on ten days leave and do not intend to come back". I have myself seen the police join in the attack and looting of the refugee train on 22 September. On 20 September the D.C., Nukl Sen, himself arrested two policemen attacking and looting the marching column. Mr. Zahid Omar, D.C.L.O.[3] Amritsar, was with the D.C. at the time. On 22 and 23 September I went round a good deal to get some thing done about the attacks on the train and also to evacuate the wounded. I was twice informed by GI [General Staff Officer Grade I], M.E.O., that Maj. Gen. Chimney was very worried about my safety and I must confine myself to my residence or shift to his bungalow.

Jullundur: On 17 September at a conference presided over by the Governor, Brig. Bristow Comm[an]d[er] 11 B[riga]de made a very emphatic statement that the police were not only ineffective but were taking an active part in attacks and looting. All other B[riga]de Com[man]d[er]s agreed. The I.G. Police half-heartedly agreed but tried to explain the police ineffectiveness as a result of over 50% deficiencies in number. The Governor then said, "I agree you are very much below strength, but those who exist, I would not be sorry if the Army shot them including their officers".

After the conference I heard the D.C. Jullundur tell Col[onel] Shiv Dutt Singh that he had applied to go to Gurgaon as he could not stand his own officials not complying with his orders any longer.

A British officer of the P.A.V.O.[4] Cavalry who was passing through Jullundur on 21 September saw the marching column being attacked in the city. He said he saw six policemen looting bullock carts.

From the above accounts and numerous other reports from several sources I have come to the conclusion that the civil administration is totally ineffective.

MILITARY

4. The non-Muslim troops do not provide adequate protection for the trains or columns. They are adequate for minor attacks which they appear to beat off, but for any planned attacks on a large-scale they are very conveniently away from the place of attacks. I have heard allegations of their joining in shooting or subduing any resistance but I cannot corroborate this. I have noticed that whenever marching columns, trains or M.T. convoys are escorted by Muslim troops in sufficient strength, all such convoys get through without any incidents or only long range sniping. I am, therefore, of the opinion that even if the non-Muslims troops do not take part in shooting, they certainly are in the know of large-scale planned attacks and conveniently

deploy themselves in places where there is no trouble or arrive on the scene after the damage is done. This does not apply to Gurkha or Garhwali troops or to certain non-Punjabi troops, but if they are commanded by a non-Muslim officer other than a British officer then their action is also not as vigorous as it should be.

I was told by GI., M.E.O. and Miss Sara Bhai that they knew about the attack on the train 1½ hours before it took place and that they warned the B[riga]de Com[man]d[er] about it, yet there were no troops at the time of the attack. They arrived after 1½ hours.

FUTURE APPRECIATION

The political objective of the Akalis and R.S.S. Sangh, apart from throwing the Muslims out of Punjab and India, would appear to be to discredit the Congress and any other democratic bodies and establish fascism. In this they seem to be succeeding in the East Punjab by exploiting the present situation and fanning the anti-Muslim feelings.

The Sikhs from the West Punjab are very bitter against the Akalis for what has befallen them as a result of the Akalis policy. I have heard several Sikhs from the West Punjab begging the Sikh crowds in Amritsar on 23 September to stop killing Muslims. They said, "You are not killing Muslims but you are killing us". It remains to be seen whether they will still feel the same after their families are safely across the border. Whatever their feelings towards the Muslims, the indications are that in the absence of an effective Govt. there will be complete lawlessness in East Punjab for the next two or three months or even more. The attacks on Muslim convoys and trains will increase, if not for killing, certainly for looting.

To conclude I would venture to point out that any retaliation in Pakistan would make the evacuation of refugees from the East Punjab extremely difficult. The excitement in Amritsar on 22 and 23 September was due to the attack on the train at Harbanspura. The safe arrival of these trains from West Punjab eased the situation on 24 September and it is hoped that the three trains now in Amritsar area will get through without very serious interference.

M. SHER KHAN
Colonel

[1]Military Evacuation Organisation.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]District Civilian Liason Officer.
[4]Prince Albert Victor's Own Cavalry.

294

Douglas Brown to F. Amin

F. 25(2)(Vol. 1)-GG/30

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
25 September 1947

Dear Mr Farrukh Amin,

I have received your letter of September 24[1] telling me that the Quaid-i-Azam will grant me an interview at 2.45 p.m. on Tuesday, 30 September 1947.

Please let His Excellency know that I shall be very happy to avail myself of his kindness.

I would also like to thank you, sir, most warmly for having brought my request[2] before the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
DOUGLAS BROWN

[1]F. 25(2) (Vol. I)-GG/31. Not printed.
[2]No. 279.

295

L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin

F. 25(2)(Vol. 1)-GG/71

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING,
WOOD STREET,
KARACHI,
25 September 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

As you may have heard, Sir Archibald Carter[1] accompanied by Mr. Antrobus,[2] is on his way out here in order to discuss with Sir Terence Shone[3] in New Delhi and with myself the establishment and working of our offices in the light of initial experience. They will arrive in Karachi from New Delhi on October 2nd and leave for England again on October 4th. Sir Archibald was Under-Secretary of State in the India Office (in succession to Sir David Monteath) and is now Joint Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office.

I am anxious that the Governor-General should be aware that this

visit has no political purpose: it is designed to enable Shone and myself to talk over the many little difficulties in routine relations with London which have presented themselves since this office was set up. However, if the Quaid-i-Azam would like to see Sir Archibald while he is here (and I suggest that this might be worthwhile) he would of course be only too happy to meet Mr. Jinnah.

In this context I would like you to know also that a Parliamentary Delegation to China, headed by Lord Ammon, will be passing through Karachi on October 2nd. On the same day, Lord Nathan, Secretary of State for Civil Aviation, arrives from the Far East on his way home. The Parliamentary Delegation will be continuing in the same aircraft to China, and I am arranging to give them dinner. Lord Nathan will spend a day or two in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

PS. If there is any question of the Quaid-i-Azam desiring to ask Lord Nathan to stay at Government House, pray let me know urgently. Otherwise other arrangements will be made for him.

[1]Under Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office.
[2]Assistant Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office.
[3]British High Commissioner in India.

296

F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 25(2)-GG/70

26 September 1947

Dear Sir Laurence,

Thank you for your letter dated the 25th of September.[1]

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to inform you that he will be pleased to see Sir Archibald Carter while he is here.

I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam will be very glad indeed to meet the Parliamentary Delegation, headed by Lord Ammon, and he will also be pleased indeed to meet Lord Nathan.

If you would be good enough to write or telephone me, I will arrange the interviews which would be suitable to the gentlemen and

the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith,
Palace Hotel,
Karachi

[1]No. 295.

297

M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F. 89-GG/5

26 September 1947

My dear Lord Ismay,

Miss Jinnah and I were very glad to receive your letter of the 15th September,[1] and we were so happy to learn that you enjoyed your visit and that you were made quite comfortable during your stay here.

Yes, I shall be looking forward to meet Lady Ismay and yourself whenever you happen to come to Karachi, and of course you will both stay with me.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

General Lord Ismay, GCB, CH, DSO,
Chief of the Governor-General's Staff,
Government House,
New Delhi

[1]No. 235.

298

M. A. Jinnah to H. L. Ismay

F. 89-GG/7

26 September 1947

My dear Lord Ismay,

I have received your letter of the 19th of September,[1] and I was informed yesterday by Air Marshal Blucke that he has brought provisionally a plane to Karachi, but not the one fitted in the way that I

wished.

I was told that there was something to be done to that plane before it could be placed at my disposal, and that it may take another ten days. Hence I am now waiting for that plane to arrive. Please thank Air Marshal Walmsley for his eagerness to make arrangements which may be satisfactory to me. In the meantime I shall get along with this plane, which I have not yet seen, as best as I can.

If top priority is given to put the aircraft in order, which from its description given by you will be very satisfactory, it will meet my requirements. As you know, a long-range tank is essential for me.

I hope I shall be able to receive that plane in another ten days, and I trust that you will take interest in it, and see that it is sent to me as soon as possible.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

General Lord Ismay, GCB, CH, DSO,
Chief of the Governor-General's Staff,
Government House,
New Delhi

[1]No. 258.

299

Telegraphists Committee, Comilla, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/9

COMILLA,
26 September 1947

Governor-General,[1] Pakistan, Karachi

Discontentment prevailing over [*sic*] amongst telegraphists due unsatisfied [*sic*] Pay Commission's Report due arduous night duties and technical qualifications. Pray better scale else reversion to clerks cadre.

TELEGRAPHISTS COMMITTEE

[1]Repeated to Communications & Finance Ministers.

300

Editor, the Observer, *Cuttack, to K. H. Khurshid*

F. 784/234

CHANDNI CHAUK,
CUTTACK,
26 September 1947

Dear Zonab [*sic* for Janab] Khurshid Sahib,

I hope you must have been noticing the fake and malicious propaganda of the Congress press of Orissa. The *Observer*, a paper of 12 years' standing, has fought the cause of the Muslims of Orissa without fear or favour. In spite of its earnest efforts, it is being crushed by the iron heels of the Congress of the province and as such it requires your warmest support in any shape you think fit and proper to continue its fight against odds and ends.

The *Observer* awaits from your esteemed pen on the prospects of the Pakisthan [*sic*] Government for publication in its columns, unanimous [*sic*] if you so please. The name of the writer will be kept in strictest of confidence as the journalist[ic] ethics demand[s] it; prudence compels it.

With best of wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

301

Mohammad Yaqub to PS to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/153-5

HOUSE 398-E,
HAVELI PATHRANWALI,
INSIDE MOCHI GATE, LAHORE,
26 September 1947

PETITION FOR GRANT OF COMPENSATION

Sir,

I shall be most grateful if you will be kind enough to place the following before the Quaid-i-Azam for his most favourable and sympathetic consideration:

That I am a refugee from Delhi (Paharganj). I have [*sic* for had] been living there since [*sic* for for] the last four generations. My house No. 4928, situated at Mandi Kaseruwali, Paharganj, Municipal Ward No. 15, Delhi was attacked, looted and set on fire on Monday the 9th September, 1947[1] at about 2.30 p.m. (noon) and my eldest son Haji Moh[amma]d Ibrahim was murdered and cut into three pieces (legs, body and head). His head was hanged in front of the door of the house and the following words were written on his head [*sic*]:

"Ye Pakistan mangne walon ka anjam hai".

(This is the fate of the persons who demand Pakistan)

I left my house at the very moment when it was attacked and took shelter in a neighbouring *mohalla.* On the morning of Tuesday the 10th September 1947, all the people of Paharganj were asked by Hindu Jat and Gorkha military to evacuate their houses and were taken to a place near *'Idgah,* where refuse was stacked 2/3 years ago. We all remained there for complete six days with my children and grand-children, without any kind of food or water under the strict Gorkha military control. On the 16th Sept. 1947, we were taken from that place to Emperor Humayun's Tomb where we remained for three days and were entrained in a special train from Hazrat Nizamuddin Railway Station to Lahore on Friday the 19th Sept. 1947. This train was attacked[2] on the way at Rajpura, Sirhind and Ludhiana by Sikh mobs. We arrived at Lahore junction on Saturday the 20th September 1947, at 11 p.m.

At present I am quite penniless as I have lost all what [*sic* for that] I had with me at Delhi. I owned moveable and immovable properties at Delhi (Paharganj) [with approximate value of Rs. 2,46, 835].

[*Details of property and next two paragraphs omitted*]

In the end I pray that I may kindly be compensated for my above losses and some suitable remunerations [*sic*] in the shape of property and workshop of the same standard as I possessed at Delhi, fitted with electricity and water connections, situated at Karachi, or Lahore or Rawalpindi, in exchange of my properties at Delhi, may kindly be granted. Also I pray that some remuneration [*sic*] may kindly be granted to the two widows and 4 children of my late son Haji Moh[amma]d Ibrahim who was so mercilessly assassinated.

For this act of kindness I shall ever pray for your long life, happiness and future prosperity.

I have sanguine hope that my this humble petition will receive your

favourable and sympathetic consideration.[3]
Pakistan Zindabad

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOH[AMMA]D YAQUB
Son of Haji Abdul Rahim

[1]Also see Appendix III. 16.
[2]See *Pakistan Times*, 21 September 1947.
[3]Jinnah had deeply sympathised with the sufferings Delhi Muslims had endured owing to destruction of their life and property. See Appendix IV. 3.

302

S. M. Yusuf to Alan Lascelles

F. Nil(S.No.132)-GG/5

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
26 September 1947

Sir,

I am desired by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 27th August 1947,[1] forwarding the Commission of Appointment of His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan as also of the Governors of the Provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab and East Bengal together with the Letters Patent constituting the office of Governor in the two Provinces of West Punjab and East Bengal.

The relevant documents will be forwarded to the Governors concerned, as desired.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. M. YUSUF

Sir Alan Frederick Lascelles, PC,KCB, KCVO, CMG, MC,
Private Secretary to HM the King,
Balmoral Castle

[1]No. 140.

303

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

JIC. 347/527-8[1]

NEW YORK,
27 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a letter[2] addressed to Mr. L. Shaffi regarding your Cadillac.

I shall be grateful if arrangements are made to place the Pakistan Embassy in funds to cover the cost of the car prior to the date of its delivery which is expected to be, at the very latest, November 15th.

A provisional sum of $6,000 may be apportioned to meet the bill which will be finally adjusted when the actual amount is paid. I shall be writing to you about your personal aeroplane in a couple of days.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN
[*Ambassador of Pakistan*]

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani*, No. 347, 527-8.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 303
JIC. 347/528-30[1]

GENERAL MOTORS OVERSEAS OPERATIONS,
1775 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK 19,
25 September 1947

Dear Mr. Shaffi,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 22,[2] which constitutes an order for:

1. Cadillac limousine, model 75331, for the Governor-General of Pakistan.
2. Cadillac, model 6269, four-door sedan for His Excellency, the Pakistan Ambassador to the U.S. for delivery in New York.

In connection with the equipment on the limousine I have pleasure in listing the various items:

Colour — Cavern Green	Gas Tank Lock
Low Compression Cylinder	Licence Plate Frames

Head 6.7511
Underseat Heater and Defroster
Rear Compartment Radio (including Antenna)
Mile Speedometer
5 — 7.50x16 6 Ply Tires (including Spare Wheel)
Left Hand Drive
Rear Seat Centre Arm Rest
Electric Clock
Wheel Discs
Glare Proof Rear View Mirror
Windshield Washer
Back up Light
Synchro-Mesh Transmission
Directional Signal Lights
Oil Bath Air Cleaner
Truck Compartment Light
Rear Wheel Shields

This car will be produced by the Cadillac factory in the month of October and should be ready for shipment at the very latest November 15. In connection with shipping, I gather that it is your wish that we handle this and debit you for the transportation charges to Karachi. Instructions are being issued to submit all documents to you and it is understood that you will arrange for payment to be made to us in New York in dollars.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Very truly yours,
E. A. KEEBLE
Administrative Assistant,
Indo-African Region

Mr. L. Shaffi,
Government of Pakistan Trade Commissioner's Office,
11 West 42nd Street, c/o Room 822,
New York, N. Y.

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani*, Enclosure to No. 347, 528-30.
[2]Not traceable.

304

M. A. Jinnah to Geoffrey Prior

Telegram, F. 91-GG/1

No. 339
PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

KARACHI,
27 September 1947

Just before the fifteenth August you had expressed ■ desire to be relieved but had kindly agreed to stay on for a short while[1] after the

partition. It has taken us a little longer than we thought to find someone to take your place. Indeed it has not been easy. I have now decided to send Dundas to Baluchistan to succeed you. Dundas will be there on Thursday, the second October, to take over from you.

I am writing this to thank you personally for agreeing to stay on and for all that you did during this difficult period of the change-over. I and the Government of Pakistan much appreciate your services and send you our good wishes.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]See No. 237, Vol. III, 693-4 & No. 38, Vol. IV, 74.

305

Haji Mohammad Sayeed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 106-GG/12-3

HANGU,
27 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General, Karachi

Muslims merciless bloodshed in Delhi and Punjab[1] by infidels pinches me deeply. Participate in this deplorable grief. I offer services [of] my thousands armed volunteers. Waiting orders.[2]

HAJI MOHAMMAD SAYEED
Quaid, Orakzai Tribe,
Mamozai Tribal Territory

[1]Also see No. 338.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin conveying Jinnah's thanks on 16 October 1947. See F. 106-GG/14. Not printed.

306

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 23/7

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
27 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You asked me to make private enquiries about the qualifications of

Sir Hubert Rance, at present Governor of Burma.

I, therefore, send you the following enclosures:[1]

a. A copy of a telegram sent to me by Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for Burma;
b. A minute by Lord Mountbatten; and
c. An extract from a recent letter from Lord Killearn to the Foreign Office.

I do not, of course, know whether Sir Hubert Rance would be prepared to accept the Governorship of East Bengal, if you decide to offer it to him, nor the precise date on which he would be available. Might I suggest, therefore, that if you decide to take any further action in the matter, the best course would be for you to telegraph through the U.K. High Commissioner in Pakistan to the Secretary of State for Burma, under whom Sir Hubert Rance is at present serving.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
ISMAY

[PS.] Please forgive my bad writing, have been in bed with flu.

[1]Enclosures relate to bio-data and qualities of Hubert Rance. See F. 23/8-11, *QAP*. Not printed.

307

S. H. Raza to S. M. Yusuf

F. 187(4)-GG/5

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE,
KARACHI-4,
27 September 1947

D. O. No. 1187

My dear Yusuf,

I enclose a copy of each of the following Ordinances promulgated by His Excellency the Governor of Sind under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order, 1947:

[i] Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947—No. VII of 1947;[1]

[ii] Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947—No. VIII of 1947.[2]

Yours sincerely,
S. H. RAZA
Secretary to the Governor of Sind

[1]F. 187(4)-GG [102]/2-3. Not printed.
[2]F. 187(4)-GG [102]/6-13. Not printed.

308

M. Y. Akbary to F. Amin

F. 76-GG/6

AKBARY GARAGE,
DHANBAD,
27 September 1947

Dear Sir,

Thank you so much of [*sic* for for] your letter of the 6th September 1947.[1] I was out of this station hence the lapse of time between the receipt of your letter and this reply.

Please tell to [*sic*] our Quaid-i-Azam that I am ready to offer one truck of 3 ton capacity to facilitate the minor type of exchange of population's transport works.

I am now at [*sic* for in] a position to offer it free of all cost and any obligation at the part of anybody [*sic*]. The truck is not to be returned and the price is not to be paid. After my studies [*sic*] how the work goes and how the truck is utilised, I shall be only too pleased to provide more.

The truck is garaged at my business place at V. Manaitand, and I hope that you will arrange to take it anywhere needed according to the advice of Quaid-i-Azam. I hope it will be better if you arrange to send one man to see me and to effect delivery (which is absolutely free and without any obligation).

Please note that very shortly I am proceeding to Eastern Pakistan and I am disposing my vehicles so seriously for which I will again request you to do it needful at once [*sic*].

Also please let me know the name of the stations where free trucks are required for the emergency period, so that I may set up [*sic*] my programme.

Though I am a very poor man but still I shall try to help my

brothers in Islam as much as time and circumstances will permit me.

Please tell [*sic*] my best *salaam* to His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah—the George Washington of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
M. Y. AKBARY

[1]No. 208.
[2]A note dated 13 November 1947 by S. M. Yusuf states "This letter along with previous correspondence may be passed on to the Ministry of Refugees".

309

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 143(I)-GG/14

27 September 1947

My dear Shaikh Ghulam Hussain,

I received your letter of the 13th September[1] together with a copy of a letter from His Highness the Aga Khan.

I note that His Highness's suggestion is that "one institution should be in Karachi or any healthy place near there, and the second institution should be in East Pakistan between Dacca and Chittagong, and that neither of these institutions are for medical relief, but for great scientific work—medicines being one of the subjects to be studied—and generally on the lines of the famous Zurich Polytechnic which turns out engineers, mining and other electrical specialists, agriculturists and the highest scientific research workers as well as chemical research workers for medicines and cures".

I appreciate fully the need for such institutions in Pakistan and if His Highness would on those conditions, to which I agree, send me twenty lakh of rupees for each, as he proposes to do, I feel confident that with his initial support and my appeal to our people, one crore more will be easily found. But it should come from him, and he should define the character of these two institutions, as he has indicated, and on that condition he can send twenty lakh for each. With that at my back I think it will not be difficult to get the remaining one crore more. He can also make it clear that the whole of this capital should be spent on buildings, getting scientific instruments and other capital expenditure, while the upkeep should be paid by Pakistan—half for Western and half for Eastern. If by that he means that the Pakistan Government should make a sufficient contribution for its upkeep, I feel confident that it would be persuaded to do that.

The first and the foremost move that is absolutely necessary is that His Highness should lay down the character and the aims and objects of these institutions and the conditions as they are mentioned in the letter. It is only when His Highness has actually given the money, namely twenty lakh for each institution, as he proposes, that my hands will be strengthened to appeal for the target of one crore more, and also it will strengthen my hands to persuade the Pakistan Government to come forward to take their hand in it and provide sufficient amount for the upkeep of both the institutions.

I do not know what are the technical difficulties in the way of His Highness to which he has referred, but if I can do anything to help remove those difficulties, I shall do so. I do not know whether you have ascertained from Zafrullah or the Nawab of Bhopal what those difficulties are.

Please convey my kindest regards to His Highness the Aga Khan, and I am so glad to hear that he is now keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Governor House,
Karachi

[1]No. 227.

310

L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin

F. 25(2)-GG/68-9

[NO.]35/47 KARACHI,
27 September 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

I am most grateful for your letter No. 1381-GG/47 of yesterday's date[1] about various personalities visiting Karachi in the near future.

I leave it entirely to the convenience of the Quaid-i-Azam when he wishes to fix appointments for (a) Sir Archibald Carter and (b) Lord Nathan, who will both be available at any time on Friday, October 3rd. If you will let me know the times arranged, I will inform these gentlemen.

As regards the Parliamentary Delegation to China, headed by Lord Ammon, I find myself compelled to suggest a time, because

these gentlemen arrive in the late afternoon of Thursday, October 2nd, and leave early on the following morning; and I have already committed them to a small dinner party on the evening of October 2nd. As they will require a little time to go through the formalities at the airport, and would probably like a bath and a change before facing the world, I wonder if I might ask whether the Quaid-i-Azam would give them a short interview just before dinner: say at whatever time suits him in the period 7.30-8.30 p.m. that evening. I apologise very much for attempting to impose a rather awkward time, but I did not dare to hope that the Quaid-i-Azam would be willing to receive these gentlemen during their brief stay, and the lateness of the time which I suggest is frankly dictated by considerations of their own convenience as travellers. Would you explain this little difficulty to the Governor-General?

Since I started dictating this letter, I hear that another Parliamentary Delegation is leaving England, this time for Japan, on October 3rd, and will hit Karachi in the afternoon of October 6th, leaving again by the usual early morning aircraft for Calcutta. This consists of three Labour and two Conservative Members of Parliament.

If, as I venture to think, the Quaid-i-Azam considers it a good thing that he should briefly receive these gentlemen during their passage through Karachi, I venture to suggest that the same rather awkward time on Monday, October 6th, as I have had to propose for Friday's reception of the China party, would be the most appropriate.

I will of course let you have the names of all members of any delegation who may have the honour of being received by Mr. Jinnah in advance of their reception.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

PS. Forgive a symbolic signature. I have a poisoned elbow and my arm is in a sling.

[1]No. 296.

311

F. Amin to L. Grafftey-Smith

F. 25(2)-GG/67

28 September 1947

Dear Sir Laurence,

Thank you very much for your letter No. 35/47 dated the

27th of September.[1]

I am desired to inform you that the Quaid-i-Azam will be very glad to see *Sir Archibald Carter at 12.30 p.m. and Lord Nathan at 3.00 p.m. on Friday the 3rd October 1947.*[2]

As regards the *Parliamentary Delegation to China, headed by Lord Ammon,* he will [be] very pleased to see them *at 7.30 p.m. on October the 2nd* (Thursday), as suggested by you.

He will be equally pleased to see the *Parliamentary Delegation,* which is proceeding *to Japan at 7.30 p.m. on Monday the 6th October,* as proposed by you.

I will be most grateful if you would kindly let me have the names of the delegations in advance of their reception.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith, CMG, OBE,
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom,
Palace Hotel,
Karachi

[1]No. 310.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

312

M. A. Khadim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120(III)-GG/24-5

KARACHI,
28 September 1947

RE-ORIENTATION OF LEAGUE POLICY REQUIRED TO SAVE PAKISTAN FROM DANGERS BOTH FROM WITHOUT AND WITHIN

I appeal to Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, honourable members of the Pakistan Cabinet, and Pakistan Parliament (Pakistan Constituent Assembly), in the name of hundreds of thousands of Indian Muslims who are being systematically liquidated in furtherance of organised conspiracy of the Hindu community to exterminate Muslims in Hindustan,[1] to quickly prepare the nation to get over the crisis which threatens the very life of Pakistan. Bewailing on the atrocities to which Muslims in India were subjected to would not serve any purpose. Nor would the mounting discontent, among the nationals of Pakistan against their leaders, for not having tackled the *problems with*

swiftness and vigour,[2] lead us anywhere.

2. Undoubtedly, League leadership has displayed lamentable lack of far-sightedness and organisational talent. Some wrong decision[s] have been taken, latest being the half-willing acceptance of the transfer of population which has multiplied the worries of the Pakistan Government at [a] time when the ministers could have devoted themselves to consolidate the newly established State. *No useful purpose can be served if matters are pursued half-heartedly.* And once the exchange of refugees has been agreed upon, there is no justification whatsoever for not setting up adequate machinery and tightening up administrative measure[s] for its execution.

3. In normal conditions, authority can be exercised by constitutional means. Statesmen and administrators, who have not had training as soldiers, find themselves unequal to the task, if called upon to wield authority in more or less war conditions. *Why doesn't Quaid-i-Azam take into confidence the Army Chiefs. He has to say what he wants. The rest will be done by the Military Chiefs* provided the facilities they require are placed at their disposal. The League will do well if she [*sic*] reads the signs of the time and adjust[s] herself [*sic*] accordingly to the rapidly changing conditions. Quaid-i-Azam is fighting on 3 fronts—planning, consolidation and administration of Pakistan. With the handful of ministers he can only keep up the administration, and that too with great difficulty, as every day provides a new problem for the Cabinet. If the long term gain is not to be neglected, the present Cabinet must be divested of the task of planning and consolidation, and another team of officials or non-officials be raised to ensure the materialisation of long and short term plans.

4. Assured as Hindustan is, that most of the Pakistanian [*sic*] Armed Forces are not available to the Pakistan Government for the defence of her border line, *the Hindu Army will provoke border disturbances to strike terror in the mind of the Pakistan nationals* of the border districts of the Western Punjab. Among other things, their objective will be *to disrupt the canal system to destroy the economy of Pakistan*. Though the League has made the Muslims politically conscious by her [*sic*] untiring efforts, but the political consciousness is hardly enough if they were to remain in constant state of war. Surely, reorientation of the League policy is required to save Pakistan from dangers both from without and within. A broad policy based on [the] following suggestions has got to be immediately formulated:

a. Propaganda offensive to be organised and set into operation forthwith by the religious heads, poets and intellectuals, with the idea of preparing the nation to lay [down] their lives for the

protection of liberty which they have achieved by the grace of God. They must preach high thinking and simple living.

b. A Committee of experts with sound experience of organisation and coordination work to be constituted to organise the youth of the country on military lines. Apart from raising ambulance brigades and fire parties, this body will supply capable recruits to the Armed Forces.

c. Utilisation of ex-servicemen as a territorial force, who can be employed to protect power houses, water system, telegraph and telephone exchanges, bridges and for other security purposes. They may guard the border, if necessary.

d. Setting up of a military station at Montgomery [now Sahiwal] to complete the defensive layout of the south-eastern frontier of the West Punjab.

e. Separate minister for refugees to carry out orderly evacuation and planned rehabilitation. Minister for Refugees, Defence Minister and Railway Member to constitute an emergency committee who would jointly resolve all problems relevant to evacuation and rehabilitation.

f. Organisation of road transport system which may help to clear up the congestion of refugees from various centres.

g. *Bait al-Maal* to be set up and State must arrange the collection of *Zakat* through Revenue Department or some other department. The proceeds will supplement the State exchequer to meet the cost of the activities associated with the above suggestions.

h. Saving campaign to be launched. Muslims to be told that they must drastically cut down expenditure on housing, furniture and other luxury items.

j. Means of communication and transport between West Pakistan and East Pakistan to be developed forthwith through airways service and merchant navy.

k. Procurement of wireless transmitting sets to ensure independent and speedy communication within the country.

MANZUR AHMED KHADIM
ex-Captain
Rohtak (E. Punjab)
C/O BASHIR AHMED
Overseer No. 3,
Construction Division,
Central Public Works Dept.

[1]Also see Appendix III.10.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

313

S. L. Dewan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 778/24

34 FALETTI'S HOTEL,
LAHORE,
28 September 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Dominion of Pakistan, Camp Lahore

May it please Your Excellency, the undersigned welcomes Your Excellency's first visit to our town on behalf of the Northern India Film Producers Association and Pancholi Art Pictures, Lahore, who have pledged their allegiance to the Dominion of Pakistan. We humbly beg to impress upon Your Excellency the necessity of protecting and further [*sic*] Pancholi Art Pictures Studio in particular as this institution is the only film centre surviving in the entire Dominion of Pakistan. Shall further request Your Excellency to kindly grant an interview if it suits Your Excellency's convenience.

SARDARI LAL DEWAN
Advocate,
Secretary of Northern Indian Film Producers Association
and General Manager, Pancholi Art Pictures

314

Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/15-6

CARE POSTMASTER,
HARUNABAD, [BAHAWALPUR STATE,]
29 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad [Ali] Jinnah, Karachi

Earnestly request safety forty thousand Muslims seized [*sic*] in Rewari, Dist. Gurgaon near Delhi. Also request for their evacuation arrangements under Muslim escort.

ABDUL MAJID

315

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 117-GG/30-2

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
29 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a complete account[1] of the money given by you to me and Noon.

There is now in the Imperial Bank of Patna Rs. 500 in the Joint Account, and I have asked the Imperial Bank of Delhi to transfer to the Joint Account at Patna whatever money is lying in the bank at Delhi, which will not be more than rupees two thousand.

The accounts have been audited up to May, and from time to time it was notified in the Bihar papers, both English and vernacular, that the accounts were open to inspection in the Office of the Committee. There may have been criticisms of the work of the Central Committee, but, as far as I know, nobody has questioned the manner in which the money has been spent. As far as the refugees were concerned not only everything possible was done for them, but all possible help was rendered to those who remained in the villages during the troublesome time. The only thing in which we may be accused to have failed is rehabilitation of the refugees. There is explanation for it, but the fact remains that nothing has been done so far to rehabilitate them. Our explanation is that for a long time it was not decided whether the refugees should be rehabilitated in Bihar or in Bengal. Even up to the 3rd of June this question was practically undecided. The Government of Bihar was not prepared to help us, nor co-operate with us in our scheme of rehabilitation, and when ultimately it was decided that we should try on our own to establish, as far as possible, strong "pockets", just at that time the meeting of the Central and Provincial Legislatures kept us busy, and in a short period nothing tangible was done. After the 3rd of June it became still more difficult to get on with our scheme. Perhaps it was wise that we did not spend our money on a large scale on rehabilitation. God alone knows what the future holds for the Muslims in the minority provinces. Everyday they are living in fear of having to evacuate Bihar *en masse*.

The question now arises whether you should continue to *assist the refugees in future from your Fund.*[2] Mr. Yunus and I are putting before you what we consider as the essential items of expenditure for at least two years. In all, the total amount will not *exceed Rs. 4,50,000.* There are some items which both of us consider as absolutely essential in the interest of the refugees. It will be cruel if they are deprived of this assistance. *In the forefront I put forward the Education Grant of Rs. 5,000 per month.* This expenditure will give its return in the shape of making young Muslims fit to earn their own living, instead of being a drag on the society and sinking to the depth of pauperism. They are entitled to this assistance because either their parents are gone, or their income has been so reduced that they are unable to meet the expenditure of their education. All such grants to students have been carefully scrutinized, and as far as possible, we have tried to ensure that only the deserving receive assistance.

Legal aid for the accused and for the prosecution of the aggressors is another item of expenditure which both Mr. Yunus and I very strongly recommend for your favourable consideration. We feel that the League will be guilty and accused of throwing the victims of police oppression to the wolves, apart from the fact that the victims have suffered materially during the Bihar carnage. Their cost of defence is the moral obligation on the fund that has been raised for their relief.

The Muslim Technical Institutes have been started in four places and are doing good work in equipping the Muslims with crafts to enable them to earn a living. This again is an expenditure which is going to give its return in the shape of finding employment for the refugees and the displaced Muslims of Bihar.

The other items of expenditure are, to a certain extent, the necessary corollary to the above, but if you are not disposed to entertain them, we consider that the three items mentioned above are absolutely essential.

The question now remains to whom are you going to entrust the money for continuing this relief work. If you can find someone from outside who can be the President of the Relief Committee, it would be ideal. *In the absence of an outsider, I think Mr. Yunus should be made the President, and Mr. Jafar Imam, Mr. Latifur Rahman, Mr. Noaman, Mr. Hossain Imam, and Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, should form the Committee.*[3]

Mr. Yunus has really done most of the work specially as I could not give much time. In spite of party factions if you form a Committee which I have proposed, I think, they will carry on the work which is

needed for the specific purposes for which fund will be allotted, and this Committee may be asked to submit to you schemes of a permanent nature which will be of assistance to rehabilitate the refugees. In a separate cover I am forwarding to you a scheme[4] which Mr. Yunus has prepared for your consideration.

There were many people who worked with all their heart and devotedly, and it is not possible to mention every name, but I would specially like to bring to your notice the name of Mr. Kazi Sayeed, who was the Hon[orar]y Secretary. He gave his whole time, and worked for months regularly everyday for about 8 to 10 hours.

In the account submitted to you there is one item of Rs. 16,000 spent on cloth. In this is included a sum of Rs. 8,000 which I paid to Mr. Shamsul Hassan for some bales of cloth, which was to be sent to Bihar, and which was arranged by Mr. Hossain Imam. I have been informed that only 3 bales of cloth were sent to Monghyr, and one wagon was supposed to have been sent to Gaya, but nobody acknowledges receipt of that. The bulk of the money, about Rs. 6,000, is unaccounted for, as neither any cloth has been sent nor money returned. *I will be obliged if you will kindly enquire from Mr. Shamsul Hassan and Mr. Hossain Imam, as to what happened to the cloth and the money.*[5]

I will be obliged if you will kindly let either Mr. Yunus or me know if you are going to give us any more money, as the last cheque which I have given for *Rs. 18,000* will enable them to carry on at the most *till the end of October*. I think it is only fair that Mr. Yunus and the Committee should know where they stand.

Yours sincerely,
K[HWAJA] NAZIMUDDIN
Chief Minister of East Bengal

[1]See F. 117-GG/12-21 & 27-36. Not printed. Also see Annex for abstract of Expenditure and Receipts, prepared from records.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3 & 5]Sidelined in the original.
[4]F. 117-GG/3-11. Not printed.

Annex to No. 315
Statement of Expenditure and Receipts
[Extract]

F. 117-GG/12-21

[CENTRAL MUSLIM LEAGUE BIHAR RELIEF COMMITTEE, PATNA,]
Undated [September] 1947

Period	DR (Expenditure)	CR (Receipts from Quaid-i-Azam Fund)	CR (Other Receipts)
1946	Rs-As-Ps	Rs-As-Ps	Rs-As-Ps
November	31,846-14-3	... ...	69,956-5-6
December	179,669-12-0	70,000-0-0	[111,273-8-9]
1947			
January	190,025-7-0	70,000-0-0	[121,223-1-0]
February	118,876-15-6	70,000-0-0	[67,432-3-6]
March	86,943-15-0	30,000-0-0	[44,402-15-0]
April	142,618-2-9	108,000-0-0	[37,870-15-0]
May	68,675-10-6	... ...	... ...
1 to 15 June[1]	13,661-0-9	... ...	13,986-7-0
July	26,879-8-3	... ...	... ...
August	13,165-0-0	3,000-0-0	[12,168-1-0]

[1]See No. 125, Vol. II, 291-2.

316

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, F. 111-GG/1

No. 372 KARACHI,
CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE *29 September 1947*

For Prime Minister, India

We are shocked to read Mr. Gandhi's pronouncement that "if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error and continued to minimise it, the India Government would have to go to war against it". This pronouncement is in flat contradiction of the agreed declaration by the India Government at the New Delhi Conference of 19th September[1] that "any conception of war between Pakistan and India is an impossibility not only

on moral grounds but for the reason that any such conflict will ruin both of them".

In view of the position Mr. Gandhi occupies in the public life of India and the fact that the India Cabinet seek their guidance from him, his unequivocal pronouncement that India Government would have to go to war against Pakistan for errors which Mr. Gandhi does not care to specify, public opinion in Pakistan has been deeply disturbed by this pronouncement.[2]

We trust the India Government still adhere to their declaration in the New Delhi Conference of 19th September. If so, it is essential that they should reiterate their intention publicly to clear this serious confusion from the public mind.

[1]Annex I.
[2]Gandhi's statement also sparked editorial comment criticising "these ominous words". See the *Dawn*, 28 September 1947.

Annex I to No. 316

INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

NEW DELHI,
19 September 1947

Minutes of the the Conference between the Representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan[1]

[*Extract*]

2. ... the following conclusions were reached:

1. Any conception of a war between Pakistan and India is abhorrent not merely on moral grounds but for the reason that any such conflict would spell ruin to both of them. The representatives of the Pakistan Government stated that they would investigate the statement reported to have been made by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan in New York and in particular his reference to direct action.

2. It is the policy of both Governments to create and maintain conditions in which the minorities will live in security.

3. Both Governments should work together with the object of reducing, as rapidly as possible, both the area and intensity of the communal conflict. In particular, statements by responsible persons which are either bellicose or one sided as to lead to irritation to the other side should be avoided.

4. There is no issue between the two Governments as to the necessity of speeding up the convoys of evacuees from East to West Punjab

and from West to East Punjab. Both Governments are agreed that top priority should be given to the safe and speedy movement of evacuee convoys.

5. Regrettable incidents have taken place on both sides. Details of these should be communicated by one Government to the other and it is agreed that these should be investigated and those who are found guilty should be drastically punished.

6. Places which are regarded as sacred by any community will not be allowed to be occupied by members of any other community and particular care will be taken to preserve such places intact even if they remain empty. The two Governments will communicate with each other and make concrete suggestions.

7. The Governments are agreed that searches of refugees will not be made and personal effects will be allowed to be carried. This, however, is without prejudice to the right of each Government to prohibit the bulk transfer of merchandise.

8. The Pakistan Government agree to re-examine the question of the appointment of a Deputy High Commissioner for India at Peshawar. In the meanwhile, they agree to Mr. [K.L.] Punjabi going forthwith to Peshawar for a period of 10 days or so on behalf of the Government of India to report on the situation there.

9. The two Governments are agreed as to the necessity of evolving a common formula with regard to the right to interfere in the internal administration of States subject to the limitation imposed by the constitutional relationships between each Dominion and the States. In the meanwhile, both Governments will exercise moral pressure on States in appropriate cases, more especially for the protection and rehabilitation of minorities.

10. There is no difference between the two Governments as to the necessity of moving coal. The Government of India are doing everything possible to speed up the movement of coal wagons and will continue to give this matter top priority.

11. The Government of Pakistan have taken note of the complaint that banks in their territory are not allowed to bring out their records. The Finance Minister, Pakistan, is holding a conference with managers of banks in Lahore with a view to considering what action should be taken. In the meanwhile, security arrangements for banks will be continued in full force.

12. The Pakistan Government have taken note of the complaint that evacuees who are waiting in [*sic*] Hyderabad (Sind) station are being harassed and being deprived of personal belongings and have promised to enquire and issue necessary instructions.

13. The Pakistan Government have no objection to R. I. A. F. transport squadrons flying from Ambala and Amritsar to aerodromes in Pakistan to bring back Indian officials, their families and other evacuees and the Government of India agree to transport from Ambala and Amritsar Muslim refugees who are in those places or can easily be brought there.

[*Para 14 omitted*]

15. The Government of India have taken note of the complaint that Muslim evacuees in camps or on the march to Pakistan are not being adequately fed and have promised to take the matter up with the Government of East Punjab.

16. The question of recovering abducted women was considered and it was decided that the matter should be fully investigated again[2] and concrete proposals should be put forward by officials of the two Governments especially appointed in this behalf.

[*Para 17 omitted*]

[1]*Treaties and International Agreements entered into by the Government of Pakistan in 1947*, Karachi, 1955, 3-5.
[2]See Annex II.

Annex II to No. 316

INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Press Communique[1]

15 September 1947

In the course of the discussions yesterday at Lahore between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan and representatives of the Governments of East and West Punjab the question of recovering abducted women was raised. It is well known that a large number of women have been abducted. Some have already been rescued but a very considerable number still remain. It was suggested that organised steps be taken with the co-operation of the East and West Punjab Governments and their police and military for the recovery of such women. It was further suggested that voluntary women workers be associated in this work and the co-operation of Women's and Relief Organisations sought. The Governments of India and Pakistan are giving earnest consideration to this problem and it is hoped that arrangements will be arrived at soon which will yield satisfactory results. It is requested that all persons in possession of information about abducted women should communicate it to the Deputy Commissioners

who will forward it to their Provincial Governments.

[1]*Treaties and International Agreements entered into by the Government of Pakistan in 1947*, Karachi, 1955, 3.

317

S. M. Yusuf to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 167(2)-GG/4

29 September 1947

Dear Khwaja Nazimuddin,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th September 1947[1] about Mr. Ali Nawaz Jung and to say that before considering the question of securing the services of an expert to advise the Govt. of East Bengal, he would like to have full particulars of the Kurnaphuli Hydro Electric Project so that it might be considered in all its bearings by the Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Works. After proper examination, we can join our heads together and try to secure the services of an expert or experts to run the Project.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture have been asked to look into the question of sending another ship-load of rice to East Bengal.[2]

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin,
Prime Minister,
East Bengal,
Dacca

[1]No. 267.
[2]See No. 327.

318

Shambonath Mulraj to S. M. Yusuf

F. 76-GG/34

KARACHI,
29 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of the resolution of the Sind Minorities Association[1]

for favourable consideration[2] of His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours faithfully,
SHAMBONATH [MULRAJ]
Secretary,
Sind Minorities Association

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Acknowledged by S. M. Yusuf on 2 October 1947. See F. 76-GG/33. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 318

F. 76-GG/35

STRACHAN ROAD, KARACHI,
27 September 1947

SIND MINORITIES ASSOCIATION

The Executive Committee of the Sind Minorities Association at its meeting held on 26th September 1947, passed the following resolution:

The Sind Minorities Association is definitely of the opinion that the increased exodus of the Sind Hindus cannot stop until the Hindus get proper share in the Cabinets of both Pakistan and Sind. The Association has tried its best to stop this continuous stream of exodus by all other means; but the Hindus who are leaving, clearly and openly say that since there is no Sind[hi] Hindu either in the Pakistan or in the Sind Government whom they could approach for their grievances and sufferings, they are compelled to leave Sind. The Association, therefore, once again strongly repeats its request with all the force at its command that His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam, His Excellency the Governor of Sind, and the Hon'ble Premiers of Pakistan and Sind may include Hindus in the two Cabinets without loss of time, for it may not be too late to tackle this uncontrollable mentality of the Hindus for migration.

SHAMBONATH [MULRAJ]
R. B., *J. P.*
Secretary, Sind Minorities Association

[1]The letterhead bore the motto "Conciliation, Cordiality & Cooperation", and the names of office bearers.

319

Malcolm MacDonald to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/154

PERSONAL/PRIVATE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S RESIDENCE,
PENANG,
29 September 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received with pleasure your note of August 29th.[1] It was very good of you to enquire after my health. I have now completely recovered from my illness.

You will not remember me, for I was a very junior secretary in the first India Round Table Conference[2] in London when my father was Prime Minister[3] and President of the Conference. But I have a vivid recollection of your impressive personality and leadership of the Indian Muslims at that time, and would like to send you personal congratulations and good wishes in your immense task.

Please do not trouble to acknowledge this. Your friendly enquiry prompted me to write it.

Yours sincerely,
MALCOLM MACDONALD

[1]Jinnah thanked him for his good wishes and inquiry about his health. See F. 30-GG/153. Not printed.
[2]12 November 1930 to 19 January 1931.
[3]J. Ramsay MacDonald, 1929-35.

320

S. N. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Pt. I)-GG/121-2

RANCHORE LINE,
KARACHI,
29 September 1947

Your Excellency The Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hail from Navasari—a town in Baroda.[1] I have been prompted to come here to congratulate Your Excellency in person on the establishment

of a new sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan in this sub-continent which has come into being entirely due to your inspiring leadership and untiring efforts and which has rightly been exclaimed [*sic* for acclaimed] as a rising star among the Muslim world. Given an opportunity, I also desire to personally submit a few problems which are agitating our minds to-day.[2]

2. May I beg that Your Excellency be graciously pleased to grant me a few minutes interview with you.

3. I enclose copies of two letters from the Governors of Trinidad B. W. I. [British West Indies] and British Guiana.[3]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
S. N. SAYED

[1]The letter was typed on the letterhead carrying the name as Alhaj Sayed Shamsuddin Ibn Syed Nizamuddin Alhoseini Qaderi, P.O. Navsari, Bombay, India.
[2]On 2 October 1947, S. M. Yusuf replied that the problems desired to be discussed with Jinnah be sent to him in writing. See F. 25 (Pt.I)-GG/120. Not printed.
[3]These were from the respective Colonial Secretaries in reply to S. N. Sayed's letters. See F. 25 (Pt. I)-GG/123-4. Not printed.

321

Liaquat Ali Khan to Lord Chamberlain,[1] London

Telegram, F. 109-GG/2

IMPORTANT

KARACHI,
29 September 1947

Please convey my thanks to His Majesty the King for his gracious invitation[2] to me and my wife to the wedding of Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten in Westminster Abbey on November 20th.

2. His Majesty must be aware of the crisis which the Pakistan Dominion is facing since its birth on the 15th August due to well-organised and thoroughgoing attack on Muslim life and property in East Punjab, Delhi and neighbouring areas by the Sikhs and a section of the Hindus resulting in untold misery to millions of people who have been killed or driven away from their homes. This has created a situation fraught with the utmost danger and requiring my constant attention.

3. My wife and I shall be happy to accept the invitation if conditions

improve to an extent that I can absent myself from the Dominion without undue anxiety.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]George Villiers.
[2]Annex.

Annex to No. 321
Lord Chamberlain, London, to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 109-GG/1

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON,
2 September 1947

I have received King's Command to invite you and Mrs. Ali Khan to marriage of Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten in Westminster Abbey on November 20th. An answer is requested to your early convenience.

[GEORGE VILLIERS]

322

Geoffrey Prior to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 91-GG/2

CONFIDENTIAL/PERSONAL QUETTA,
29 September 1947

Demi-official letter for His Excellency Mr Jinnah from Sir Geoffrey Prior.

Begins: I am obliged to Your Excellency for your kind remarks[1] and am glad to have been of service to Pakistan Government. I should however have appreciated receiving more than five days notice.[2] [*Ends*]

[1]See No. 304.
[2]A note on the original by S. M. Yusuf states: "G.G. is writing a letter to the Chief Commissioner". Also see No. 38, Vol. IV, 74.

323

M. A. Jinnah to Geoffrey Prior

F. 91-GG/3-4

30 September 1947

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

Thank you for your demi-official letter No. 228-S dated the 29th September, 1947.[1] I note that you feel that more than five days' notice should have been given to you. You know the difficulties the Pakistan Government is facing just now and developments are taking place so rapidly that fixing up of various appointments when there is so much uncertainty has not been an easy job. I had no desire to put you to any undue inconvenience and if you require more time to settle your affairs, I shall have no objection to your having reasonable time for that purpose. If it is necessary for you to stay longer in Quetta, you are welcome to do so. It is, however, not possible for me to change my decision that you should hand over charge to Mr. Dundas on his arrival. He is, most probably, reaching Quetta on Friday the 3rd October and arrangements can be made for your further stay, if you so desire, in consultation with him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Geoffrey Prior, KCIE,
Agent to GG & Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan,
Quetta

[1]No. 322.

324

Pat Boeck to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (Part II)-GG/147

COLORADAN OFFICE,
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO,
BOULDER, COLORADO,
30 September 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In this, the second year of the Atomic Age, the Associated Students of the University of Colorado in Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A., are dedicating

their *1948 Yearbook* to the ideal of international understanding and world peace.

To symbolize this theme, we wish to print individual statements of twenty-five words or less from representative nations in the name of their political leader. These statements are meant to express the attitude of your people toward world peace—a unity of nations in which the thread of understanding is being so delicately woven.

I have had many inspiring replies from a number of nations; and, with your message, I hope to present a composite picture of the attitudes of the nations of the world to the students of the University. As the Editor, Sir, I would value highly your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,
MISS PAT BOECK
Editor, Coloradan

325

Charles C. Pearl to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/2

ENCINO 104 COLONIA AGUILA,
TAMPICO, TAMOS, MEXICO,
30 September 1947

Dear Mohammad,

I am just a sixteen years old kid whose greatest wish is to receive a letter from you (written, please, with your own hands) and to *receive a photograph from you, autographed and dedicated to me, a humble servant of yours.*[1]

I am starting a collection of the most well-known persons of the world's letters and autographed pictures. I have received letters from Mr. Truman, Mr. Churchill and many others. I do hope you won't let me down, Sir.

I thank you sincerely and beg you to do me that favour in answer of this humble letter.

And, dear Sir, I remain as ever yours very truly,
CHARLES C. PEARL

[1]Underlined in the original.

326

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/29

30 September 1947

Following from Prime Minister, India

Reference your telegram dated twenty ninth October[1] [?] In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding, I would like to make it clear that train arrangements which we have laid on include evacuation of East Punjab Muslim evacuees who have moved into United Provinces. No repeat no resident of United Provinces will be carried in these trains.

[1]Not traceable.

327

S. M. Yusuf to Ministry of Food and Agriculture

F. 167(2)-GG/5

30 September 1947

An extract from a letter dated the 20th September 1947,[1] from Khwaja Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, East Bengal, to the Quaid-i-Azam, is forwarded to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture for such action as they may consider necessary.

S. M. YUSUF

[1]See No. 267, para 3. Also see No. 206.

328

L. Grafftey-Smith to F. Amin

F. 25(2)-GG/72

KARACHI,
30 September 1947

Dear Mr. Amin,

Many thanks for your letter dated 28th September 1947.[1]

2. I enclose lists[2] of the members of the Parliamentary Delegation to

China and Japan, respectively.

3. Mr. Teeling of the Delegation to Japan will be reaching Karachi with the Delegation to China on October 2nd; and, on the assumption that he will continue to accompany the latter Delegation on their onward journey from Karachi, I will arrange for him to accompany them to Government House at 7.30 p.m. on October 2nd.

4. I am most grateful for the sympathy with which these rather awkward time-tables proposed by me have been considered by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
L. GRAFFTEY-SMITH

[1]No. 311.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 328
F. 25(2)-GG/73

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO CHINA

Lord Ammon	Labour
Lord Amulree	Liberal
Mr. Harrison	Labour M. P. for Nottingham East
Mr. Lindsay	Conservative M. P. for Solihull
Mr. Wilfred Roberts	Liberal M. P. for Cumberland North
Mr. McLeavy	Labour M. P. for Bradford East

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO JAPAN

Rev. Gordon Lang	Labour M. P. for Stalybridge
Mr. John Paton	Labour M. P. for Norwich
Mr. Hervey Rhodes	Labour M. P. for Ashton-under-Lyne
Mr. W. Teeling	Conservative M. P. for Brighton
Mr. Stanley Prescott	Conservative M. P. for Darwen

329

M. A. Jinnah to Angelo Bros. Ltd., Calcutta[1]

F. 88/7

30 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know which was the last Dividend Warrant that you have issued with regard to the

shares I hold with your Company in my favour. I am giving you this trouble because the present great turmoil has dislocated communications as you know and I fear that some of my Dividend Warrants have been lost or misplaced. Therefore, I shall be extremely obliged if you will let me know what Dividend Warrants were issued and if there is any one more that has not been paid to me, or realized by me, so that I may be able to communicate with you further with regard to the unpaid and unrealized Dividend Warrants, if any.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Managing Director,
Messrs Angelo Bros. Ltd.,
Calcutta

[1]Identical letters were also sent by Jinnah to Steel Corporation of Bengal, Ltd., Calcutta (see No. 330), Hyderabad State Bank Ltd., Hyderabad, and Osmanshahi Mills Ltd., Hyderabad. See F. 88/9 & 10. Not printed.

330

M. A. Jinnah to Steel Corporation of Bengal Ltd., Calcutta[1]

F. 88/8

30 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to let me know which was the last Dividend Warrant that you have issued with regard to the Shares I hold with your Company in my favour. I am giving you this trouble because the present great turmoil has dislocated communications as you know and I fear that some of my Dividend Warrants have been lost or misplaced. Therefore, I shall be extremely obliged if you will let me know what Dividend Warrants were issued and if there is any one more that has not been paid to me, or realized by me, so that I may be able to communicate with you further with regard to the unpaid and unrealized Dividend Warrants, if any.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Managing Director,
Steel Corporation of Bengal, Ltd.,
Calcutta

[1]Also see No. 329, note 1.

331

Note by Saidullah Khan[1]

F. 788/1-8

30 September 1947

INTERVIEW WITH THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER [OF AFGHANISTAN] (H. R. H. SHAH WALI KHAN)

As arranged by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I called on H.R.H. Shah Wali Khan, the Prime Minister, on Tuesday the 30th September at 3 p.m. and remained with him for about two hours. The interview was an important one inasmuch as H.R.H. put to me a few questions quite bluntly instead of observing mere formalities and not revealing his mind. I started by telling H.R.H. the object of my mission to Kabul and to give him a brief account of my interview with the Foreign Minister (Ali Mohammad Khan) on the 27th September. H.R.H. told me that he knew the nature of the discussions that I had with the Foreign Minister, but as several important matters required elucidation, which had not been put to me by the Foreign Minister in clear terms, he would wish me to answer them more clearly before a decision could be arrived at. I told H.R.H. that, as I had pointed out from the very start, the object of my mission was to assist in every possible manner the R.A.G.[Royal Afghan Government], and that I was ready to elucidate any point or points which required elucidation. I pointed out at the same time that I had asked the Foreign Minister (Ali Mohammad Khan) whether I had made myself very clear to him, as it was my duty to make the object of my mission well understood. I also told H.R.H. that before leaving the Foreign Minister I had asked him to allow me to reiterate the main points of my discussion with him, but was told that I had made myself absolutely clear and that no further elucidation was necessary. With his (Foreign Minister's) permission I repeated the main points of my mission before leaving him. H.R.H. thereupon told me that there was no doubt that I had made myself abundantly clear in explaining the object of my mission to the Foreign Minister, but he (P.M.) wanted satisfaction on matters other than those discussed with the Foreign Minister. I told H.R.H. that I was at his disposal.

QUESTION [By H. R. H.]

You will excuse me, Nawab Sahib, when I say that you as the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam, that great leader on the other side of the Afghan border, have come out on a very delicate and

important mission and would naturally wish to see it through in a manner beneficial to both Governments. It would not therefore be wrong to say that you hold a very important position not only here but in the eyes of the whole world and being the mouthpiece of H.E. Mohammad Ali Jinnah your word will go to [*sic*] a long way towards the establishment of good diplomatic relations between the two great countries (Afghanistan and Pakistan) particularly when they do not see eye to eye with each other, their views being diametrically opposed. In these circumstances, you have come to Kabul to make up those differences and to establish good relations between your own country and Afghanistan.[2] Now, having regard for these factors, will you or will you not see Afghanistan a rich and prosperous country, fit enough to face any other country in the world?

ANSWER

I thanked H.R.H. for all his kind reference to Quaid-i-Azam and myself and of the brotherly regard that he had shown, and gave him assurances on behalf of the Pakistan Government that, being an Islamic country, it will be their first and foremost duty to assist Afghanistan in every way they can and to see it not only rich and prosperous but one of the great powers of the world, especially in view of the fact that the strength of Afghanistan is the strength of Pakistan and vice versa. Both being Islamic countries, the relationship between them will be the envy of the rest of the world. It is for the establishment of these relations and the removal of misunderstanding, if any, that I had set out for Kabul. I added that I had already explained to the Foreign Minister before the commencement of my negotiations with him that I should at once do away with the ordinary formalities by saying that I have come here to create an atmosphere of goodwill and brotherly relations between the two great countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and that my mission was of perfect goodwill. I referred the Foreign Minister to the Qur'anic principle where *Allah* the Great says that all the Muslims are brothers, wherever they may be. It will, therefore, be the keen desire of every Pakistani Muslim to see the neighbouring Muslim country of Afghanistan most prosperous.

QUESTION BY H.R.H.

I am glad to hear all this from a Pathan brother and I expected this reply which is most befitting of the position of the Representative of Quaid-i-Azam. He proceeded to say: now the position being as explained by you, will it be too much if I were to ask you to give us the whole of the North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas, as by so doing you will give a proof of your large-heartedness as it will add enormously to

the existing strength of Afghanistan.

ANSWER

Before replying to the query of your Royal Highness, it reminds me of a proverb and that is that a perfectly honest, straightforward, sober young man was given to understand that *zar zar ra me kashad* [money begets money]. This honest young man thought over this for several days and wished to experiment it by securing *Zar* from somewhere. Having secured *Zar* (silver) and in order to satisfy himself and see if the proverb was correct, he went to *Bazar-i-Sarrafan* and tried to get at the biggest *Dheri* [heap] where there was a large accumulation of rupees ignoring smaller ones. Taking out his rupee from his pocket, he threw it at the *Dheri*. This suddenly attracted the notice of the *Sarraf* who inquired, "My dear young man what are you up for [*sic* for to]?"

The young man replied, "There is nothing wrong. You should not worry. I simply wished to try whether the proverb *Zar zar ra me kashad* is correct or not." The *Sarraf* smiled and told the young man that on principle he was perfectly correct, but he should realise that the small goes with the large and not the larger with the small.

After relating this, I asked H.R.H. whether I was clear in what I stated or did that require further elucidation on my part. H.R.H. told me that it was perfectly clear and required no further clarification or elucidation, and that it conveyed all that was required.

QUESTION [BY H.R.H.]

Now tell me, you Representative of the Great Leader, that preference has been given to an Englishman over Pathans when there is no paucity of them, you being one of them, by appointing Sir George Cunningham as the Governor of N.W.F.P. I say so because it has not only injured the feelings of the Pathans across the Durand Line but has also hurt the feelings of the Afghans on this side of the Pakistan border.

ANSWER

Your Royal Highness, this is not first time that this question has been asked. I know that on the appointment of Sir George Cunningham several other Pathans also felt disappointed and embarrassed. In fact, the same question was put to the Quaid-i-Azam. The reply of the Quaid-i-Azam to the deputationists was whether the object of their visit and inquiry was that they entertained any doubts about the integrity or honesty of purpose of their leader for giving preference to an Englishman over his own brothers or was it only to satisfy themselves as to why the appointment of Sir George was made. The spokesman of the deputationists who met the Quaid-i-Azam readily replied by saying

that they could not entertain any doubt for a minute and it was far from them to think of such a thing—the integrity and honesty of their Quaid-i-Azam was beyond question—but as most of the Pathans and others had been repeatedly asking them for the reasons for this appointment, they had approached him. The reply of the Quaid-i-Azam was that with all the experience that he had of the foreigners, he had come to the irresistible conclusion that the Englishmen were good servants but bad masters, and this being so it was for the master to take the maximum out of the servant. If the master, i.e. the people of Pakistan, were incapable and could not take the maximum work out of the servant, the Quaid-i-Azam could not do anything for such people. He could do no more spoon-feeding for them and if the people were so inefficient, let them perish. The existence of incapable people was a curse not only to society but to Pakistan, and Pakistan will not tolerate such people in future. The Quaid-i-Azam went on to say that in most countries foreigners are employed and the maximum work is taken out of them. He further pointed out to the deputationists that they were lucky that they had secured the services of certain Englishmen who came here as rulers but were prepared to serve them as their servants and slaves. This is the position which perhaps most of you would be reluctant to accept. Further, a servant can be removed if he does not abide by the decisions and orders of his master and it is up to you to retain or dismiss any of your servants who are incapable or inefficient. Keep them for as long as you feel like keeping them and turn them out when you do not require their services any longer.

I may point out here that H.R.H. Shah Mahmud Khan, the Permanent Prime Minister and the younger brother of the Acting Prime Minister, was heard to say that it was a mistake on the part of H.E. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to have replaced Mountbatten who was decidedly a better Englishman than most of the others whom he had seen. This statement by Shah Mahmud Khan was made before a fairly large gathering and immediately after the announcement of H.M.G. regarding the appointment of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General of Pakistan.

There were several other questions of minor importance raised by H.R.H. which were suitably replied by me. H.R.H. showed his entire satisfaction at the conversations he had with me and wished me luck, remarking that he was proud that Pathans of my type reside[d] on the other side of the Durand Line.

[NAWABZADA SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Kabul. See *Pakistan Times*, 25 September 1947.
[2]See Annexes I&II for Afghan attitude to Pakistan.

Annex I to No. 331
Giles Squire[1] to Ernest Bevin

PRO, FO 371/63247

BRITISH LEGATION, KABUL,
30 August 1947

Sir,

In my despatch No. 79[2] of today's date I have given some account of the annual independence celebrations in Kabul and of the general feeling of friendliness shown towards the new Dominion of Pakistan. I and members of my staff have had many unofficial conversations with senior Afghan officials and I have mentioned briefly to the Foreign Minister the instructions contained in your telegram No. 4 of August 20th[3] which I propose to discuss with him at greater length when the Afghan public offices open next week.

2. The most important conversation was one which I had with *the acting Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan, on the evening of August 26th. He was at pains to emphasize how glad Afghanistan was to have a friendly Muslim power in control of the country up to the Khyber Pass and at the same time how anxious they were to have the continued British support on which they had*[4] come to rely in their efforts to maintain their independence *vis-a-vis* any aggressive designs on the part of Soviet Russia. He expressed the hope that His Majesty's Government would not abandon her interest in the welfare of Afghanistan and I did my best to reassure him on this point. *He was almost apologetic about the press campaign on behalf of an independent Pathanistan and said that his Government were forced to support this campaign for domestic reasons.* He was particularly anxious to know what I thought of the King's speech[5] on the opening day of the celebrations with its references to Pakistan which, he said, were intended to clear up misunderstanding and to emphasize the Afghan *desire for the closest possible friendship and cooperation with the new Dominion.*

3. The Independence Day speeches[6] and an open letter[7] to Mr. Jinnah which appeared in the press on the previous day have been the principal references during the week to Afghan aspirations in the matter of the North-West Frontier Province. I enclose translations of the letter and of those portions of each of the pronouncements which refer to this subject. His Majesty's speech both denies the inferences which have not unnaturally been drawn abroad that Afghanistan is seeking to annex any portion of the Frontier or has been acting under outside

influence, and refutes the charges that the agitation is an unwarrantable interference in matters which are not of Afghan concern. Considering that the speech was of necessity made principally for home consumption and had to be in accordance with the spirit of the day, it succeeds I think to a considerable degree in its dual objective and I hope that it will be considered as paving the way for friendly discussions on matters that are undeniably of interest to Afghanistan. It is indeed obvious that if the Pakistan Government are successful in finding an answer to the claim for an independent Pathanistan that will satisfy all shades of Frontier opinion they will have taken a most important step towards the peaceful solution of Frontier policy, and it is the importance of such an evolution that the Afghan pronouncements are intended chiefly to emphasise.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Member [*sic* for Minister] for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Government of Pakistan, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Karachi and to the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most humble obedient servant,
G. F. SQUIRE

The Right Hon'ble Ernest Bevin, M. P.,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London

[1]Minister in the British Legation, Kabul.
[2&3]Not traceable.
[4]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.
[5]Enclosure 1.
[6]Enclosures 1 & 2.
[7]Enclosure 3.

Enclosure 1 to Annex I to No. 331
Speech by His Majesty Muhammad Zahir Shah on the Occasion of the 29th Anniversary of Afghan Independence

[*Extract*]

PRO, FO 371/63247

[KABUL,]
25 August 1947

To the east of our country, the vast continent of India has been

favoured with the great blessing of freedom and two independent Dominions of "Pakistan" and "India" have been set up in that ancient land.

On this triumphant day of the anniversary of our own country's freedom, we offer congratulations to all our co-religionist[s] and neighbouring brethren of "Pakistan" as well as to the great and friendly people of "India" on the achievement of their freedom. I am confident that all Afghans welcome their independence.

At this auspicious hour when our valiant and free nation are celebrating their own independence, our hearts are with those Afghan brethren who are struggling for their lawful rights.[1]

We wish them to understand our true aims and not to add false embellishments and misinterpretations so that no unnecessary misunderstanding may be created between the Afghans and Muslims of India who are bound together by the strong bonds of vital common interests.

Once their legitimate rights are secured in principle and to the satisfaction of the people of those areas we will welcome any coordination in conditions of life and cooperation between them and their Pakistan brethren and the Pakistan State. We do not desire that our neighbouring Islamic State (Pakistan) should receive the slightest injury to her interests and security.

We hope that in the near future the principle of our natural policy of goodwill will become manifest and that the wrong interpretations placed upon them either intentionally or as a result of ignorance will vanish in the light of the honesty of our good intentions and that all will realise that this policy is equally beneficial to Pakistan, to Afghanistan and to the Afghans living on the far side of the Durand Line.

Our country has never been concerned with party politics in India. Nor will she ever become a puppet in the hands of others and a tool of other countries.

Our foreign policy is clear. Our relations with our neighbours and friendly powers have been based and will continue to be based on the firm foundations of mutual friendship, respect for our rights and political independence, the principles of the United Nations Charter and our love of peace.

[1]Sidelined in the original.

Enclosure 2 to Annex I to No. 331
Speech by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, President of the Afghan National Assembly on Behalf of All Classes of the Afghan Nation

[*Extract*]

PRO, FO 371/63247

[*Undated August 1947*]

Your Majesty. We express our pleasure on the achievement of independence by our neighbouring and fellow *Muslim brethren of "Pakistan" and by the friendly people of "India". The views expressed by Your Majesty in regard to the rights of our Frontier Afghan brethren are indeed noble sentiments of great value. Indeed the whole Afghan nation agree with the Royal opinion.*[1]

We desire that all our trans-border Afghan brethren should form one community of people in full possession of their legitimate rights and *should also be free to decide their political future, so that an elemental and sincere goodwill may reign in this part of the eastern world and that an opportunity may be provided for lasting advancement and prosperity.*

[1]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.

Enclosure 3 to Annex I to No. 331
Saiyed Qasim Rishtiya to M. A. Jinnah[1]

[*Translation*]

PRO, FO 371/63247

No. 128 [*24 August 1947*]

Some time ago I heard with pleasure, Your Excellency's brief speech on the radio.[2] Later I heard the news of the inauguration of the free State of Pakistan. As an Afghan, I must consider myself duty bound to thank you for your noble feelings towards my dear country. You said that Pakistan desired to maintain good relations with all the Islamic countries of the Middle East, particularly with Afghanistan.

Your Excellency should know that the identical desire is entertained by twelve million people of Afghanistan and has been expressed officially, unofficially on many and various occasions since the day on which the establishment of Pakistan was announced. Your Excellency should believe in the sincerity of this desire of the Afghan nation, because, besides our position as neighbours, the identity of our religion, our natural position and the many other material and moral ties so fortunately subsisting between us and the Pakistan nation, there

exists our historic friendship which clears our conscience [*sic*] of every kind of mutual suspicion and hatred and fills our hearts with good wishes.

Yes, we do want to become good neighbours of the young State of Pakistan, we do want to settle all our problems in a friendly and reciprocal spirit. We are confident that if this policy is pursued by both parties, it will prove useful not only for both of us, but also indirectly for the peace of this important part of the eastern world, whereas if suspicion and discord arise, which God forbid, both of us stand to lose equally and peace in the very heart of Asia will be disturbed.

Consequent on Your Excellency's broadcasting a fresh announcement, we once again assure Your Excellency of our heartfelt desire for the establishment of good relations with the new Islamic State of Pakistan. But at the same time, we desire that this mutual desire should be put to a practical test. The best possible occasion for this test is the tackling of the question relating to our Afghan brethren—an issue which has for some time past been under discussion between ourselves and the British and Indian authorities. But no satisfactory reply has hitherto been received by us from any quarter. Although this question is principally the concern of the British Government and should therefore be settled between them and *us, yet if Pakistan is anxious to maintain good relations with her neighbour—Afghanistan—as stated by Your Excellency, she should put her good intentions into practice in the matter of the independence of the trans-border Afghans, so that Afghan public opinion may be convinced of the good wishes of Pakistan and her great leader. As we have said repeatedly, our demand is not for selfish advantage or territorial gains but springs chiefly from our good wishes for our new neighbour in Pakistan. We also desire that the friendly relations which have for centuries subsisted between Afghanistan and India should continue on*[3] a better footing and should daily become stronger and stronger. We realise that the first and the foremost condition of accomplishing this aim consists in a just and friendly settlement of the question of the trans-border Afghans. If the question is settled with due regard to the legitimate rights of the trans-border Afghans, it will prove very useful for both countries; otherwise, it will always tend to create difficulties for both Afghanistan and Pakistan and disturb the peace and security of this important part of Asia, for which both Afghanistan and Pakistan are responsible.

Therefore, we once again sincerely invite the attention of Quaid-i-Azam to this vital fact and express the hope that just as he himself has expressed good wishes for friendly relations to be maintained between Afghanistan and Pakistan, so he will furnish practical proof of his

good wishes by acceding to our quite unselfish demand which in fact has been made by a majority of the trans-border Afghans.

With good wishes,

SAIYED QASIM RISHTIYA

[1]Published as an open letter in the *Anis*, Kabul, 24 August 1947.
[2]No. 1.
[3]Sidelined in the original.

Annex II to No. 331
Palmer to George Marshall

Telegram,[1] U.S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/9-347

SECRET

[U.S. EMBASSY,]
KABUL,
3 September 1947

Yesterday I learned from Minister Foreign Affairs that Ashack Hosayn, lieutenant of Abdul G[h]affar Khan, while recently in Kabul had had talk with Acting Prime Minister and later, during and after dinner, with Minister Foreign Affairs and other Afghan Government Ministers. Minister Foreign Affairs told me confidentially he was not favorably impressed by this visitor whom he found lacking in balance and inclined to extreme statements. But he said that in one way he was glad the visitor had come although sorry in another.

He explained that he and his Afghan Government colleagues welcome such an opportunity to emphasize that they are not in sympathy with any action that might lead to violence and to send word to Abdul Gaffar Khan as Pathan leader that he must not expect Afghan Government support in aggressive measures although Afghan Government will continue to do its utmost, in accord with general desire of people of Afghanistan, to press for and achieve by peaceful means recognition of fact that Pathans have never belonged to India, culturally or otherwise, and therefore should be allowed in relation to recent political changes in India a real opportunity to express their wishes as Pathans. He added that notwithstanding that he and his colleagues were glad to have had this opportunity to voice Afghan Government condemnation of use of force by Pathans in preserving their identity, Afghan Government feared presence of such a visitor in Kabul, although not on invitation of Afghan Government and his meeting with Prime Minister and other Ministers might be misconstrued as indicating Afghan Government's willingness to support, or at least condone, resort to violence by Abdul Gaffar Khan and his followers. Minister

Foreign Affairs told me it was particularly with a view to satisfying Pakistan and British Government that any such interpretation of the visit was groundless, that his own and Afghan Government's views as explained to me would be likewise explained to British Minister today.

In conclusion Minister Foreign Affairs voiced apprehension that communal fighting and killings reported as continuing in Pakistan between Muslims and Sikhs and Hindus might be followed by disastrous conflicts between Pathans and Punjabis or other Pakistanis. But he expressed hope that Pathans would keep their heads.

PALMER

[1]The telegram was addressed to Secretary of State, Washington, and repeated to U.S. Embassy, Karachi.

332

M. A. Sattar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 25 (Part I)-GG/116

TENT NO. 3, REST CAMP,
KARACHI,
30 September 1947

Udaipur Muslims are not safe. Representative waiting immediate interview for the last four days.

MOHAMAD ABDUL SATTAR KHAN[1]

[1]He sent another telegram on 2 October. In the meantime a reply was sent by S. M. Yusuf asking him to contact the Ministry of Refugees, Relief and Rehabilitation. See F. 5 (Part I)-GG/114-5. Not printed.

333

M. A. Jinnah to Lloyds Bank Ltd., Karachi

F. 88/6

30 September 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith instructions[1] to the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China Ltd., Karachi, from the Nawab of Bhopal to place at my disposal £5,000 (five thousand pounds), the amount to be debited to his Current Account with the Chartered Bank. Will you

please realize this sum and credit it to my Current Account No. 2 with your Bank and oblige?

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Accountant,
Lloyds Bank Ltd.,
McLeod Road,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

334

The Bombay Gas Company, Limited, to PS to M. A. Jinnah

F. 910/369

BOMBAY,
30 September 1947

Dear Sir,

RE: CHEQUE NO. 19043 FOR RS. 14-10-6

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your above cheque in settlement of our gas bills from April to July 1947 and return same[1] herewith as we have received payment from Messrs Mahomed Alli & Co., Bombay.

Further we have received a letter from Messrs Mahomed Alli & Co., on 28th ultimo instructing us to forward all your future bills to them for payment.

Always at your service.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Joint Acting Manager

Copy forwarded to:

Messrs Mahomed Alli & Co.,
15 Military Square Lane,
Fort, Bombay

[1]See F. 910/370, 7 September 1947. Not printed.

335

King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 102-GG/1

AMMAN [JORDAN,]
30 September 1947

Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Karachi

Disturbances between brothers in India bring grief to us in the Near East. May God establish peace and goodwill among them. Present and future generations [to] hold worthy leaders responsible unless they call and halt for a period mutually accepted and renewable [*sic*] for the purpose of restoring brotherhood in India. Meanwhile, exchange of nationals or peaceful residence of Muslims in Hindustan and Hindus in Pakistan could be effected in a manner which would remove the present estrangement and aggression sadly witnessed. We wait [for] your response in a manner pleasing to the whole East.

ABDULLAH IBN ELHUSEIN

336

N. L. Gupta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/3

SHAHPUR,
NEW DELHI,
Undated [*September 1947*]

Sir,

I fervently request you to grant me your autograph[1] on the attached leaf. I have great reverence for you and will be greatly disappointed if unfortunately my request is turned down.

I remain,

Your Excellency's most dutiful
and obedient admirer,
NATHU LAL GUPTA

Enclosed: Self-addressed envelope.

[1]The autograph was sent on 12 September as per note in the original document.

337

M. R. Khan to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi

F. 151-GG/7-8

2671 NIZAM MANZIL,
KUCHA CHELAN, DELHI,
Undated [*September 1947*]

Sir,

The Central Office of the All India Muslim League situated in Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj, Delhi, was raided yesterday and the day before yesterday by miscreants, but for the pluck displayed by office peon it would have been completely destroyed. This incident serves to lay emphasis on the constant danger to which the office is exposed.

In the circumstances I would request you to kindly take over the office in your protective custody till such time as suitable arrangements to dispose of its affairs can be made. I am waiting for necessary instructions[1] in this connection from Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League.

I am quite confident that you will realise the importance of my request and take immediate action in this respect.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN
Incharge, Central Office,
All India Muslim League

The Chief Commissioner,
Delhi Province,
Delhi

Copy forwarded for necessary action and information to:

1. The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, New Delhi
2. The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Minister, Government of India, New Delhi
3. The Deputy Commissioner, Delhi
4. The High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, New Delhi
5. Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, Karachi

6. The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, (Karachi), Camp Lahore

[1]Also see No. 272.

338

Haji Mohammad Sayeed to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 106-GG/10

MAZAR SHARIF MAMOZAI,
TIRAH,
Undated [*September 1947*]

Orakzai tribe extremely perturbed over disturbances in East Punjab. Situation feared uncontrollable if immediate peace not restored. Entire tribe ready to obey Your Excellency's order[2] of every kind.

AKHUNZADA HAJI MOHD SAYEED
Quaid, Orakzai Tribal Territory
c/o Doctor Abdul Rahim Khan, Hangu

[1]The original document carried the following note by Dr. Mohammad Rahim of Hangu: "Unfortunately telegram could not be accepted". For another telegram sent by Haji Mohammad Sayeed, see No. 305.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 16 October. See F. 106-GG/11. Not printed.

339

Note by F. Amin

F. 38(2)-GG/24

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
Undated [*September 1947*]

REFUGEES RELIEF

Refugees arriving in Karachi are received at the Cantonment Station and airport by military personnel, helped by civilian volunteers. They are then taken to the Transit Camp, which is situated close to the existing Pakistan Employees' Transit Camp near the Cantonment Station. The refugees stay for 48 hours at the Transit Camp, where they are registered by the Resettlement Department.

After 48 hours, they are taken by the civil refugee authorities to various refugee camps in the city, and the resettlement authorities

then take in hand the question of their rehabilitation in civil life. There are three fairly large refugees camps in Karachi.[1] These are located in the Khalsa High School and the Sikh Girls School, which were evacuated by Sikhs, and also in the Bohra *Jamatkhana*. The addresses of the refugees camps are as follows:

1. Khalsa High School, Watercourse Road, behind Municipal Corporation Office—250 refugees
2. The Sikh Girls High School, opposite the Jubilee Cinema on Barnes Str[eet]—125 refugees
3. Bohra *Jamatkhana* on Frere Road—300 refugees

The above information was obtained from Mr. M. Salahuddin Ahmed, Divisional Superintendent, North Western Railway, who has been appointed Refugee Officer for Karachi.

F. AMIN

For Quaid-i-Azam's information.

[1]Jinnah and Miss Jinnah paid a surprise visit to the above mentioned refugee camps on 17 September 1947. Jinnah condoled with the bereaved families and assured the refugees that Government was doing its best to assist them. See *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, 18 September 1947. Also see *Pakistan Times*, 19 September 1947.

340

Ghazi Abdul Karim Ajmeri to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 891/287-8

[*Original in Urdu*]

Undated [*September 1947*]

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, National Leaders, Ministers and Members of the Planning Committee

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is requested that areas forming Pakistan should be developed as much as possible, and the pace of industrial and commercial growth should be accelerated. The Govt. should implement constructive schemes for the benefit of the people. Improving the financial condition of the country should be our top priority, and the trade should be in our total control. In case our traders are incapable of setting up business individually—trade, factories and mills should be established by the pooling of funds. Loot by individual businessmen should be substituted by joint ventures.

Special attention should be paid to education which develops mental faculties of the students, and should not be for purposes of grant of

degrees only. Imparting of practical education should be our aim as it develops the nations.

There should be a team of publicity specialists which should inform the world of the correct picture relating to our country, and should also inform the people of Pakistan of the world affairs.

Wassalaam

Yours,
GHAZI ABDUL KARIM AJMERI

APPENDIX I

BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

The Boundary Commission Awards relating to Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet, which were presented at a meeting between Mountbatten and the representatives of India and Pakistan on 16 August 1947,[1] caused a stir and engendered feelings of surprise, shock, and frustration in Pakistan since the Awards were manifestly unjust. The iniquitous boundary demarcation in the Punjab fuelled the anti-Muslim riots raging in the East Punjab. The Muslim League's apprehensions about backstage manoeuvres designed to deprive Pakistan of some strategic areas in the Punjab, which had been conveyed by Liaquat Ali Khan on 11 August to Ismay but denied by him,[2] proved correct eventually.

The Awards reflected an unbroken strand of British policy against the Muslims and Pakistan which had been manifested in the attitude of the Viceroys as well as the plans prepared by Glancy,[3] Jenkins,[4] Menon-Rau,[5] George Abell[6] and Wavell during 1945 and 1946. These plans centred round the following objectives:

(i) making Pakistan as "small and unattractive" as possible;
(ii) providing Hindustan with a corridor to the non-Muslim areas of Assam.[7]

The most significant feature of the plans was the one prepared in January 1946 by V. P. Menon and B. N. Rau entitled "Demarcation of 'Pakistan' Areas" on the advice of Wavell whom Pethick-Lawrence had asked for views on the definition of "genuine Muslims Areas", in case Britain was "pressed" to give a decision on the demand for Pakistan.[8] On the basis of this plan, Wavell had recommended:

"Gurdaspur must go with Amritsar for geographical reasons and Amritsar being sacred city of Sikhs must stay out of Pakistan...", Wavell admitted: "the fact that much of Lahore district is irrigated from Upper Bari Doab Canal with headworks in Gurdaspur is awkward but there is no solution that avoids all such difficulties ".[9] The crux of this, however, was a smoke-screen for giving Kashmir an exit to India through Pathankot in Gurdaspur district, as Menon was to write later:

> It is possible that a predominantly Muslim State like Kashmir cannot be kept away from Pakistan for long and we may leave this matter to find its natural solution. Unlike Hyderabad [which lies in the bosom of India], it does not lie in the bosom of Pakistan and it can claim an exit to India, especially if a portion of the Gurdaspur District goes to East Punjab.[10]

Subsequently on 4 August 1947, endorsing Menon's recommendations, Mountbatten too told the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Indore that Kashmir was "so placed geographically that it could join

either Dominion, provided part of Gurdaspur were put into East Punjab by the Boundary Commission".[11]

Evidence suggests that Mountbatten prevailed on Radcliffe to amend the Punjab boundary award by allocating Ferozepore and Zira tahsils as well to India, which were Muslim majority areas and had been allocated to Pakistan, as evidenced by the map and the note by Christopher Beaumont, Secretary to the Punjab Boundary Commission, sent to Jenkins by the Viceroy's staff on 8 August, 1947.[12] The note specifically stated that "there will not be any great changes from this boundary". Around 11 August, however, Jenkins was advised by George Abell that the salient shown in the boundary map, enclosing Ferozepore and Zira, be eliminated.[13]

Although both Mountbatten[14] and Radcliffe[15] have denied amending the Award, Beaumont was to admit much later, in 1992, that Mountbatten did manipulate the boundary award in India's favour and persuade Radcliffe to change his mind about Ferozepore and Zira.[16] He also referred to an entry of 11 August in the diary of Walter Christie, Mountbatten's Joint Private Secretary: "His Excellency is having to be strenuously dissuaded from trying to persuade Radcliffe to amend his Punjab line".[17] From this new evidence, it is obvious that Mountbatten did get the Radcliffe Award altered, and by giving Gurdaspur to India, as already contemplated,[18] he manoeuvred Kashmir's accession to India.

In Bengal, Radcliffe awarded to India the Muslim majority district of Murshidabad, two-thirds of Muslim majority District of Nadia, the whole of Malda, and two police stations of Bangaon and Gaighata of Jessore, even though they had been notionally included in Pakistan.[19] A corridor to Assam from West Bengal (Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri) through Pakistan (Dinajpur) was provided as well. In this manner, over 6,000 sq. miles of land with a Muslim population of 3.5 million was given to India.

Calcutta was also included in India even though it was indispensable to the economy of East Bengal which produced all the raw jute for the mills in Calcutta. Sardar Patel provided the clue to its dispensation when at a public meeting held in Calcutta on 15 January 1950, he said that the Congress had decided "not to accept partition of Bengal without the city of Calcutta".[20] Significantly, Menon's note on the "Demarcation of Pakistan Areas" also envisaged the exclusion of Calcutta from the Pakistan areas. The proposed district-wise division of Bengal had assigned the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri also to India.

In the case of Sylhet, the Award denied Pakistan the adjoining Muslim majority districts of Goalpara, Cachar and Nowgong, besides three

thanas of Sylhet itself. Chittagong Hill Tracts was, however, given to Pakistan because "it was difficult to assign it to a State different from that which controlled the District of Chittagong itself".[21]

The Boundary Awards, masterpieces of gerrymandering, were published on 17 August 1947 and immediately sparked resentment and deep disappointment in Pakistan. The *Dawn* of 21 August described them as "territorial murder", protesting at the way "Pakistan has been cheated of large portions of the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet which inalienably belonged to it".[22] Jinnah shared the trauma felt by his countrymen but urged them to bear it with courage and fortitude:

> The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt we feel that the carving out of this great independent Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial but a political award, but we have agreed to abide by it.[23]

The unjust boundary demarcation compelled Pakistan to raise its voice in protest at the United Nations. Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, drew the attention of the international body to the dubious role played by Mountbatten in the partition of Punjab.[24] Mountbatten reacted strongly to the allegations and requested Prime Minister Attlee[25] and the Commonwealth Secretary Philip Noel-Baker[26] to "refute" these allegations.

Noel-Baker promptly wrote to Zafrullah Khan in the following rather minatory terms in order to dissuade him from casting aspersions on Mountbatten about a last minute alteration in the Radcliffe Award to the prejudice of Pakistan, and the failure of the Government of India to arrest Sikh leaders...

> I suggest that it would be most unwise and highly improper to introduce these allegations; unwise because we should certainly contest them; and improper because they would affect the honour and reputation of the King's Representative in India, who has no means of defending himself in public. I very much hope therefore that what we have been told about your intentions will turn out to be ill founded.[27]

Mountbatten was later informed by Ismay from London that after discussion with Attlee, he had gathered that "Zafrullah has dropped all the nonsense about the Boundary Commission".[28]

There was also a controversy over the timing of the announcement of the Boundary Awards. "Jinnah, Nehru and the Boundary Commission have all agreed that the work should be completed by 15 August and Sir Radcliffe has concurred", wrote Mountbatten on 11 July.[29] He was himself keen on the completion of the exercise by 10 August as

"the risk of disorder would be greatly increased if the awards were announced at the very last minute before 15 August".[30] The minutes of the Viceroy's Staff Meeting held on 9 August confirmed that Radcliffe would be ready to announce the Award of the Punjab Boundary Commission the same evening.[31]

According to Seervai, author of *The Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (1990), Mountbatten decided to withhold the awards until after 15 August for these reasons: (a) the controversial awards would mar the Independence Day celebrations;[32] (b) the adverse Congress reaction over the award of Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan might have "disastrous consequences for post-independence Indo-British relations";[33] and (c) their publication after 15 August would cause less pain and dismay, especially in Pakistan, and the British were likely to incur less odium as well.[34]

Mountbatten attempted, somewhat fecklessly, to clarify his position on the delayed announcement of the award in these words:

> The final Punjab Boundary Award was not completed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe until 13th August, as I was on the point of leaving for Karachi, to attend the Independence ceremonies there on the 14th, when it was submitted; and as the following day saw the Independence ceremonies in Delhi; I then held up the Award until I could discuss it with Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on 16th August.[35]

The views of Mountbatten's official biographer, Philip Ziegler, present him in a seemingly Machiavellian light:

> Mountbatten preferred falsehood to truth for his own glorification. And as Viceroy, Mountbatten did not reject as unworthy 'manipulation and even chicanery', that he considered 'sleight of hand' justified if he believed that the object to be achieved was a good one; and that though the lie direct was forbidden, the 'lie circumstantial' was permissible.[36]

[1]No. 29.
[2]Appendix I. 9.
[3]Appendix XII. 5, Vol. I, Part II, 498-500.
[4]Enclosure 2 to Appendix XII. 10, ibid., 505-10 and Appendix XII. 67, ibid., 581-5.
[5]Appendix XII. 37, ibid., 542-5.
[6]Appendices XII. 40, ibid., 549, & XII. 41, ibid., 550.
[7]See Introduction to Vol. II, xxiii.
[8]Appendix XII. 45, Vol. I, Part II, 554-5.
[9]Appendix XII. 53, ibid., 567-8.
[10]Appendix VII. 10, Vol. III, 978-9. Alastair Lamb concluded that "only if the three eastern tahsils of Gurdaspur were awarded to India by the Boundary Commission would the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India be a practical proposition, as opposed to a theoretically desirable one". See *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*, Karachi, 1992, 111.
[11]No. 335, *TP*, XII, 509. Also see Introduction to Vol. IV, xviii.
[12]Appendices I. 3 & I. 4.
[13]Appendix I. 3, note 1.
[14]Appendix I. 31.

[15]Appendix I. 34.
[16&17]See Appendix I. 35.
[18]Appendix XII. 53, Vol. I, Part II, 567-8.
[19]See map of notional and final boundaries in Bengal and Assam at the end of the volume.
[20]The *Statesman*, Delhi, 17 January 1950.
[21]See Annex II to No. 30.
[22]Appendix I. 17.
[23]See No. 175.
[24]Appendix I. 28.
[25]Appendix I. 25.
[26]Appendix I. 29.
[27]Appendix I. 27.
[28]Appendix I. 30.
[29]See Appendix VI. 2 , Vol. III, para 8, 943-4.
[30]See No. 200, *TP*, XII, 290.
[31]No. 389, *TP*, XII, 611.
[32]H. M. Seervai, *The Partition of India: Legend and Reality*, Bombay, 1990, 162.
[33]Appendix VI, para 11.
[34]Seervai, *The Partition of India*, 159.
[35]Appendix I. 32, para 7.
[36]Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten, The Official Biography*, London, 1985, 115-6. Also see Seervai, *The Partition of India*, 154.

I. 1

J. M. Short to Stafford Cripps

PRO, Cab 127/150[1]

NEW DELHI,
3 August 1947

My v[ery] dear Sir,

Forgive my delay to write. I will only say it [ha]s not been easy, and least of all for me. Your messages were conveyed.

[*Paras 2 to 5 omitted*]

6. But J[innah] has, I think, made his first major blunder—asking for the G(overnor) G(eneral)ship. This has certainly complicated the Sikh situation. Now he, and he alone, can draw them in: and then only by offering extravagantly generous terms. Of course that miracle may yet happen. That failing, the nature of the Boun[dary] Award will determine events. If it meets the least the Sikhs think fair, peace will reign—and prosper. If it does not, in ratio to the extent that it offends Sikh sentiment, peace will be a calm before a growing guerilla situation. For, unless it flagrantly offends Sikh feelings, I doubt an immediate really dangerous reaction. Except in one quarter. The armed forces massed to keep peace on the border. There, and not in the Sikh country, is, I feel, the powder magazine. I am v[ery] much alone in this

view. But I see no reason yet to depart from it. But come what may, the most delicate factor is the obstinate popular belief that Radcliffe will award as H.E. dictates. And this is a truly popular belief. Whatever any Indian may say to H.E., I living here, with Indians, am all too aware that nothing will shake their conviction that this is so. Which means—well, you will draw all the conclusions.

7. However, this is ■ temporary assessment. And necessarily based on instinct more than anything. I must not move about to test my antennae. So may be my next letter may say something different.

8. Meanwhile, I must stop. Am due to leave to see I[smay?] in 5 minutes. To try sum up my impressions—God blesses. Pray for us all. My love.

W[2].

PS. As you'll know by now, a K.C.[3] [King's Counsel] was not needed. The B.C. [Boundary Commission] procedure ruled it out.

W.

[1]Only an extract of this letter appears in No. 326, *TP*, XII, 492.
[2]Code-name (?) for Major John McLaughlin Short, Civilian Liaison Officer, Punjab. Also Personal Assistant to Stafford Cripps during Cabinet Mission.
[3]Baldev Singh had earlier asked Short to engage a King's Counsel to represent the Sikh case before the Boundary Commission. See No. 60, *TP*, XII, 78-9.

I. 2

Maharaja of Patiala to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

RANBIR VILLA PALACE, CHAIL,
7 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have before this had the pleasure of discussing[2] with you the boundary line of division in the Punjab when I took the opportunity of expressing what to my mind appeared to be the most reasonable solution of this difficult problem. The Commission has held its sittings in the Punjab and the decision of the Chairman will probably be put up to Your Excellency very shortly. Before this happens, I am anxious to apprise you once again of my views, more especially because I understand that both sides have put up claims before the Commission which appear to me to be irrational.

The claim for a sort of wedge into the Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] District consisting of the area beginning from Shahdara up to Toba Tek Singh cannot be justified because any boundary line with such wedges protruding beyond it is sure to prove most unsatisfactory. I think, therefore, that it would meet the just claim of the Sikhs if Okara, Dipalpur and part of Pakpattan and Montgomery [now Sahiwal] Tahsils are allowed to remain in the Eastern Punjab, and the rest of the area, which is contiguous to Pakistan, attached to it.

I should like to mention here the special claim of Okara tract in which I am interested particularly, because most of this area is inhabited by Sikh soldiers who fought in the last and the previous World War and in whose recruitment the Patiala State took great interest.

There is one area which has the greatest importance for the Sikh community and which they would value even more than anything else. I am referring to Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, the Founder of the Sikh faith. The Sikh sentiment about this place is so strong that it would be most dangerous to minimise it, as under no circumstances, can they be persuaded to allow this to go into foreign territory. I would, therefore, most strongly urge that this area should remain within the Eastern Punjab, even though this area juts straight across.

There are undoubtedly pockets in both Western and Eastern Punjab with predominantly non-Muslim and Muslim population, but it is impossible to connect them by means of corridors to either of them. Such an arrangement would be administratively wrong and even otherwise most undesirable. The areas should in both cases be determined by blocks so as to form a natural boundary as far as it is possible. But I feel that in due course of time transfer of population from predominantely non-Muslim inhabited areas in Pakistan and Muslim inhabited areas in Eastern Punjab would have to be undertaken to produce a satisfactory result. I have been advocating these views ever since this question has arisen, and I am strongly of opinion that to undergo this inconvenience in the beginning for a short while would be much better than to allow the whole thing to continue to simmer indefinitely and be a cause of trouble for ever.

As I have said before, I do not consider the claims put forward by both the parties before the Commission as justifiable, and I would not mind even if you told the Sikhs my opinion in this matter, if you are so inclined. But I would strongly urge that the boundary line should be so drawn as to satisfy the reasonable claims of the non-Muslims, and

this to my mind can be done in the manner I have suggested above.[3]

Yours sincerely,
YADAVINDRA SINGH

[1]No. 367, *TP*, XII, 563-4.
[2]No. 354, *TP*, X, paras 22-5, 685-6.
[3]On 12 August, Mountbatten replied: "The Boundary Commission is a judicial body,... and that I should not intervene in any way in the deliberations of the Commission. I am afraid, therefore, it has been quite impossible for me to consider handing on to the Boundary Commission the representation that Your Highness has made in your letter to me". See No. 441, *TP*, XII, 680. In an interview with Mountbatten in May 1947, Yadavindra Singh had threatened that "the Sikhs will fight" if the partition line went against their landed property, sacred buildings and interests. See No. 354, *TP*, X, para 25, 686.

I. 3

George Abell to S. E. Abbott

IOR, R/3/1/157

TOP SECRET *8 August 1947*

My dear Abbott,

I enclose a map[1] showing roughly the boundary which Sir Cyril Radcliffe proposes to demarcate in his award, and a note by Christopher Beaumont describing it.[2] There will not be any great changes from this boundary, but it will have to be accurately defined with reference to village and *zail* boundaries in Lahore District.

The award itself is expected within the next 48 hours, and I will let you know later about the probable time of announcement. Perhaps you would ring me up if H.E. the Governor has any views on this point.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. ABELL

[1]The map showed a boundary line, which included the whole of Ferozepore and Zira Tahsils in Pakistan. A secraphone message from Viceroy's House, Delhi, was received on "about the 10th or 11th August" to "Eliminate Salient". See Appendices I. 4 and I. 32. Also see No. 377,*TP*, XII, 579 and the map at the end of the volume. Although most of the papers of the Government House, Lahore, were destroyed by Abbott, this letter along with its enclosures was left with Mudie (Appendix I. 32). In view of these documents, the Pakistan Foreign Minister cited them as evidence that the Punjab Boundary Commission's Award had been finalized on 8 August 1947 and thereafter was "tampered to the great disadvantage of Pakistan" (Appendix I. 31). It may also be noted that Radcliffe had destroyed notes, drafts and papers of the Boundary Commission. See No. 377, *TP*, XII, note 1, 579. In reply to a question by Professor Z.H. Zaidi, at a seminar held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in 1967, Radcliffe reiterated that he had destroyed all the material.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 3
H. C. Beaumont to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

[PUNJAB BOUNDARY AWARD]

8 August 1947

Starting on the border of Kashmir State, the line will run down the Ujh River until its junction with the Ravi, leaving Chak Andhar in the East Punjab and Shakargarh Tahsil in the West Punjab. The line then follows the Ravi River as far as the Gurdaspur-Amritsar District boundary and proceeds along the Ravi to a point where it meets Lahore District. It then proceeds along the border of the Lahore-Amritsar District to a point north-west of the Bari Doab Canal, near Khalra, cuts across the Canal and proceeds diagonally across Kasur Tahsil to the Sutlej River, cutting the Kasur-Amritsar Railway between Kasur Tahsil and Khemkaran. In Kasur Tahsil the line will follow village boundaries and it is not yet possible to give exact details of these. The line follows the Sutlej River until its junction with the Beas and then follows the boundary of Zira and Ferozepore Tahsils until it again reaches the Sutlej, thereafter proceeding down the Sutlej to Bahawalpur State.

[H. C. BEAUMONT]

[1]*The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol. I, National Documentation Centre, Lahore, 1976, No. 198, 246-7.

I. 4

Minute by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/157

8 August 1947

I have been through this[1] with General Rees.[2] The upshot seems to be:

1. Gurdaspur less Shakargarh Tahsil goes East [Punjab].
Action:[3] to transfer Shakargarh Tahsil bodily to Sialkot District.
2. An unspecified number of villages of Lahore District go East.
Action: to transfer these villages as soon as defined from Lahore to Amritsar (Tarn Taran Tahsil).
3. *Ferozepore and Zira Tahsils go West* [Punjab].

Action: i. to transfer these Tahsils to Lahore District;
ii. to constitute new Eastern District (? at Moga) with Tahsils

Moga, Muktsar, Fazilka, and Sub-Tahsils Nathana and Abohar.

2. We must now (a)[4] get out information to Deputy Commissioners, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore and Ferozepore (also perhaps Gujranwala and Sheikhupura) and (b) get draft notifications ready with blank names; also (c) make our dispositions.

3. Conference with Inspector-General of Police and General Rees tomorrow 0845 hrs; General Rees knows. Please tell I.G. Police.

[EVAN JENKINS]

[1]Appendix I. 3.
[2]Commander, Punjab Boundary Force.
[3]Underlined or sidelined here and subsequently in the original.
[4]Marginal note by Jenkins reads "Can best be done by I.G. Police".

I. 5

Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

SECRET

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
9 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Mr. A. N. Khosla, Chairman, Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, has sent me a note[2] about the canal system in the Punjab. As he has been chiefly concerned with this system and knows all about it, I take it that his views have a certain value and importance. I am, therefore, sending this note to you. If you feel that this might be sent on to Sir Cyril Radcliffe, perhaps this might be done.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]No. 395, *TP*, XII, 618.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure[1] *to Appendix I. 5*
Note by A. N. Khosla

SECRET

8 August 1947

It is gathered that at the luncheon at Simla, Sir Cyril Radcliffe suggested to the four Judges the desirability of recommending joint

control of the canal system and electricity (presumably over the areas where this distribution is common to Pakistan and India). It is gathered that one or two of the Judges said that this did not form part of the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission and therefore, it was not within the jurisdiction of the Boundary Commission to take any action in that respect. Sir Cyril Radcliffe is understood to have inquired if the Judges will have any objection to this recommendation being entered as a recommendation only. The reply of the Judges to this is not known.

So far as the canal system in West Punjab is concerned, that serves exclusively the Pakistan area and, therefore, the question of joint control will not arise in their case; but the Upper Bari Doab Canal which runs through Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore districts will be irrigating areas both in East and West Punjab and even if Gurdaspur is given to East Punjab, it will still be doing irrigation in Lahore District, unless the whole of that district is given to East Punjab.

The next common system of canals is the Sutlej valley canals, taking the supplies from the joint waters of the Beas and the Sutlej. The first headworks of this system is at Ferozepore[2] from which irrigation water is taken to Bikaner. The second headworks is at Sulaimanki, which is also in Ferozepore district. According to notional division both these headworks would fall in East Punjab. It, however, appears that Sir Cyril Radcliffe's mind may be working in the direction of giving Ferozepore and Zira Tahsils having a small Muslim majority east of the Sutlej to Pakistan in return for giving Gurdaspur and part of Lahore District to East Punjab. That will be disastrous from the point of view of East Punjab and Bikaner State, from the irrigation point of view and disastrous to India as a whole from the strategic point of view, because the only line of defence, that is the Sutlej, will have been pierced by the bridge at Ferozepore and between this and Delhi there is no natural barrier. On the other hand, if Ferozepore and Sulaimanki remain in East Punjab according to the notional division and because they are Hindu majority areas, then the only point where the Sutlej could be crossed would be in Bahawalpur State adjoining Bikaner territory.

Both from the strategic and irrigation point of view, it will be most dangerous to let Ferozepore go to Pakistan. Whatever may be the decision about area west of [the] Sutlej, no area east of the Sutlej must on any account go to Pakistan.

The joint control of irrigation canals must on no account be accepted, even as a recommendation of the Boundary Commission—this aspect is outside the terms of their reference. Any acceptance, even in

a remote way, of joint control of the irrigation system will kill all hope of irrigation development in the Punjab. Even the construction of the Bhakhra Dam may be affected. Similarly no joint control of electricity must be accepted. I shall be glad to come for discussion, if there is any point to be clarified.

A. N. KHOSLA

[1]George Abell noted the following on this minute: "Your Excellency will find the enclosure to Pandit Nehru's letter interesting." The orders passed by the Viceroy on this minute are not available as the residual portion of the note-sheet has been cut and removed from the original. See *IOR*, R/3/1/157.

[2]The Ferozepore Headworks controlled irrigation water supplies in the ratio of 83 per cent in notional West Punjab, including Bahawalpur, and only 17 per cent in notional East Punjab and Bikaner. See Memorandum of Bahawalpur State on Irrigation Supplies, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol. II, 427.

I. 6

Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru

IOR, R/3/1/157

No. 1446/17 *10 August 1947*

Dear Mr. Nehru,

Thank you for your secret letter[1] of the 9th August about the irrigation system of the Punjab and the Boundary Commission's Award.

2. I hope you will agree that it is most important that I should not do anything to prejudice the independence of the Boundary Commission, and therefore, it would be wrong for me even to forward any memorandum, especially at this stage.[2]

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]Appendix I. 5.

[2]Nehru's reply to this letter meaningfully states: "I appreciate your viewpoint and in any event there is nothing more to be said about it". See Appendix I. 14.

I. 7

The Maharaja of Bikaner to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram[1]

10 August 1947

It is strongly rumoured that Boundary Commission is likely to award Ferozepore Tahsil to Western Punjab. This tahsil contains

Headworks of Bikaner Gang canal and under existing agreement State is entitled to receive for its perennial canal specified amount of water. Fear greatly that administration and regulation of this water exclusively by Western Punjab may gravely prejudice the interests of Bikaner State as its economic life is to very large extent dependent on water supply on Gang canal. Have every confidence that Your Excellency in finally arriving at decision on Award of Boundary Commission will be good enough to safeguard interests of Bikaner State especially as we as one of the parties to the Agreement were not consulted in arrangements that are being made. Request Your Excellency to very kindly give an opportunity to my Prime Minister and Chief Engineer Irrigation, to place facts before Your Excellency prior to final decision being arrived at. They are reaching Delhi on morning Monday eleventh.

MAHARAJA [OF] BIKANER

[1]No. 405, *TP*, XII, 638-9. No copy of this telegram has been traced either in the *Mountbatten Papers* or in the *India Office Records*. However, a telegram purporting to be the one sent by the Maharaja of Bikaner has been quoted by Kanwar Sain, Bikaner's Chief Engineer, Irrigation. See Kanwar Sain, *Reminiscences of an Engineer*, New Delhi, 1978, 119. For Mountbatten's reply to this telegram, see No. 427, *TP*, XII, 662. Sain adds that he saw Mountbatten with Sardar Panikkar (Bikaner's Prime Minister) on 11 August but Mountbatten declined to discuss the issue. Kanwar then told the Viceroy that he and Panikkar had been asked by the Maharaja to say that if Ferozepore Headworks and the Gang Canal were allocated to Pakistan, Bikaner would have no option but to join Pakistan. Sain observed "As I said this I could see a change in the colour of the face of Lord Mountbatten. He said nothing and we left His Excellency's room".

I. 8

Akbar Hydari to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

No.175-MSG *10 August 1947*

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL

Sylhet Boundary Commission. If I am in order please consider the following representation from my Government: The road to Cachar and Lushai Hills from Khasi Hills skirts northern fringe of Sylhet District. Unless we build an alternative route through difficult hilly country which will be expensive, this road is Assam's only present means of communication to these two districts. Assam should therefore under term "other factors" mentioned in terms of reference be allotted this road with a narrow strip on either side sufficient to enable road being kept in operation. This narrow strip of territory [is] inhabited predominantly by non-Muslims. My personal view is that this

road is so vital to Assam's communications that if Government's request is granted by Chairman of Boundary Commission, I would be able to persuade my Ministers to abate (group corrupted) their claims to some other parts of Sylhet District. Such concession would also I think assist growth of good feeling between Assam and East Bengal which it is in economic interests of both provinces to foster.[2]

[AKBAR HYDARI]

[1]No. 417,*TP*, XII, 647-8.

[2]On 11 August Mountbatten replied: "Radcliffe's Secretary has seen your telegram and it has been verified that Commission is fully seized of the point made by you on behalf of your Government". See Telegram 3329-S, *IOR*, R/3/1/157. Not printed.

I. 9

H. L. Ismay to Liaquat Ali Khan

IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL *11 August 1947*

My dear Mr. Liaquat,

I was dumbfounded to receive the private message[2] which you have sent me through Mohammed [Mohamad] Ali. As I understand it, the gist of the message is as follows:

1. Gurdaspur or a large portion of it has been given to East Punjab by the Award of the Boundary Commission. The report is that this is a political decision, and not a judicial one.
2. If this is so, it is a grave injustice which will amount to a breach of faith on the part of the British.

Before giving you my comments on these points, let me state the background as I see it.

a. The Viceroy has from the outset made it absolutely clear that he himself must have nothing to do either with arbitration of any kind or with the Boundary Commissions.
b. The Indian leaders themselves selected all the Boundary Commissions, drafted their terms of reference and undertook to implement the Award, whatever it might be.
c. The Viceroy has always been, and is determined to keep clear of the whole business. As I told you only last week, his reply to Sir Cyril Radcliffe's enquiry about the interpretation of a certain point in his terms of reference was that the Viceroy did not feel justified in even expressing a view.[3]

Thus, I am at a loss to know what action you wish me to take on your message. In the first place, I am told that the final report of

Sir Cyril Radcliffe is not yet ready, and therefore I do not know what grounds you have for saying that Gurdaspur has been allotted to the East Punjab.

Secondly, if this should be the case, you surely do not expect the Viceroy to suggest to Sir Cyril Radcliffe that he should make any alteration. Still less can I believe that you intend to imply that the Viceroy has influenced this Award. I am well aware that some uninformed sections of public opinion imagine that the Award will not be Sir Cyril Radcliffe's but the Viceroy's,[4] but I never for one moment thought that you, who are completely in the know, should ever imagine that he could do such a thing.

Yours very sincerely,
ISMAY

[1]No. 428, *TP*, XII, 662-3.
[2]No. 485, ibid., para 4, 732-3.
[3]Also see No.318, and its Enclosures, ibid., 483-4.
[4]No. 326, ibid., 492. Also see Appendix I. 1.

I. 10

Louis Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/157[1]

No.3366-S *12 August 1947*

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

It is now clear that the complete Awards for Punjab and Bengal will not be ready for publication till 15th evening or 16th morning.[2]

2. I have explained to Trivedi, who agrees, that the two Governments of East and West Punjab must take charge according to the notional boundaries on 15th and adjust later where necessary.[3]

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

[1]No. 446, *TP*, XII, 687.
[2]No. 436, ibid., 673-4.
[3]A similar telegram was sent by Mountbatten to Frederick Burrows explaining that the two Governments of East and West Bengal would have to take charge according to the notional boundaries on the 15th and adjust later where necessary. See Mountbatten to Burrows, 12 August 1947, Telegram No. 3365-8. Also see No. 446, *TP*, XII, note 2, 687.

I. 11

Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, L/PO/6/123[1]

MOST IMMEDIATE/PERSONAL NEW DELHI,
13 August 1947

A deputation of the Chittagong Hill Tribes saw me this morning and expressed to me their grave apprehension that their area was going to be included in East Bengal under the Boundary Commission Award. I am unaware of the source of their information, but they seemed to be well-convinced that this was going to happen. I have told them that the proposition was so monstrous that if it should happen they would be justified in resisting to the utmost of their power and count on our maximum support in such resistance.

2. Personally, I feel it is inconceivable that such a blatant and patent breach of terms of reference should be perpetrated by the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. We have all along felt that the future of this area was not at all in doubt. No fair reading of the terms of reference or appreciation of the factual position could make a ninety-seven per cent non-Muslim area a part of the award relating to the boundary of East Bengal. Such a decision would also jeopardise the position of the adjoining Tripura State which is a Hindu State with predominantly Hindu population, and which has acceded to the Indian Dominion and has joined the Union Constituent Assembly.

3. I, therefore, feel bound to draw your attention to the serious consequences which would follow such a manifestly unjust award. There is no doubt from the report of the Tribal Areas Committee[2] who collected unimpeachable evidence on the spot and whose views I represented to the Chairman of the Commission in a letter[3] (copy enclosed) which I sent to him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly, that the entire population of this area is in favour of remaining in the Indian Union.

4. Any award against the weight of local opinion and of the terms of reference, or without any referendum to ascertain the will of the people concerned must, therefore, be construed a collusive or partisan award and will have, therefore, to be repudiated by us. I make this statement with a full sense of responsibility as one who was party to the setting up of the Commission. But you cannot clearly expect us to submit to a proceeding which would be in violation of the basic conception underlying the Commission's terms of reference.

5. I must also point out that public reaction would wholly and overwhelmingly support us in such repudiation. Already there is considerable doubt whether they would get an impartial award under the novel and strange procedure adopted by the Chairman of not even hearing the arguments. Many persons have come and complained to me that he has rendered himself liable, by this means, to being influenced by circles in your Secretariat whose antipathies to India and sympathies with the League are well-known. The selection, as Secretary of the Commission, of one of the European officers of the Punjab, who are generally associated in public mind with pro-League sympathies, had not mended matters. I have generally adopted an indifferent attitude to these complaints, but if the award confirms the worst fears entertained by the public, it is impossible for me to predict the volume of bitterness and rancour which would be let loose and I am certain that this will create a situation which both you and I may have to regret.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL

[1]No. 452, *TP*, XII, 691-2.
[2]This committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel had been appointed by the Indian Constituent Assembly to deal with areas enjoying special status such as the tribal areas. See No. 99, Vol. I, Part I, 195.
[3]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix I. 11

Copy of letter No. CA/38/COM/47, dated the 25th July, 1947, from the Chairman, Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, Tribal and Excluded Areas, Constituent Assembly of India, Council House, New Delhi, to the Chairman, the Bengal Boundary Commission, Calcutta.

Subject: Chittagong Hill Tracts

I have the honour to address you on behalf of the Advisory Committee set up in pursuance of paragraph 20 of the Statement of the 16th May 1946[1] by the Constituent Assembly of India. A Sub-Committee was set up by the Advisory Committee to report on a scheme of administration for the Excluded Areas. This Sub-Committee visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is an Excluded Area, in April 1947 and took the evidence of local officials, non-officials and associations who were interested in the future administration of the area. The Sub-Committee have recently considered the future administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and although they are not in a position to send

their complete report yet, they have pointed out that the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were unanimously against the Tracts forming a part of Bengal (as it then was) and that in view of the predominantly non-Muslim character of its population the area should in no circumstances be included in East Bengal. They have also pointed out that the Tracts adjoin and form part of the Lushai Hills of Assam and that communications exist between them.

2. I have the honour to bring the views of the Sub-Committee on behalf of the Advisory Committee to your notice and to say that I am fully in agreement with them. A copy of the evidence recorded by the Sub-Committee is enclosed herewith.[2]

[1]Appendix III. 1, Vol. I, Part II, para 20, 41.
[2]Not printed.

I. 12

Louis Mountbatten to Frederick Burrows[1] and Evan Jenkins
(Repeated to Walter Christie)

Telegram, IOR, R/1/3/157[2]

MOST IMMEDIATE
By Telephone

CAMP KARACHI,
13 August 1947

No. 2907-S. No objection to your announcing that since the Award of the Boundary Commission is unlikely to be *ready for publication before 16 August*[3] the Governments of East and West Bengal/Punjab will take charge up to the notional repeat notional boundary pending publication and implementation of the Award.

(For J. P. S. V. only: Please make similar announcement in Delhi after securing concurrence of Pandit Nehru. Pakistan Government have agreed).[4]

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

[1]Governor of Bengal.
[2]No. 453, *TP*, XII, 693.
[3]Emphasis in the original.
[4]Walter Christie, Joint Private Secretary to Viceroy, noted on 14 August "Pandit Nehru agrees". See *IOR*, R/3/1/157. Not printed.

I. 13

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

IOR, R/3/1/157

No. 1446/17 *13 August 1947*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am advised that Sir Cyril Radcliffe is sending me the Award of the Boundary Commission in the course of today, but that it cannot arrive before I leave for Karachi. At present, therefore, I have no idea of its contents.

It had been my intention to publish the Award in a *Gazette Extraordinary* as soon as it was received and the maps reproduced; but, to judge from reports I have heard and the messages[1] I have received from leaders in both India and Pakistan, there is such apprehension about the nature of the findings that I do not feel that it should be published without an opportunity being given for a discussion of them between duly authorised representatives of India and Pakistan. The object of such a discussion would be:

a. to decide upon the timing and method of publication; and

b. to decide the method of implementing the undertaking of the Partition Council to accept the Award and to enforce the decisions contained in it.

The meeting would also, if both parties wished, provide an opportunity for discussing any mutual adjustments in the boundaries by agreement.

I, therefore, see nothing for it but to ask if you will be so good as to send a ministerial representative or representatives to Delhi, with a view to a meeting as early as possible on the morning of Saturday, the 16th August. By that time, copies of the Award and of the maps will, I hope, have been reproduced. These will be tabled at the meeting.[2]

I am very ready to place Government House (as Viceroy's House is being renamed) at your disposal for the meeting. It would, of course, be impossible for me to preside, and I think, undesirable for me to be even present at the meeting: but if both parties should wish to consult me, I shall be available.

I have undertaken to go to Bombay on the 17th for 24 hours to bid farewell to the first contingent of British Troops, and will have to leave in the early morning.

I ought to add that the Governors of Bengal and the Punjab have been informed[3] that the Governments of the two halves of each Province will be responsible for all territory up to the notional boundaries

from the 15th August until the Award is published[4] and implemented.

I have written a similar letter to Pandit Nehru.[5] I would gladly put your representative up at Government House.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]See Appendices I. 5, I. 9 & I. 11.
[2]In an identical letter to Nehru, Mountbatten added here: "I will let you know if Mr. Jinnah agrees on my return from Karachi tomorrow". In a telegram on 13 August from Karachi Abell informed Ismay at New Delhi: "Liaquat has agreed to fly to Delhi for meeting on 16th". See No. 454, *TP*, XII, 693-4.
[3]Appendix I. 12.
[4]The Awards were published in the *Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 17 August 1947. See No. 30.
[5]No. 454, *TP*, XII, 693-4.

I. 14

Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
13 August 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated the 10th August[1] about the note[2] which I sent regarding the irrigation system of the Punjab. I appreciate your viewpoint and in any event there is nothing more to be said about it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]Appendix I. 6.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix I. 5.

I. 15

Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel

Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/117[1]

IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI,
14 August 1947

No. 3408-S. A crisis has arisen over Awards of the Boundary Com-

missions. I am reporting in full in my weekly report[2] the history of events which have led up to the present situation. In the meantime it is essential that H.M.G. should be in possession of outline of facts of the case, which are as follows:

2. I personally have scrupulously avoided all connection with Boundary Commissions, including interpretation of their terms of reference and putting before them the various points of view forwarded to me.

3. The leaders representing the two future Governments themselves

a. selected personnel of Commissions, including Radcliffe;[3]

b. laid down terms of reference;[4]

c. agreed inclusion of sub-clauses 3(4) and 4(3) of the Indian Independence Bill which made Chairman's decision binding;[5]

d. issued a statement[6] from Partition Council pledging themselves to accept Awards of Commissions whatever these might be: and, as soon as Awards were announced, to enforce them impartially.

4. On 11th August Ismay received a verbal message from Liaquat to the effect that Gurdaspur, or a large portion of it, had been given to East Punjab by Boundary Commission; that it was reported that this was a political decision and not a judicial one; and that, if it was true, it was a grave injustice which would amount to a breach of faith on the part of the British.

5. In his answer[7] Ismay pointed out that Award had not yet been sent in and emphasised the points mentioned in paras 2 and 3 of this telegram.

6. Radcliffe sent in the Bengal Award on 12th August. This contained the allocation of Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan and I was warned that there would be serious reactions amongst Congress leaders at this.

7. On 13th I received a letter[8] from Patel, who had seen a deputation of Chittagong Hill Tribes and told them that the proposition that Chittagong Hill Tracts might be included in Pakistan was so monstrous that if it should happen they would be justified in resisting to utmost of their power and [? could] count on his maximum support in such relations [? resistance]. He adds that any award against weight of local opinion and of terms of reference, or without any referendum to ascertain will of people concerned must, therefore, be considered a collusive or partisan award and will have to be repudiated.

8. I have taken following action:

a. I have decided not to publish Awards myself;

b. I have told Governors concerned that new Provinces must carry on notional partition boundaries on 15th and until Awards are published and implemented;[9]

c. I have arranged a meeting[10] of representatives of the two Governments on the (? work) in order:
i. to decide upon timing and method of publication and
ii. to decide method of implementing undertaking of Partition Council to accept Award and to enforce decisions contained in it.

9. My next telegram contains a summary of Boundary Commission's award.[11]

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

[1]No. 485, *TP*, XII, 732-3.
[2]See Appendix VI, paras 8-18. Also see No. 489, *TP*, XII, 757-76.
[3]See Enclosure to No. 100, item 2, No. 164, No. 224 and Appendix X. 3, paras 10-1, Vol. II, 182, 340-1, 436-7 and 946-7, respectively. Also see No. 128, *TP*, XI, 241-2.
[4]No. 312, Vol. II, 595-8. Also see No. 311, *TP*, XI, 580-3.
[5]Enclosure to No. 117, Vol. III, 307-8. Also see No. 52, *TP*, XII, 63-4.
[6]See Annex to Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, 960-2.
[7]Appendix I. 9.
[8]Appendix I. 11.
[9]Appendix I. 12.
[10]Appendix I. 13.
[11]See No. 30.

I. 16

THE AWARD[1]

19 August 1947

The one-man Boundary Commission has at long last given its Award. Referring in these columns to the way the Commission was functioning, we had suggested that it was nothing more than a hoax perpetrated on the Muslims of India. We had repeatedly demanded that the delimitation of the frontiers between the States of Pakistan and Hindustan should be strictly on the basis of contiguous Muslim majority areas and any concessions of territory on the basis of "other factors" should be reciprocal and by the mutual consent of the two parties concerned. This alone could have guaranteed justice to both sides. Instead a British lawyer sat in judgement and played at the jig-saw puzzles of tahsils, *thanas* and villages and as a result we see that all the influence he could get up on the basis of "other factors" has militated against the Muslims, when in view of the fact that Pakistan was the smaller and the poorer State it should have been otherwise. Despite the claims of its author, we hold that the Award is most unfair and unjust and certainly not the "non-political" Award of a detached judge.

Our most exaggerated fears regarding the danger of British efforts to placate the unreasonable demands of the Sikhs backed up by the

land-grabbing leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress have proved to be true. In the Punjab the notional division had been unfair but the final Award has gone much further and hacked off some of our richest tracts of land. The blow has been the hardest in Gurdaspur District where the two Muslim Tahsils of Gurdaspur and Batala with a Muslim majority of 52.1 and 55.06%, respectively, have been thrown into Hindustan along with the Pathankot Tahsil, taking away from Pakistan the rich Muslim industrial town of Batala. A part of Lahore District has also been broken off and Radcliffe has gone to the trouble of drawing a village to village boundary. But the Ajnala Tahsil of the Amritsar District contiguous to the district of Lahore with a 60% Muslim majority has been completely forgotten. The Tahsils of Zira and Ferozepore with a clear Muslim majority contiguous to West Punjab have been dismissed with talk of "disruption of communications". Even mention is not made of the Tahsils of Jullundur and Nakodar.

We notice that where the Muslim right to non-Muslim territory on grounds of "other factors" was fully established as, for instance, over certain canal headworks this brilliant lawyer has suggested joint control and we fail to see why similar joint control could not have worked for the non-Muslims. In the division of Bengal and Assam, again the "other factors" have worked against Pakistan. The most glaring injustice is over the division of Assam where large Muslim majority parts of the province were not even considered for cessation [*sic*] to Pakistan because they did not adjoin the district of Sylhet but were contiguous only to Eastern Bengal. This legal quibbling, fallacious arguments and principles which work only to the benefit of one party have thus deprived us of large parts which by right and any conceivable principle belong to Pakistan. Ever since Pakistan became absolutely unavoidable, the British have endeavoured to make its establishment as difficult as possible and this is but one more step in their policy to placate the powerful capitalists of Hindustan. Through the device of "other factors" they have done so at the cost of Muslim interests.

The division of the Punjab and the introduction of the clause of "other factors" in this division was supposed to benefit the Sikhs. The final line, however, while it has taken away a lot from the Muslims, has done little for the Sikhs. They still remain more or less equally divided between Pakistan and India, their shrines for which so much noise was made in India and in London still remain in Pakistan. The British politicians probably hope that they will even after the handing over of power in India continue to fish in troubled waters or they may hope that the State of Pakistan weakened sufficiently will remain for ever dependent on the goodwill and help of the combination of British

and Hindu capitalism. Whatever their motives, the Award is wrong, unfair and unjust and we cannot help hoping for the day, however far off it may be, when a return to sanity on the other side of the border will see this wrong righted.

The Muslim people through their accredited leader were pledged to accept the Award. Bad as it is we do so and unlike other communities we do not threaten to use the argument of "cold steel". Our foremost need is peace, peace to build up our land, to rehabilitate those of our brothers who seek refuge within our border from the East, peace to implement plans for the social and economic regeneration of our country and its people. With every attempt of the British or the leaders of Hindustan to force us to give up our newly won homeland, our determination becomes fiercer to build Pakistan into a strong prosperous State which will be fully independent and sovereign. This is the challenge of today. By building up a strong State we can foil whatever designs the old or new imperialism may have on our country.

In a sense the real battle for Pakistan has begun only now. The Muslim people have no alternative but to accept the challenge and devote themselves whole-heartedly to the task of building up their homeland. The choice before us is either to allow our heritage to be mortgaged to a bigger power or to make even greater sacrifices than we have done before to keep ourselves free and independent and this task calls for all the courage and steadfastness, all the ability and hard work we are capable of.

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 19 August 1947.

I. 17

TERRITORIAL MURDER[1]

21 August 1947

The decisions of the Boundary Commission announced on Sunday came for Pakistan like a bolt from the blue. They represent the Award of only one man, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the Chairman, and they prove the folly of trusting to the sense of justice of a single individual. The Muslim nation has been betrayed by the very trustfulness of its leaders; Pakistan has been cheated of large areas in the Punjab, Bengal and the district of Sylhet which inalienably belonged to it.

To describe the three reports which Sir Cyril Radcliffe has submitted as judicious awards is to insult the very name of justice. Even a cursory glance at them shows that these reports have been drafted in

the most cavalier fashion and do not possess the essential characteristics of a legal judgement. A judge analyses evidence tendered before him and gives reasons for his findings. Sir Cyril Radcliffe has not considered it necessary to follow that procedure. Indeed, wherever he has attempted to explain some of his decisions, he has become involved in contradictions, following one principle in Bengal and another in the Punjab. We shall in due course analyse in greater detail such arguments as he has here and there condescended to advance, but the most glaring contradictions and flagrant departures from the basic principles of contiguous majority areas are apparent even on ■ casual reading.

In awarding the whole of the Murshidabad district and best part of Nadia district in Bengal to West Bengal, although these areas have a preponderant Muslim majority, Sir Cyril Radcliffe has taken into account only what he calls the indispensable territorial needs of Calcutta. He does not care to elucidate what these needs are and wherein lies their indispensability to Calcutta. Nor does he explain why, even if Calcutta needed them, so many lakhs of Muslims must be deprived of their own nationality. In the same way two other Muslim majority districts of North Bengal already included in Pakistan under the notional division are heavily partitioned and their greater parts given to West Bengal in return for ■ negligible strip from Jalpaiguri. In the case of Sylhet, the existence of a non-Muslim majority in some of the north-eastern *thanas* of the district turns the scales in Sir Cyril's view in favour of Assam while the claim of East Bengal to the Hailakandi subdivision of Cachar district, which even he admits to be preponderantly Muslim, is rejected merely to provide communication between the small non-Muslim majority area of Cachar and the rest of Assam through the rail-head at Badarpur which is itself in a heavily Muslim majority area. The same inconsistencies are apparent in the report on the Punjab where four tahsils are taken away from notional western Punjab without awarding it an inch of territory in return. Thus, ignoring again the basic factor of contiguous Muslim majority, some of the richest areas in the Punjab are filched from Pakistan.

We reserve further detailed comments but we repeat that this is an unjust Award, a biased decision, an act of shameful partiality by one who had been trusted to be fair, because he was "neutral". It was under the impression that this eminent British lawyer whom they have selected for this responsible task affecting the territorial rights of a sovereign nation would be fair and just that Pakistan's representatives in the provisional Government had undertaken to accept his Award. We maintain that the person so chosen and so trusted having

proved either unequal or unworthy of the task entrusted to him. The present Government of Pakistan is not bound by the previous undertaking. Let us make it perfectly clear that even if the Government accepts this territorial murder of Pakistan which is miscalled a judicial award, the people will not.

[1]Editorial, *Dawn*, 21 August 1947.

I. 18

Cyril Radcliffe to Arthur Henderson[1]

IOR, R/3/1/157

SQUIRE'S MOUNT,
HAMPSTEAD,
[LONDON] N.W.3,
21 August 1947

My dear Minister,

Now that I have completed my task as Chairman of the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions, I would be very grateful for I might have the assistance of your department in winding up outstanding matters in connection with my remuneration and expenses.

When I accepted the Chairmanship of these two Commissions, it was agreed that I should be remunerated at the rate of, I think, £4,000 per annum, with a minimum of £1,000 in any event, and that I should receive in addition to a tax-free allowance of £2,000 towards expenses with a minimum of £1,000 in any event.

I have not, in fact, drawn anything in respect of remuneration. I came to the conclusion at an early date that my post was one which I should prefer to regard as being an unpaid one and subsequent events have tended to confirm me in this view. I did not raise the matter while I was in India, but it is my desire that I should be enabled formally to relinquish any claim to salary or remuneration for my services as Chairman and I would be much obliged if the necessary communication could be made by your department to the Partition Office in New Delhi to this effect.

As to the expenses, the figure of £1,000 proved to be greatly in excess of what I required under the conditions under which I was working. I drew £100 from the Partition Office towards expenses, but I was also drawing upon my own funds while I was in India. I think that another £100, which I should like to have paid to me in London

would cover my expenses and my wish is to waive any further claim in respect of the balance of the £1000 remaining undrawn. In this matter, too, I would be much obliged if I might ask your department to take up the subject with the authorities in India and ask them to transmit another £100 but to regard the remainder of the account as closed.

I hope that these requests will not cause too much trouble; I was working under great pressure until almost my last day in India and I had no time to clear up this aspect of my personal affairs with the Partition Office.

Yours sincerely,
CYRIL RADCLIFFE

[1]Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India and Burma.

I. 19

COMMENTS ON BOUNDARY COMMISSION AWARDS BY SOME MINISTERS AND POLITICAL LEADERS[1]

LAHORE, Aug. 19: Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communications Minister: "It is extremely unfair and unjust to Pakistan. We believe it is parting kick of the British."

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Agriculture Minister: "The Award is disgusting and unfair, given by a British judge. The decision may not persuade Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth. Considering the whole-sale slaughter (of Muslims) going on in some Hindu States, we have not started well with this division."

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Commerce Minister: "The Award was not based on principles and was a violence against the principles of majority, particularly in awarding the three rich tahsils of Gurdaspur to India."

Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Minister of Revenue, West Punjab: "The Award is a deliberate perversity of justice. It has clearly shown whose real friends the British are. It is an attempt to weaken Pakistan to such an extent that the country is forced to remain with the British empire (?). This last act of treachery of the British would produce a reaction definitely to the contrary."

Begum Shah Nawaz, Member, Constituent Assembly: "The Award is most unfair and unjust as predominently Muslim majority areas had been handed over to India. The British have gone back on their words."

Mr. Hassan Ispahani, Bengal ML leader: "The Award is abomi-

nable. It violates the fundamental and accepted principles of contiguous majority areas. It is devoid of justice and the Muslims have again been the sufferers."

Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha, leader of the Christian community in Pakistan: "It is a one-sided Award. The democratic principles of contiguity of majority areas have been completely overlooked. It is most unfair to Pakistan."

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1947.

I. 20

THE BENGAL AWARD[1]

24 August 1947

Congress reactions to the so-called judicial Award of Sir Cyril Radcliffe regarding the partition of Bengal are ample proof that it has been advantageous to Hindustan even beyond the expectation of the Hindus. Adepts as they are in the art of propaganda they were not expected to crow over their gains and thus give themselves and their good friend the British K.C. [King's Counsel] away. What surprises us, however, is that the Bengal Premier, Khwaja Nazimuddin, should have been in such hurry to ask the Bengal Muslims to accept "contentedly" the grave injustice which has been done to them. That the West Bengal Premier should make such an appeal to his community is understandable because he has now been enabled to extend the jurisdiction of his Government over much larger territory than he had hoped for. Khwaja Nazimuddin appears to be among the blessed who are easily contended.

The effect of Sir Cyril Radcliffe's Bengal Award is that the entire district of Murshidabad with an area of 2,063 square miles and a population of 927,747 Muslims out of a total of 1,640,530 has been completely handed over to Hindustan. Four other districts, namely, Nadia, Jessore, Dinajpore and Malda, have also been divided between Eastern and Western Bengal. Only 11 1/2 *thanas* of Nadia are assigned to East Bengal, although in the case of Jessore, the truncation has been less harsh. Nevertheless, two important and populous *thanas* go to the West. Of Dinajpore as many as 9 1/2 *thanas* are given to West Bengal, while only five *thanas* of Malda are assigned to East Bengal. Thus, approximately 6,000 square miles of territory which had been assigned notionally to East Bengal have been ruthlessly severed from it and handed over to West Bengal, while over 3,500,000 Muslims have been

similarly robbed of their inheritance of Pakistan and considerable loss of population has been inflicted on the Muslim State.

NO COMPENSATION

It is preposterous to suggest that the inclusion in East Bengal of Khulna and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, together with an infinitesimal area of Jalpaiguri is ample compensation for the losses which East Bengal suffers. It was initially unfair to allot Khulna even notionally to West Bengal, and in any event, on the basis of contiguous majority, more than two-thirds of this district would have automatically formed part of East Bengal. As regards the Chittagong Hill Tracts there was no option for Sir Cyril Radcliffe but to include it in East Bengal because of its geographical position. It just could not be placed anywhere else quite apart from other important considerations.

An analysis of the Bengal Award based merely on the districts specifically mentioned in the Chairman's report and allotted wholly to or divided between the two parts of Bengal will, however, be most misleading. There are other areas contiguous to Muslim majority districts which had been notionally included in West Bengal where Muslims are in a majority. For instance, in the district of 24-Parganas there are a number of *thanas* in which Muslims preponderate. Muslims took it for granted that these areas would be automatically assigned to East Bengal. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, however, makes no mention whatever of these important tracts of territory. Then there was the case of Greater Calcutta which Hindu propaganda has constantly but erroneously described as a predominantly Hindu area. Counting the very numerous body of Scheduled Castes as Hindus the city as a whole may be regarded as non-Muslim, but when the so-called non-Muslim pockets in Malda and Dinajpore were being given special consideration and these two districts were being partitioned on that account, why did Sir Cyril Radcliffe disregard the facts and figures produced by the Calcutta Muslim League, according to which Muslims are in a majority in certain parts of Calcutta and its suburbs which are also contiguous to the Muslim majority areas of 24-Parganas?

CURIOUS REASONING

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, we are told, is a lawyer of distinction. If so, he must have left all his legal talents behind in his native country before coming over to undertake the sacred task that he was called upon to perform. His report is replete with legal monstrosities, curious reasoning and more often than not it is conspicuous for the absence of any reasoning at all. That particular part of his Bengal report where he catalogues a number of what he calls "certain basic questions" will

long remain the joke of jurists. Says he:

"In my view, the demarcation of a boundary line between East and West Bengal depended on the answers to be given to certain basic questions which may be stated as follows:

a. To which State was the City of Calcutta to be assigned, or was it possible to adopt any method of dividing the City between the two States?
b. If the City of Calcutta must be assigned as a whole to one or other of the States, what were its indispensable claims to the control of territory, such as all or part of the Nadia River system or the Kulti rivers, upon which the life of Calcutta as a city and port depended?
c. Could the attractions of the Ganges-Padma-Madhumati River line displace the strong claims of the heavy concentration of Muslim majorities in the districts of Jessore and Nadia without doing too great a violence to the principle of our terms of reference?
d. Could the district of Khulna usefully be held by a State different from that which held the district of Jessore?
e. Was it right to assign to Eastern Bengal the considerable block of non-Muslim majorities in the districts of Malda and Dinajpur?
f. Which State's claim ought to prevail in respect of the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, in which the Muslim population amounted to 2.42 per cent of the whole in the case of Darjeeling, and to 23.08 per cent of the whole in the case of Jalpaiguri, but which constituted an area not in any natural sense contiguous to another non-Muslim area of Bengal?
g. To which State should the Chittagong Hill Tracts be assigned, an area in which the Muslim population was only 3 per cent of the whole, but which it was difficult to assign to a State different from that which controlled the district of Chittagong itself?"

One should have expected after this imposing array of questions, which in legal procedure is known as "the framing of issues" that the "Judge" would proceed to analyse the issues and argue out his findings and conclusions on each of them. But what does this "eminent" K.C., this "neutral" arbiter of the fate of millions of people do? He snaps his fingers at time-honoured judicial practice, he almost visibly mocks justice itself and quietly proceeds to pronounce judgement keeping to himself his reasons, good, bad or indifferent. Apparently the answer to his first question is to be taken as in the affirmative but he

disdains to explain why Calcutta had necessarily to be awarded to West Bengal. Assuming that his decision on this point is correct, why must so much importance be attached to what he calls Calcutta's "indispensable claims to the control of territory". If, because of the Nadia River system or the Kulti Rivers, "upon which the life of Calcutta as a city and port depended", he would disregard what he himself admits to be the strong claims of the heavy concentration of Muslim majorities in the districts of Jessore and Nadia, why was he so punctilious about similar water systems in the Punjab? Sir Cyril thinks that "this transfer of heavy and contiguous Muslim population from the East to West does not do too great a violence to the principle of our terms of reference"—which is in itself an admission that violence has been committed to that principle although in his view it may not be "too great". In the case of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri he parades the small percentage of Muslim population in justification for the award of these districts to West Bengal, thereby doing violence to the other fundamental principle of contiguity. The effect of his Award is that these two districts are just left nowhere although they may technically form part of West Bengal. According to his terms of reference and consistently with his own reasoning elsewhere, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri should have been automatically transferred to East Bengal with which they are contiguous. Presumably, Sir Cyril Radcliffe has been influenced by the fact that these districts adjoin the province of Bihar on the one hand and the province of Assam on the other. In other words, he has cast his eyes beyond the frontiers of Bengal which he was not entitled to do under his terms of reference.

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

As regards the Chittagong Hill Tracts, its award to East Bengal was, as we have said, dictated not by any desire to assist this province of Pakistan but by the physical absurdity of doing anything else with it. Sir Cyril himself rather pathetically admits his helplessness to make a gift of it to West Bengal when he says "it was difficult to assign it to a State different from that which controlled the district of Chittagong itself". We notice that a great outcry has been raised from Congress quarters in Delhi who put forward the absurd argument that the Boundary Commission had no authority to deal with the Chittagong Hill Tracts at all. We would ask them to look up relevant records and they will find that this district was one of old Bengal's 27 and had been always administered as part and parcel of that province. We have still to learn that excluded or partially excluded areas within long established and recognized provincial boundaries were not parts of British India and of the British Indian province within which they fell, but

were territories suspended in the void belonging as if to nobody. It is obvious that the Congress had to find some focus for loudly condemning the Award in order to divert attention from its partiality to Hindustan and it has accordingly seized upon this issue. It goes without saying that the Government of Pakistan who have been deprived of so much of their legitimate territory and of so many of their *bona fide* nationals, will not for a moment, entertain any trumped up claim on this sparsely populated 5,000 square miles of jungle which, however, has its uses.

[1]Editorial, *Dawn*, 24 August 1947.

I. 21

RAPE OF THE PUNJAB[1]

27 August 1947

We have already analysed in some detail Sir Cyril Radcliffe's Award in respect of the partition of Bengal.[2] An analysis of some relevant facts and figures concerning the Punjab shows that if this "neutral" Chairman of the Boundary Commission has been unfair to East Bengal he has been even more so to West Punjab. The notional division has done to Punjab the same grave injustice as it had done to Bengal and it was taken for granted that the final delimitation of boundary would make a fairer adjustment. Sir Cyril Radcliffe has done exactly the opposite. His one aim seems to have been to discover how much he could give away from the West to the East, in other words, to what further extent he could still further truncate Pakistan. Out of four tahsils of the Gurdaspur District he has awarded three to East Punjab and he had divided two out of Lahore's three tahsils between the two parts of the Punjab. One has only to look at the population statistics of these five tahsils community-wise, to understand the gross injustice and the perversity of his decisions.

In the Gurdaspur Tahsil Muslims number 171,498, while Hindus and Sikhs together number 133,674 [133,976][3]. In the Batala Tahsil Muslims are 207,271 [209,277] while Hindus and Sikhs are 149,846 [145,785]. In the Pathankot Tahsil, the Muslim majority over the combined Hindu-Sikh total is: 149,600 [*sic*] to 86,800. Coming to the other divided District Lahore, we find that in the Kasur Tahsil Muslims are 237,038 [172,724] as against 158,031 [139,261] Hindus and Sikhs; while in the Chunian Tahsil the Muslim majority is 237,829 [119,690] to 140,110 [76,512]. And yet Sir Cyril Radcliffe has no hesitation in trans-

ferring these large tracts of territory in the two districts, representing some 2,300 square miles of most fertile land from West Punjab to East Punjab.

However carefully one reads his report one discovers not a shred of argument which may explain this strange decision, this flagrant departure from the basic principle of contiguous majority, this violence to explicit terms of reference. All that Sir Cyril Radcliffe cares to say is that "after weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, *I have come to the decision set out in the schedule". What other factors has he weighed? For what reason or reasons did these unmentioned factors appear to him to be so relevant as to justify violence to the fundamental basis of contiguous majority?*[4] Sir Cyril Radcliffe is no longer in this country to be encountered and questioned on these points. After having written his report and drawn lines higgledy-piggledy across the map of the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet, this "eminent" K.C. has departed the scene of his judicial aberrations. But his sketchy, unconvincing and uncommunicative report remains to mock those who had trusted all their eggs into the single Radcliffe basket.

To return to our analysis, while on the one hand five Muslim majority tahsils of the notional West are either entirely or in part given away to the East in spite of their Muslim majorities, not a single tahsil or part of tahsil containing heavy Muslim majorities and satisfying the principle of contiguity is transferred in the reverse direction. Here again a few facts and figures will show what a monstrous Award it is. The Ferozepore Tahsil has 160,371 Muslims as against 123,387 [113,139] Hindus and Sikhs, the Zira Tahsil shows a Muslim majority of 137,563 [137,586] over 69,073 [61,871] Hindus and Sikhs. In the Amritsar District the Ajnala Tahsil has a Muslim population of 130,939 [140,939] as against 83,401 [81,201] Hindus and Sikhs. In the Nakodar Tahsil of Jullundur District Muslims number 135,918 as against 91,803 [72,306] Hindus and Sikhs. These tahsils as well as other areas of varying sizes form a contiguous belt with the Muslim majority areas in Western Punjab. But here, the "neutral" gentleman from the British Bar refuses to delimit the boundary tahsil-wise. When it was a question of giving territory away from Muslims to non-Muslims, the tahsil became important, when the following of the same principle would have resulted in taking certain areas away from East Punjab as notionally divided and giving them to the Muslims, the principle itself was discarded. All that the author of the report has to say is that "he had hesitated long over these not unconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River in which Muslim majorities are found, but on the whole, I have

come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities".

The italics are ours and the words we have so printed speak volumes of the mentality and the inconsistency of the man who was called out as an expert to settle such an important territorial issue in this sub-continent. Can anyone explain what Sir Cyril Radcliffe means by "on the whole"? Can anyone even guess what were the more weighty reasons in favour of consigning the admitted Muslim majorities to Hindustan, which cancelled out the less weighty reasons in favour of their being transferred to Pakistan? Sir Cyril Radcliffe merely hints by the words "on the whole" that such a balancing of arguments did take place in his mind, but he has such obvious contempt for the intelligence of the public here that he would not tell them what these reasons for and against might have been. In the Punjab he professes concern for railway and water systems, but in Bengal he does not hesitate to disrupt railway communications and also North Bengal's water system by awarding Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri to West Bengal.

Indeed the more one studies Sir Cyril Radcliffe's report and examines his Award, the more one wonders what "other factors" of subsequent creation came into play in connection with this boundary business, turning a trusted judge into a partisan....[5] People of course, are entitled to their guesses.

[1]Editorial, *Dawn*, 27 August 1947.
[2]Appendix I. 20.
[3]The square brackets here and subsequently indicate figures obtained from *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol. III.
[4]Underlined in the original.
[5]Comment omitted.

I. 22

Louis Mountbatten to Cyril Radcliffe

IOR, R/3/1/157

NO.1446/17 GOVERNMENT HOUSE, [NEW] DELHI,
18 September 1947

My dear Radcliffe,

Ever since you left I have been trying to find time to write and

thank you most sincerely for the way in which you carried out your thankless task as Chairman of the Boundary Commissions, but, as you will have seen from the papers, things have been far from quiet out here in the last month and I have hardly had time yet to relax as a proper constitutional Governor-General.

2. But I do want you to know how much I appreciated your public spirited action in coming out to India to a task which, by the very nature of things, you must have known would bring you no thanks and little credit from either side. I am sure the answer you produced was as fair ■ one as could be given in the circumstances and I think that in the years to come this will be recognized.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. We are having a rather difficult time out here at present but the Central Government is gripping the situation well and I believe we shall soon see some results. But I do not think things will really settle down until we have made large transfers of population between the East and West Punjab. Although we are as optimistic and determined as ever, the bitterness resulting from these moves will, I fear, remain for some time.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN [OF BURMA]

I. 23

Cyril Radcliffe to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/157

SQUIRE'S MOUNT,
HAMPSTEAD, [LONDON] N.W.3,
27 September 1947

My dear Mountbatten,

I thank you so much for your letter of 18th September.[1] It gave me great pleasure to get it.

I shall never regret coming out to India when I was invited. I think that you know that I had no high expectation of my Commissions' Awards being received with popular approval, though it will always be something of a sadness to me that actual leaders on both sides found them so immediately unreasonable. All that I can say is that I did my best to interpret that [sic for what] I believed the terms of reference to require. I do hope that the troubles that we had about here will prove

temporary and that some of the bitterness will spend itself before long. If when you leave next year, it is in peaceful conditions, it will be a fitting end to that will have been in any event, ■ great achievement.

Yours very sincerely,
CYRIL RADCLIFFE

[1]Appendix I. 22.

I. 24

Noel-Baker to Foreign Office, London

Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/119

SECRET/IMPORTANT
No.139

NEW YORK,
20 January 1948

After I had seen Ayyanger,[1] Zafrullah Khan asked if he might come to see me. He brought Mahommed [Mohamad] Ali with him and our talk lasted for three hours.

2. Zafrullah began by a long exposition of the immense importance of the Kashmir question and of the decisive influence which it would have on the Dominion's future policy. He said that Russia's policy seemed to him so dangerous that a third world war must be envisaged as a practical possibility. *He and his Pakistan colleagues were firmly convinced that it was in their overwhelming interest to remain within the British Commonwealth and to stand with the West against Russian aggression.*[2] The present Government would never depart from this view whatever happened. But if the United Kingdom pursued a policy which seemed to Pakistan opinion unduly favourable to India then the present Ministers might be swept away and new Ministers might go over to Russia. This he thought would be bad for the Commonwealth since Pakistan territory was of evident strategic importance. Pakistan opinion felt that hitherto the United Kingdom had always backed India; there had been an *unfortunate change in the Radcliffe Award at Pakistan's expense;*[3] the Viceroy's unfortunate failure to arrest Tara Singh had allowed the Sikh revolt to happen; over Kashmir, we have done nothing to restrain the Indians; the Poonchis according to British journalists' reports said they were being attacked by Mountbatten's troops and Mountbatten's aircraft. All this he said was very dangerous but it would be forgotten if we could get ■ settlement of Kashmir by a Security Council decision

that would ensure a really fair plebiscite. This could not happen so long as the Indians insisted on sole occupation of the country by their own troops and on keeping Sheikh Abdullah in power.

[Paras 3,4 and 5 omitted]

[NOEL-BAKER]

[1] Gopalaswami Ayyanger, Leader of Indian Delegation to UN Security Council, Lake Success.
[2] Sidelined in the original.
[3] Underlined in the original.

I. 25

Louis Mountbatten to Clement Attlee

Telegram,[1] IOR, L/P&J/10/119

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No.453

NEW DELHI,
24 February 1948

Gordon Walker[2] informs me that Begum Liaquat Ali Khan spoke publicly of the fact that the Pakistan Government had sent evidence to you that I was implicated in the Punjab troubles by having failed to arrest the Sikh leaders before the 15th August, and by having tampered with the Radcliffe Award.

2. Apart from the fact that Ismay or Mieville were present at all the discussions that took place on these matters and can give you first-hand evidence, I should like the opportunity of refuting these allegations if you would be so kind as to send me by air mail copies of the documents regarding these cases which I am informed are being submitted to H.M.G. Urgency of this matter lies in the fact that Zafrullah Khan warned Gopalaswami Ayyanger that he would probably be involving me personally in the genocide case at U.N.O.

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

[1] The U.K. High Commissioner to India was used as a channel to pass on the messages emanating from Mountbatten.
[2] Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

I. 26

Clement Attlee to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram,[1] IOR, L/P&J/10/119

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE LONDON,
No.733 *27 February 1948*

Only documents traceable here concerning allegations to which you refer are in paragraph 3 of message to me from Prime Minister of Pakistan dated 10th September communicated to Government of India on 21st September[2] and paragraph 2 of note by Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations of his conversation with Zafrullah Khan contained in New York telegram to Foreign Office No.139 dated 20th January[3] repeated as No.236 to United Kingdom High Commissioner India.

Text of personal message from Secretary of State to Zafrullah Khan is contained in my immediately following telegram.[4]

[CLEMENT ATTLEE]

[1] The message was communicated through the British High Commissioner in India, Delhi.
[2] This was communicated to India despite Pakistan Government's request not to pass on the copy of Liaquat Ali Khan's message of 10 September 1947 to that country. See No. 225.
[3] Appendix I. 24.
[4] Appendix I. 27.

I. 27

Noel-Baker to Zafrullah Khan

Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/119

SECRET/PERSONAL LONDON,
No.918 *27 February 1948*

The following is my very private and confidential advice[1] to you as a friend and colleague. We have heard that you might be thinking of introducing in your speech at Security Council, when genocide item of Pakistan complaints is discussed, a reference to what you said to me at our meeting on 19th January[2] about a last minute alteration in the Radcliffe Award to the prejudice of Pakistan, and the failure of the Government of India to arrest Sikh leaders in interval between resignation of Muslim League members and transfer of power; and that

you might intend to associate Lord Mountbatten's name with what was done or left undone in these matters. I suggest that it would be most unwise and highly improper to introduce these allegations; unwise because we should certainly contest them; and improper because they would affect the honour and reputation of the King's Representative in India, who has no means of defending himself in public. I very much hope therefore that what we have been told about your intentions will turn out to be ill-founded.[3]

[NOEL-BAKER]

[1]Copies of this advice were sent to the Prime Minister's Private Secretary, Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Defence and Lord Privy Seal.
[2]Appendix I. 24.
[3]Appendix I. 30.

I. 28

Louis Mountbatten to Noel-Baker

Telegram,[1] *IOR, L/P&J/10/119*

TOP SECRET
No.507

NEW DELHI,
28 February 1948

Following are extracts of Sir Zafrullah Khan's speeches attacking Lord Mountbatten:

2. *On 16th January [1948]*: "apparently the Viceroy himself, Lord Mountbatten, was aware of what the Sikh plan was. Subsequent confidential reports from the Governemnt of the Punjab to the Central Government, which have since been circulated, though they have not been published—they are confidential reports, but they have become available—indicate that the Sikh plan as it subsequently unfolded itself in actual practice was already known to Lord Mountbatten".

3. *On 24th January [1948]*: "here is a note which states that this was a plan, and that this plan was known by the authorities beyond any doubt. This note contains a record of certain incidents which were recorded by the P.M.(Prime Minister) of Pakistan. Early in July 1947[2] a meeting was held in the Viceroy's House to discuss the measures necessary to combat the Sikh plans for creating widespread disturbances in the Punjab. The meeting was attended by Lord Mountbatten and others. At this meeting a British officer of the Punjab C.I.D. gave a detailed account of how the Sikhs were making elaborate preparations in the Punjab. The evidence on this point was plentiful and reliable,

and there could be no doubt as to the extent of the preparations being made by Sikh leaders, including the rulers of some of the Sikh States. Lord Mountbatten stated categorically that he would use all the force at his command to crush the disturbances. As an immediate precautionary measure it was agreed to by all present—but reluctantly by Sardar Patel that prominent Sikh leaders including Master Tara Singh—the gentleman of the naked sword—should be arrested. The question was also discussed in the Partition Council at about the middle of July, and Lord Mountbatten again undertook to use all the force at his disposal—aircraft, tanks, guns etc. to crush any such movement. He stated that he had warned the Maharajah of Patiala and other Sikh leaders in the clearest terms. No arrests were made, however. A little later Lord Mountbatten stated that he decided not to arrest the Sikh leaders immediately, but to arrest them a week before the announcement of the Boundary Commission's Award. Later he changed his ground again, and said he would strike at them simultaneously with the announcement of the Boundary Commission's Award which he stated would be made on 13 August 1947[3] at the latest".

4. You will doubtless have the full record of these speeches readily available.

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

[1] Copy of this telegram was sent to P.S. to Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal.
[2] See Appendix V. 3, Vol. IV, 472-4.
[3] The Award of the Punjab Boundary Commission was presented by Radcliffe to Mountbatten on 12 August 1947. See No. 30.

I. 29

Louis Mountbatten to Noel-Baker

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
2 March 1948

Dear Noel-Baker,

I enclose ■ copy of a brief[1] which I have supplied to Gopalaswami in case Zafrullah raises the charge against me that I did not arrest the Sikh leaders. Copies were also sent to London but may have missed you there. I am grateful for the strong line you have taken with Zafrullah, but as I have such a cast-iron reply—viz. that the decision

not to arrest the Sikh leaders was taken by the Governor of the Punjab and in consultation[2] with the Governors-designate of East and West Punjab and was against my own advice[3] that I would almost prefer the matter to be ventilated and disposed of once and for all.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]Enclosures 1 & 2.
[2]The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in his minute of 9 June 1948, observed that "even if this be true, he cannot avoid responsibility for the decision. Before Mountbatten came to the conclusion on Jenkins' advice, Muslim leadership had withdrawn to Karachi. Therefore, Mountbatten went back on the policy to arrest, decided on 5 August, as soon as the Muslim backs were turned". See *IOR*, L/P&J/10/119. Not printed.
[3]The facts do not support this claim. In his letter to Jenkins on 8 August he admitted having sent Abell to Jinnah to see whether he saw any objection to postponing action against Sikh leaders till results of the Boundary Commissions' Awards were known. Jinnah stood for immediate action and is reported to have left the decision to Mountbatten. Instead of shouldering his responsibility, Mountbatten declared Jenkins and Mudie as "the best judge of the situation" competent to "put out a very complete net so as to pull in the most dangerous people promptly". See No. 379, *TP*, XII, 580-1.

Enclosure 1 to Appendix I. 29
Brief for the Indian Delegation to the Security Council: The Refutation of Charges, in Connection with the Sikhs against the Governor-General of India

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

CONFIDENTIAL [*? March 1948*]

The charges which have been levelled at the present Governor-General of India by Sir Zafrullah Khan appear to fall into two compartments, i.e.:

a. that, as Viceroy, he knew the "Sikh Plan"; and
b. that, knowing it, he failed to take effective action, in the form of arresting the leaders and crushing the trouble-makers, despite previous assurances that he would.

2. Concerning the first charge, the Viceroy, like any other reasoning and intelligent man, was aware from the very start that, following on the massacres of Sikhs by Muslims at Rawalpindi, trouble could be expected at one stage or another from the Sikh community. On many occasions this matter was discussed between the Viceroy and members of his coalition Cabinet and others—at Cabinet meetings, during private interviews, and at meetings of the Partition Council and, later, the Joint Defence Council. No one in the higher spheres of Government, including the Muslim representatives, was under any misapprehension about the Sikh problem.

3. As far back as 26th April, 1947, the Viceroy told Mr. Jinnah, then President of the Muslim League and now Governor-General of Pakistan, in an interview that he had become convinced that any attempt to impose a mainly one-community Government on the Sikhs would produce immediate armed retaliation which might end in civil war. To this Mr. Jinnah replied that he thought that Viceroy's talk with the Sikh leaders must have had good effect, since he had had a private emissary from Giani Kartar Singh with the suggestion that they should hold discussion about a "Sikh State" joining Pakistan after partition: he had accepted Kartar Singh's offer to come to Delhi to see him. Mr. Jinnah went on to claim that the Sikhs liked him personally and had always trusted him, and that he had stated publicly that he would support the Sikhs against the Muslims any time that any Muslims took unfair action against the Sikhs.

4. About a week later, on 2nd May, 1947, the Viceroy again discussed the Punjab problem with Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Both asked why a Muslim League Government should not be formed in the Province. In the course of his reply, the Viceroy pointed out that, if the Punjab were to go out of Section 93 Government, it would be doing the Muslims a bad turn as the Sikhs might fight them. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan accepted this view.

5. Among the last of these interviews was that of 5th August 1947, (which Sir Zafrullah Khan erroneously stated to have taken place early in July), at which Sardar Patel, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Captain Savage of the Punjab C.I.D. were present. The last-named had brought with him some evidence bearing on the plans the Sikhs were preparing. Indeed this was about the only detailed and factual evidence that was ever procured, since the intelligence departments on which the Government of India had relied in the past were working under great handicaps due to the rapid decrease in the number of experienced British officers, the temporary lack of experienced Indian officers, to take their places, and the general disarrangement due to partition.

6. The particular plots which Captain Savage claimed to have unearthed were, first, that some young Sikhs were planning to blow up a special train carrying Pakistan Government personnel from Delhi to Karachi; and, secondly, that Mr. Jinnah was going to be assassinated during the ceremonies at Karachi on 14th August, the day before the transfer of power. It was understood that a bomb was to be thrown at him during the State Drive through the streets.

7. So far as the first of these plots was concerned, a discussion followed as to whether the Pakistan Government specials should be

allowed to proceed or not. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan stated that he had given directions for all the Pakistan trains to take every possible precaution; concerning this particular train, which was believed to be in particular danger of attack, he had insisted that it should go nonetheless, but had strengthened its military escort and arranged for the Inspector-General of Police to be informed. He now reiterated this insistence.

8. So far as the second plot was concerned, the Viceroy, whilst of course expressing great concern at the possibility of Mr. Jinnah's assassination, did not feel that, on the strength of the information that Captain Savage had produced, the danger of this was sufficient to cause the cancellation of the Karachi ceremonies. He had arranged to accompany Mr. Jinnah, in an open car, in the State Drive through Karachi on 14th August. This he subsequently did.

9. To return, however, to the meeting on 5th August (of which the full record is in the ex-Viceroy's files), Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went on to give his opinion that the Sikhs were likely to react on the announcement of the Boundary Commission's Award. After further consideration of the matter, the meeting accordingly decided unanimously to recommend that Master Tara Singh and other suspected Sikh ringleaders should be arrested at about the time of the Award; and that a letter to this effect should be sent to the Governor of the Punjab, who was the person responsible for considering such a recommendation and if he agreed with it, putting it into effect.

10. This brings us to the second of Sir Zafrullah Khan's accusations, and the first part of this concerns the failure to arrest the Sikh leaders. As just stated, a letter, dated 5th August, 1947, was sent to the Governor of the Punjab. An extract from this letter reads as follows:

> It was agreed that there would have to be a common policy in the matter and H.E. said that he would ask you to discuss the matter with Sir Chandulal Trivedi and in due course with the Premier of East Punjab and the Premier (as soon as he is chosen) of West Punjab. It was recognised that you might wish for a little more time to consider the matter and possibly after your discussions to make other recommendations.

11. The reply to this letter was written on 9th August, 1947, and the opening paragraph reads as follows:

> I have now discussed this matter both with Trivedi and with Mudie, and we are all agreed:
>
> a. that the arrest of Tara Singh and his friends now or simultaneously with the announcement of the Boundary Commission's Award could not improve and might worsen the immediate situation; and
>
> b. that though it may be necessary for me to make the arrests after the announcement of the award and before 15th August, 1947, if the Sikhs give very serious trouble, it would be far better to leave them to be dealt with by

the new Governments of West Punjab and East Punjab.

12. The Viceroy judged that the views of the men on the spot, particularly as they included the future Governor of Pakistan province concerned, Sir Francis Mudie, should be accepted, and action was therefore left to their discretion.

13. Finally, there is the charge concerning the failure to use force to crush disturbances. The Viceroy at all times made it perfectly clear that, so long as the responsibility was his, he would use all the means at his disposal, to achieve the immediate object. But it must be borne in mind that he was speaking in his capacity as Viceroy with direct and absolute authority: after 15th August, 1947, as Constitutional Governor-General this authority was no longer vested in him, and the personal responsibility for carrying out any such action was removed from him as from that date.

14. Sardar Baldev Singh, as Defence Minister of the Indian Interim Government, was fully aware of the Viceroy's policy in this matter, as indeed were the other members of the Cabinet. In the middle of May, G.H.Q. India was instructed to move an extra Infantry Division into the Punjab. Further troop movements were made after that date. By mid-August, the troops concentrated in the Punjab totalled 55,000 officers and men, composing a joint inter-Dominion force. They had with them such tanks and armoured cars as could be provided from an Army that was in the throes of reconstitution: the employment of artillery and aircraft, however, in the suppression of internal disturbances is most reluctantly embarked upon by military authorities, due to the inevitable loss of a large proportion of innocent lives, and for this reason, with the full agreement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, those weapons were not used.

15. In conclusion, therefore, the Viceroy was from the start of his term of office aware that trouble from the Sikh community was threatening; this knowledge he shared with his Cabinet and his advisers and he took frequent opportunity to remind them of it. But to say that he was aware of any plan is incorrect, since, for the reasons stated above, almost no details were known to the intelligence departments. That no arrests were made was the result of the judgment of the authorities in the Punjab who included the Governor of the future Pakistan province of West Punjab. Finally, a large force was provided for internal security duties, which were carried out, under conditions of great stress, with ability and firmness.

Enclosure 2 to Appendix I. 29
Note by Louis Mountbatten on Role as Chairman, Joint Defence Council

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

[*? March 1948*]

It is possible that Sir Zafrullah Khan will try again to involve Lord Mountbatten's name by pointing out to the Security Council that the Punjab Boundary Force operated under the Joint Defence Council, of which Lord Mountbatten is Chairman.

2. If this is done, it should, of course, be made clear that Lord Mountbatten is Chairman of the Joint Defence Council in a completely independent capacity. He is, in this appointment, equally the servant of Pakistan and Indian Governments. It would be highly irregular, therefore, for the Government of Pakistan to attack a servant of their own before the Security Council.

3. Furthermore, the Joint Defence Council is constitutionally incapable of taking any decisions, which are not agreed to by the Ministerial representatives of both Governments. Any decisions it may take are the joint responsibility of those two Governments, and in no way that of the independent Chairman.

I. 30

H. L. Ismay to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/119

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No.882

LONDON,
9 March 1948

Have told our late colleague of incident but thought it best not to raise this here with the principal actor until and unless some specific charge instead of vague insinuations were made.

2. I have now seen all the telegrams and discussed the question with Prime Minister and Sir Paul Patrick.[1] I gather from former that Zafrullah has dropped all the nonsense about the Boundary Commission.[2]

[H. L. ISMAY]

[1] Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office.
[2] See Appendix I. 27.

I. 31

Louis Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
19 March 1948

My dear Jenkins,

I have been privately informed that Sir Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister and their representative to the Security Council, told a member of the British Delegation at the end of January at Lake Success, that he had evidence of the Punjab Boundary Commission's Award having been decided on 8th August, 1947; of it thereafter having been tampered [with] to the great disadvantage of Pakistan; and of its publication having been delayed for ten days.

2. A similar allegation was made by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, publicly at a dinner party in Karachi towards the end of February to Mr. Gordon Walker, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. I understood from the report of this that copies of the relevant papers had been sent by the Pakistan Government to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom; but the latter have since reported that they have not received them.

3. I understand that the "evidence" quoted in support of this alleged fraud was a communication from Sir George Abell (my Private Secretary at the time) which had been found among the papers which you left behind in Lahore.

4. The only letter on my files which appears to bear on this matter at all is one dated 8th August from Abell to Abbott, your Private Secretary at the time. This read as follows:

[*Omitted*][1]

5. I have not got copies of either of the documents which were apparently enclosed with this letter. In all likelihood they were only a rough sketch map and a manuscript note. But this I do not know, because I made it an absolute rule personally to have nothing whatsoever to do with the preparation of the Award.

6. Indeed on numerous occasions I refused to pass on to Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the Chairman of the Boundary Commission, representations which were made to me, both verbally and in letters, putting forward one point of view or another. I made a point of not looking at the maps

containing the Award until the day on which they were shown to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

7. The information given in Abell's letter, quoted above, about the date when the Award would be ready, was, of course, wrong. The final Punjab Boundary Award was not completed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe until 13th August. (As I was on the point of leaving for Karachi, to attend the Independence Ceremonies there on the 14th, when it was submitted; and as the following day saw the Independence Ceremonies in Delhi; I then held up the Award until I could discuss it with Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on 16th August). I am, of course, unable to say whether any adjustments were made to the previous boundary line between 8th and 13th August.[2] But the assumptopn [*sic* for assumption] that can be drawn is that the line indicated in the documents attached to Abell's letter was only a tentative one, and that it was amended subsequently to "balance" the Bengal Boundary line. There is also the point that Abell was presumably only being used as a channel of communication.

8. However, I feel, that it is essential that I should now have all possible relevant information on this matter in case Pakistan's allegations are repeated—although I understand that Zafrullah Khan at least has undertaken not to repeat them in public. Could you therefore be so good as to let me know, consulting Abbott as necessary, whether, from your memory, you are able to throw any further light on it? You may be able to remember the particular documents concerned, or there may be others which you left behind at Lahore.

9. You should also know that Zafrullah Khan has attacked me openly before the Security Council (and has again now undertaken not to repeat these attacks) on the grounds that, as Viceroy, I knew the "Sikh plan"; and that, knowing it, I failed to take effective action, in the form of arresting the leaders and crushing the trouble-makers, despite previous assurances that I would.

10. Zafrullah Khan quotes in particular the decision of a meeting held at Delhi, under my chairmanship, on 5th August, at which it was decided to recommend the arrest, about the time of the announcement of the Boundary Commission's Award, of Master Tara Singh and other suspected Sikh ringleaders.

11. I have, of course, the perfect answer to this charge—because it was in agreement with Mudie, the Governor-designate for West Punjab (as well as Trivedi, Governor-designate for East Punjab) that you stated your decision on 9th August that the arrest of Master Tara Singh and his "friends", then or simultaneously with the announcement of the Boundary Commission Award, could not improve and might worsen

the immediate situation; and that, though it might be necessary to make the arrests if the Sikhs gave very serious trouble, it would be far better to leave them to be dealt with by the new Governments of West Punjab and East Punjab.

12. I am sorry to trouble you with matters of past history at this time; but the point really is that it is my honour as Viceroy, and not as present Governor-General of India, which is involved and hence the honour of the British Government generally.

13. I am sending this letter through Ismay, who was of course in the know all the time, so that if necessary you can discuss the matter with him.

Yours very sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS. After the above was written, Liaquat Ali Khan himself, at to-day's Joint Defence Council meeting, brought this question twice again. He said that the documents concerned showed that it was intended to allot Ferozepore and Zira Tahsils to Pakistan. The matter is thus becoming urgent.

[1]See Appendix I. 3.
[2]See Appendix I. 35 for an account of "Adjustments".

I. 32

Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram,[1] IOR, L/P&J/10/119

TOP SECRET/IMPORTANT
No.1153

LONDON,
7 April 1948

I received your letter of 19th March[2] through Lord Ismay on 3rd April, and have consulted Abell and Abbott about it. It is not easy after eight months and without reference to such records as exist to be absolutely accurate about dates and other details; but the following is to the best of my belief a correct account of what happened in Lahore about the Boundary Commission's Award:

1. The announcement of the Award was in my judgement likely to confuse and worsen an already dangerous situation. The boundary, if it did not follow existing district boundaries, would inevitably leave certain areas "in the air", severed from their old districts and not yet absorbed by their new ones.

2. I therefore asked for such advance information as could be given [to] me of the Award, so that the military and civil authorities directly concerned with law and order might make their plans, and if necessary redistribute their forces. My request was not addressed to the Boundary Commission, with whose proceedings I had nothing whatever to do, but to Viceroy's House. I do not remember whether it was made by letter or telegram, or by secraphone, or in talk with Abell during one of his visits to Lahore. But it was certainly made, and in making it I was merely taking one of the routine security precautions recognised as prudent under the British regime.

3. The result was Abell's letter to Abbott of 8th August, which you quote.[3] The enclosures were a schedule (I think typed) and a section of a printed map with a line drawn thereon, together showing ■ boundary which included in Pakistan a sharp salient in the Ferozepore District. This salient enclosed the whole of the Ferozepore and Zira Tahsils. Abell says that the question of giving me advance information was raised several times at your morning meetings and that you approved the information being given.

4. At the time we expected the announcement to be made almost immediately. I therefore warned the G.O.C. Punjab Boundary Force, the Inspector General of Police, the D.I.G., C.I.D., and the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore of the believed intentions of the Commission; and also had special messengers sent to the Deputy Commissioners of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, and Ferozepore giving them the same information. These warnings were of course secret, and the three outlying Deputy Commissioners were instructed to burn the messages sent to them, and to communicate the gist of them only to their respective Superintendents of Police. I made it clear that no overt action was to be taken; and that in the meantime all concerned must plan for emergency action. (Ferozepore was a district, and a very important one; its headquarters town was to be included in Pakistan along with two of its tahsils, while the remainder of the districts would be "in the air" with no accommodation for Police, Magistrates and Public officers generally). Among those informed the only Indian (in the old sense) was, I think, the Hindu Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore. All the other Deputy Commissioners and all the Superintendents of Police were British.

5. On 7th August, Mudie, who was Governor-designate of W[est] Punjab, came to stay with me. The object of this was to avoid as far as possible a break in the continuity of our law and order arrangements. I kept Mudie informed of everything that was going on. He knew the contents of Abell's letter of 8th August, and the arrangements I had

made. Mudie and I were both Governors under the old regime, and it would in my judgement have been wrong to deny him information that might be vital to security.

6. About the 10th or 11th August, when we were still expecting the Award on 13th August at latest, I received a secraphone message from Viceroy's House containing the words "Eliminate salient". Those informed under the arrangements described in (4) above of the expected boundary were apprised of this change. So also was Mudie. The change caused some surprise, not because the Ferozepore salient had been regarded as inevitable or even probable, but because it seemed odd that any advance information had been given by the Commission if the Award was so substantially complete.

7. On 12th or 13th August, I was informed that the Award would not be announced until after the transfer of power. Up to the 15th August there was no leakage. As I have said, my proceedings were not unusual, and every precaution was taken to keep them secret.

8. Generally, Government House papers other than (a) routine administration files and (b) factual telegrams which I had despatched daily in the disturbances, were not handed over to Mudie. Most of them were destroyed by my Secretary, Abbott, but a bundle of my fortnightly letters and other papers of current interest was deposited in Viceroy's House. Abbott assures me that Abell's letter of 8th August and its enclosures were left in the Secretary's safe at Government House, to which only Mudie or his Military Secretary, Lt. Col. Craster, could have access. (Mudie had no "Governor's Secretary" at the time). Abbott says that these were the only documents of any importance so left. He consulted me about destroying them, and I told him that as Mudie had already seen them it would be best to hand them over. Mudie was aware that the documents had been left with him and were "Old Regime" documents. I have no doubt that Abbott's recollection on these matters is correct.

Putting the matter as briefly as possible, the documents to which the Pakistanis attach so much importance contain simply information which I got quite regularly from Abell for purposes of security planning. I know nothing more about them, nor can I say how they got into "political" hands.

I need not perhaps say much about the "Sikh Plan". The New Delhi meeting of 5th August covered, I think, only a report of an alleged plot against Jinnah submitted by me. The decision reached was a compromise between the views of Jinnah (who wanted immediate arrests) and Patel (who opposed arrests). Mudie rejected the compromise because he thought that Patel would not carry out his share in it; that

arrests in W[est] Punjab would be used to inflame anti-Muslim feeling in E[ast] Punjab; and that E[ast] Punjab would refuse to take over and confine Sikhs arrested in W[est] Punjab. Trivedi, like myself, could see no point in connecting the arrests with the Award. At that stage we could only leave the problem to the new Governments. Any "charge" based on these proceedings is very easy to answer. The general charge that we failed to suppress the Sikhs is more difficult; but the critics ignore the facts (a) that in the Punjab all three communities had plans involving violent action; (b) that their "plans" were less elaborate than is commonly supposed, and depended on widespread and largely uncoordinated local effort; (c) that because of (a) and (b) effective action to defeat any one "plan" could be taken only by the simultaneous suppression of all three communities by forces numerically strong and entirely reliable; and (d) that action as in (c) would have implied the detention of nearly all the members of the Executive Council—the leaders of the parties to which we were to hand over—and therefore the postponement or abandonment of H.M.G.'s policy for India. (In any case the forces at our disposal were inadequate and unreliable). This argument could be developed at length by reference to my reports from Lahore. I have said enough to indicate its general line.

I am handing this letter over to Lord Ismay to be forwarded with any comments he thinks desirable.

[EVAN JENKINS]

[1]The U.K. High Commissioner to India served as a communication channel for the correspondence of Mountbatten. Copies of this telegram were sent to R.H.A. Carter, Private Secretary; Gordon Walker, Parliamentry Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations; H.A.F. Rumbold, Assistant Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office.
[2]Appendix I. 31.
[3]Appendix I. 3.

I. 33

R. H. A. Carter to Cyril Radcliffe

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

CONFIDENTIAL / PERSONAL

LONDON,
7 April 1948

Dear Radcliffe,

We have heard indirectly from Lord Mountbatten that he has learnt privately that the Pakistan Government propose to publish what purports to be evidence that you changed to the disadvantage of Pakistan

your Award as Chairman of the Punjab Boundary Commission at the last minute, under pressure from Lord Mountbatten or British officials serving under him. The "evidence" in question is said to be a letter with enclosures, sent by Sir George Abell, who was then Lord Mountbatten's Private Secretary, to Sir Evan Jenkins, and this may be published at any time.

I understand from the record of a talk which you had with Mr. Arthur Henderson[1] shortly after the publication of your Awards, that a first draft of the Awards was sent to the authorities at Lahore and Calcutta from Delhi, so that measures might be taken in advance of their publication for the maintenance of law and order, and that the Awards which you subsequently made were not identical with those contained in this first draft. Presumably the letter from Sir G. Abell to Sir E. Jenkins was a communication covering the despatch of the first draft to Sir E. Jenkins.

It will be for the British Government to reply to any allegations of this sort made against Lord Mountbatten, Sir E. Jenkins, Sir G. Abell or British officials, who were at the material time acting in responsibility to the Government here. It is not, we think, quite certain that the Pakistan Government will, in fact, take the action which Lord Mountbatten fears. But if an allegation is made, it will be important that the Government's denial should be issued very promptly. We should like, therefore, to have an answer ready in advance (so far as it is possible to prepare one without knowing the exact terms of the allegation). We must obviously concert with you what we should say. For that purpose I should like, if I may, to come and discuss the matter with you, if you could let me know what would be a convenient time to you.

Yours sincerely,
R. H. A. CARTER

[1]Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma.

I. 34

Cyril Radcliffe to R. H. A. Carter

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

3 NEW SQUARE,
LINCOLN'S INN, [LONDON] W.C. 2,
13 April 1948

Dear Carter,

Many thanks for letting me see the draft[1] of the possible statement

on the Punjab Boundary Award.

I have made a few suggested amendments.[2] I do not think that it is quite correct to speak of provisional and final awards. There could be no awards until I had decided to make a report to the Viceroy, and only the document which contained that report could be called an award. All the earlier drafts—and there are quite a few—were drafts and no more.

Yours sincerely,
CYRIL RADCLIFFE

[1]Carter's letter does not suggest having sent a draft on the possible statement on the Punjab Boundary Award. He must have visited Radcliffe as requested in the last para and handed over this draft personally. See Appendix I. 33.
[2]Annexure.

Annexure to Appendix I. 34
Draft Statement on Punjab Boundary Award

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

Sir George Abell's letter of the 8th August 1947,[1] which has been made public by the Pakistan authorities, communicated to Sir Evan Jenkins, the then Governor of the Punjab, the rough statement of a proposed boundary between East and West Punjab. The information contained in it was derived from Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman of the Boundary Commission, as the result of a very proper enquiry from Sir Evan Jenkins whether he could have advance information about the boundary so that the best dispositions might be made of military forces and police.

The boundary indicated by this communication of the 8th August differed from that contained in the Award of the 13th August, as ultimately made by Sir Cyril in its treatment of an area in the Ferozepore District. I understand from Sir Cyril that he had found the treatment of this area a question of considerable difficulty and on this point he reached a final conclusion differing from that which he was disposed to adopt at the time when Sir George Abell asked him for advance information.

Sir Cyril has informed me that his Award of the 13th August was the result of his own unfettered judgement and that at no stage was any attempt made by the Governor-General to influence his decision. That this is so I have no doubt at all.

[1]Appendix I. 3.

I. 35

HOW MOUNTBATTEN BENT THE RULES AND THE INDIAN BORDER[1]

Simon Scott Plummer Hears a Retired Judge's[2] Verdict on Gerrymandering as the Raj Ended

LONDON, Feb. 24: Earl Mountbatten manipulated in India's favour the findings of the Commission responsible for determining the new frontier between India and Pakistan across Punjab in 1947, according to Mr. Christopher Beaumont, Secretary to the head of the [Boundary] Commission.

Mr. Beaumont, a retired circuit Judge, said, in a statement that Sir Cyril Radcliffe had yielded to what he thought was overwhelming political expediency by agreeing, after he had decided the line, to the transfer of the Ferozepore and Zira sub-districts from Pakistan to India. But no change was made in the north Punjab line in the Gurdaspur District, which abutted Kashmir.

The Boundary Commission's deliberations were supposed to be secret, impartial and isolated from political pressure.

Sir Cyril, its Chairman, later headed inquiries in Britain into the Vassal spy case and into the *Daily Express* and D. Notice System. He was created a Viscount in 1962 and died in 1977.

Mr. Beaumont, 79, who lives in Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, said in a statement that Radcliffe was persuaded to change his mind about Ferozepore and Zira at a lunch with Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, from which Mr. Beaumont was "deftly excluded".

"Mountbatten interfered and Radcliffe allowed himself to be overborne. Grave discredit to both," his statement said.

Although the drawing of the Punjab line was a separate issue from the future of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Beaumont's revelations cast fresh doubts on Mountbatten's impartiality over the partition of British India, in particular his attitude to the question of whether Jammu and Kashmir should accede to India or Pakistan.

In a book published last year [1991] *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, Mr. Alastair Lamb produced new evidence to suggest that Mountbatten wanted Kashmir to join India despite the fact that most of its population was Muslim and had connived with Indian politicians to force the Ruler's hand on this issue.

As far as Punjab is concerned, the statement made by Mr. Beaumont has caused Mr. Phillip Ziegler to reconsider the conclusions reached in his official biography of Mountbatten in 1985.

Mr. Ziegler wrote at the time, "To argue that Mountbatten tam-

pered with the Awards is to suggest that Radcliffe, a man of monumental integrity and independence of mind, meekly allowed his recommendations to be set aside by somebody who had no official standing in the matter.

The most likely explanation seems to be that at one point Mountbatten, under pressure from Nehru, did contemplate asking Radcliffe to amend the Awards", he continued.

In the end, however, common sense and the counsels of [Lord] Ismay [Mountbatten's Chief of Staff] must have convinced him that the risks were too great, the game was not worth even a small part of the candle.

"He must have been guilty of indiscretion but not of the arrant folly as well as dishonesty of which his enemies accused him".

In his biography, Mr. Ziegler wrote that a nugget of doubt remained.

However, he still could not understand why Radcliffe should have succumbed so readily nor why Ismay, a man who knew India really well, should not have advised Mountbatten to call Nehru's bluff.

Mr. Beaumont said he thought this was a good point. Not having been present at the lunch he could not say who had said that; it could be that Ismay had advised against any change in the line, but that his advice had been disregarded.

In his statement, Mr. Beaumont said that "with the death of Sir George Abell, Mountbatten's Private Secretary, in 1989, he remained the only one who knows the truth about the 1947 partition of India and the consequent creation of Pakistan". Although in the early 1980s he had told his close friend, the historian of India, Sir Penderel Moon and his brother-in-law, Sir Robin Latimer, what had happened. After drawing up his statement in 1989, Mr. Beaumont lodged the original at All Souls College, Oxford, with the request that the contents not be divulged until after his death and to selected persons and only by agreement between the Warden of All Souls and the Head of the Foreign Office.

He said he had been led to reconsider the whole position after his grandson had been given the partition of India as a special subject in the History Tripos at Cambridge University.

"This made me realise belatedly that the event had passed into history and that the time had come for the truth to be revealed", said Mr. Beaumont.

In his statement he said Radcliffe had objected to an order from Mountbatten, Nehru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League and later first Governor-General of Pakistan, to complete his findings by August 15, 1947.

"It was clearly impossible properly to complete the task in one month nine days. Mountbatten, Nehru and Jinnah must share the blame for this irresponsible decision."

It was also a serious mistake "to appoint a Hindu, Rao Sahib V. D. Iyer, to the confidential post of Assistant Secretary to the Commission. The job should have gone to some one brought out from Britain."

Mr. Beaumont said he, Radcliffe and Ayer were the only people who knew about the progress of the lines being drawn across Punjab and Bengal the other part of British India partitioned at Independence.

He said he had "little doubt" that Ayer kept Nehru and Mr. V. P. Menon, who handled the accession of States to India, informed of progress.

Evidence for this came at a meeting chaired by Mountbatten on August 12 the day before Mr. Beaumont handed the Commission reports to the Viceregal Lodge, when Nehru complained about the award of Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal to Pakistan.

Mr. Beaumont notes that Mr. John Christie, one of Mountbatten's Assistant Private Secretaries, wrote in his diary for August 11: "H[is] E[xcellency] is having to be strenuously dissuaded from trying to persuade Radcliffe to amend his Punjab line".

Mr. Beaumont said, "This was on a date when H.E. ought not to have known where the line was drawn".

He said he had not kept a diary, so could not be entirely sure about dates.

However, the facts were as follows:

Radcliffe had completed the Punjab line, allotting the Ferozepore and Zira sub-districts to Pakistan.

Mr. Beaumont showed the map to Abell, following a request from Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor of Punjab, who wanted to station troops in the spots where violence was most likely to break out.

Shortly after that, [V.P.] Menon turned up at Radcliffe's residence towards midnight and asked to see him. Mr. Beaumont said he could not. Menon said Mountbatten had sent him to which Mr. Beaumont replied that it made no difference.

"He departed with good grace", Mr. Beaumont said in his statement.

"I think he anticipated the rebuff. He was a very able and perceptive person."

The next day Radcliffe told Mr. Beaumont that he had been invited to lunch with Mountbatten by Ismay.

However in both the case of Mounbatten and Radcliffe there were "mitigating circumstances if not excuses".

Mountbatten was overworked and overtired and was "doubtless"

told by Nehru and Menon that to give Ferozepore to Pakistan would result in a war between the two newly independent countries.

Radcliffe was probably persuaded by Mountbatten at the lunch that civil war, or at least something like it would result from the award of Ferozepore to Pakistan.

"Radcliffe had only been in India [for] six weeks", Mr. Beaumont's statement said. "He suffered much from the heat".

"He probably did not know that Nehru, Menon and [Maharaja of] Bikaner were putting pressure on Mountbatten".

Radcliffe added that he had been asked not to bring his Private Secretary with him because there was not enough room[3] at the table for an extra guest.

"Having lived for six months in the house occupied by Ismay, I knew this to be untrue".

Mr. Beaumont's statement said: "But my suspicions were not aroused as they should have been. I was leaving India the next week, had many preoccupations and welcomed the chance to get on with my own affairs.

This was the first time, however, that Radcliffe and I had been separated at any sort of function.

That evening the Punjab line was changed.

Mr. Beaumont said he thought the alteration took place under pressure from Mountbatten who was in turn under pressure from Nehru and almost certainly from the Maharaja of Bikaner whose State would have been adversely affected if the canal headworks in Ferozepore had gone to Pakistan and who is said to have told Mountbatten that unless Ferozepore was allotted to India he would have to accede to Pakistan.[4]

[1]The *Daily Telegraph*, 25 February 1992.
[2]Christopher Beaumont.
[3]The reason for not inviting Beaumont could be that Patel had complained to Mountbatten that Secretary to the Commission had pro-League sympathies. See Appendix I. 11.
[4]See Appendix I. 7, note 1.

APPENDIX II

QUAID-I-AZAM'S RELIEF FUND (QARF) AND OTHER FUNDS

In order to meet various exigencies caused mainly by communal riots and influx of refugees before and after the creation of Pakistan, a number of funds had to be launched, such as the Bihar Relief Fund, Pakistan Fund, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and Kashmir Fund.

In contrast to the Congress, the Muslim League had never been financially strong. Whenever the need for funds arose for contesting elections, providing relief to riot-stricken refugees, etc., the President of the League had to appeal to people at large for donations. During 1945-46, Jinnah asked for and received "silver bullets"[1] to help the League fight the general elections. The overwhelming electoral victory won by the League fully vindicated its claim to being the sole representative body of the Indian Muslims. As the demand for Pakistan became inexorable, there was an eruption of communal violence across the country, especially in the Muslim minority areas such as Bihar and the U.P.

The Bihar Relief Fund was instituted in November 1946 for the riot victims in that province. Donations to the Fund were sent to the Quaid but the relief operations were organised by the Central Bihar Relief Committee which had its headquarters at Patna. Although the Fund was closed on 15 May 1947, the relief operations were continued till December 1947, albeit on a diminishing scale. Donations, however, kept coming in until after 15 May. The response to appeal for Bihar Relief Fund had been so generous that even after catering for immediate needs, a sum of Rs. 35 lakh was invested in Victory Loan Bonds.[2]

* * * * *

The Pakistan Fund was launched by the Quaid in June 1947 to cater for "various steps and important issues"[3] arising out of the 3 June Plan, especially to meet the expenses in connection with referendums to be held in the NWFP, Baluchistan and Sylhet. Quaid's appeal for generous contributions for the stupendous task of putting a new country and a new government in place elicited an overwhelming response. Many of the donors were from overseas[4] as well as from areas that were not to form part of Pakistan.[5] Most of the contributions were made by common, lowly people and the sums donated were quite modest but reflective of the emotive support for Pakistan. Even after independence, donations, particularly from different places in India, continued to pour in. By end of the year, the total receipts by Habib

Bank, Delhi, had reached Rs. 722, 488.[6]

* * * * *

The emergence of Pakistan, an event unique in modern history, was attended by a communal holocaust leading to a mass exodus of people across the political divide. The most shattering blows to the nascent State were dealt through unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims in East Punjab, Delhi, and other areas in India by the Hindus and Sikhs. A large number of distressed, deprived and dishonoured Muslims were driven out of their homes having left behind them "all their worldly goods, their implements of trade, their agricultural paraphernalia, their cattle—everything they possessed".[7] They entered "in hundreds of thousands, maimed and wounded, with their lips parched with hunger and thirst and their clothing in tatters".[8] Hundreds died of fatigue and exhaustion caused by prolonged starvation and many fell victims to cholera and other tropical diseases. To cater for this enormous and unexpected burden on the inchoate Dominion, an Emergency Committee of the Central Cabinet was set up to provide the refugees "immediately food, clothing, medicines, shelter and then arrange for their rehabilitation".[9] However, when the problem assumed alarming proportions, the Quaid instituted the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, (QARF) on 12 September 1947. A Central Committee was formed with Quaid-i-Azam as Chairman, and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Ghulam Mohammed and Fazl-ur-Rehman as members. Z. A. Khan was appointed Honorary Secretary[10] and Messrs A. Ferguson as Auditors. Provincial Committees were headed by the respective Governors and included the concerned provincial Ministers. The Committee for East Bengal was formed in October 1947. The Chittagong Relief Fund, started earlier, was merged with the QARF.[11]

The Quaid launched the QARF with an appeal to the nation to "come forward with generous contributions and to stint no sacrifice or effort for this purpose. Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on an austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life, and let the money, foodstuffs and clothing thus saved be brought to this common pool for the stricken."[12] He also sent personal appeals to the Nizam of Hyderabad[13] and the Aga Khan.[14] Appeals were also made to foreign countries,[15] including Muslim countries, i.e. Sudan, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan (now Jordan), Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Tripolitania (now Libya), Albania, Indonesia, and the Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union, viz. Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgyzstan

and Kazakhstan, also to the Red Crescent Societies of Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia and the Red-Lion Society of Iran. Later, an appeal was also made for warm clothes in view of the approaching winter.

The resettling of refugees was indeed a Herculean task and taxed the resources of the new-born Dominion to its limits. There was an acute shortage of medicines, doctors and para-medical staff and of other necessities of life. Pakistan, with much smaller resources, had to absorb one and a half million more refugees than India.[16] To this was later added the burden of over 2 lakh Kashmiri refugees. A Kashmir Refugees Relief Committee was formed in April 1948 with an allocation of Rs. 10 lakh. In June 1950, a separate Kashmir Fund was created to be administered by a committee headed by the Governor-General, with the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas as members.

Besides the Central Committee, Provincial Committees, and in some cases District Committees were also established to manage the QARF. So enthusiastic was the response to the appeals that the Fund crossed the one-crore mark in only four months. This was acknowledged by Jinnah with an expression of gratitude for the help from "sympathisers all over the world, both Muslims and non-Muslims, and in particular from the USA, UK, South Africa and the Islamic countries";[17] and a further exhortation for greater efforts and sacrifices to meet the mounting refugee problem. By December 1949 the receipts had increased to over Rs. 3 crore. Major donors were the Aga Khan[18] (Rs. 5 lakh), the Nizam of Hyderabad[19] (Rs. 5 lakh) and the Rulers of Bahawalpur[20] (Rs. 5 lakh) and Swat (Rs. 4 lakh). A large number of modest contributions were received from sympathisers the world over and from Pakistanis of humble means. Quaid sent a personal letter of appreciation[21] to a Pakistani who had sent a 2-rupee note. Contributions were also received in kind from many donors including the American Friends Society (75 bales of used clothing and 81 bales of new cotton material) and American Churches Association (893 bales of old clothes and 1116 cartons of food).[22]

Although the major beneficiaries of the Fund were the refugees in the camps, allocations were also made for providing relief to flood victims in East Bengal and Sindh, Army refugees, and for supply of blankets, quilts, etc. On occasions, bread was flown for the Muslim evacuees camping in Delhi. A sum of Rs. 500,000 was allocated for rehabilitation of artisans and craftsmen, Rs. 100,000 for the Pakistan Spinners and Weavers Association and Rs. 10,000 for a Spinners' Home for destitute women.

The young government measured up to the daunting challenge

with commendable spirit, determination and fortitude. Students, scouts and other volunteers came forth to help their stricken brethren and to succour the sick and the wounded. Inspired by Jinnah's example and his indomitable will the nation was able to squarely face the disaster that befell it at its very birth.

[1]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1996, 2039.
[2]See Nos. 187 & 259, Vol. I, Part I, 365 & 452.
[3]See No. 128, Vol. II, 297-8.
[4]See F. 861/140 & 143, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See F. 861/145, *QAP*. Not printed.
[6]See F. 156/387, *QAP*. Not printed.
[7&8]See Appendix II. 8.
[9]See Appendix II. 9.
[10]See Appendix II. 1.
[11]See F. 156/332, *QAP*. Not printed.
[12]See No. 223.
[13]Annexure I to Appendix II. 3.
[14]Annexure II to ibid.
[15]Annexure III to ibid. Also see Appendix II. 9.
[16]See F. 80 (A)-GG/55, para 13 (b). Not printed.
[17]See Appendix II. 12.
[18,19,23&24]See Appendix II. 14.
[22]See F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/124 & 193. Not printed.

II. 1

Minutes[1] *of the First Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF*

F. 80(A)-GG/2-6

22 September 1947

PRESENT

1. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President
2. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
3. Ghulam Mohammed
4. Fazlur Rahman
5. Yaqoob Shah, Hony. Treasurer
6. Z. A. Khan, Hony. Secretary
7. Hafeez Ahmad, Joint Secretary

1. The following resolutions were passed by the Committee:
a. Election of Mr. Ghulam Mohammed as Vice-President
b. Appointment of Mr. Z. A. Khan as Hony. Secretary and Mr. Hafeez Ahmad as Joint Secretary
c. Approval of the constitution of the Provincial Committees for

West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP as follows:

WEST PUNJAB

Chairman	The Governor of West Punjab
Members	Finance Minister
	Minister for Refugees
	President, West Punjab Muslim League
	Accountant-General, West Punjab
Treasurer	Manager, Reserve Bank

SIND

Chairman	The Governor of Sind
Members	M. A. Khuhro
	Pir Ilahi Bakhsh
	Jamshed Nusserwanjee
	Hemandas R. Wadhwani
	Shivji V. Kothari
Treasurer	Mushtaque Ahmad, Accountant-General, Pakistan

BALUCHISTAN

Chairman	Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan
Vice-Chairman	Revenue Commissioner
Members	President, Provincial Muslim League
	Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezai
	Khan Bahadur Muhammad Niaz, Executive Officer, Quetta Municipality
	Seth Fida Ali Alibhoy
Treasurer	Financial Assistant to Chief Commissioner

Additional members not exceeding 4 might be nominated from outside Agencies from *Shahi Jirga* list. If Rehabilitation Commissioner or equivalent is subsequently appointed, he should be *ex officio* member.

NWFP

Chairman	The Governor of NWFP
Vice-Chairman	Pir Sahib of Manki
Members	Judicial Commissioner
	Revenue Minister
	Jalaluddin, Abbottabad
	Muhammad Zaman Khan, Khalabut
	Mian Musharraf Shah, Nowshera
	Arbab Nur Muhammad Khan, [Peshawar]
	Muhammad Ali Khan, Mardan

	Muhammad Ayub Khan,
	Salar, Muslim National Guards, Mardan
	Mahabat Ali Khan, Kohat
	M. R. Kiyani, Kohat
	Damsaz Khan, Bannu
	Habibullah Khan, Bannu
	Pir Sahib of Zakori, D. I. Khan
	Nawab Nasrullah Khan, D. I. Khan
	Abdul Qaiyum Khan (Chief Minister)
Secretary & Treasurer	Arbab Ahmad Ali Jan (Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar)

d. It was resolved by the Committee to appoint Habib Bank Ltd., as the official bankers for the Relief Fund. It was furthermore resolved to authorise the Vice-President and the Hony. Treasurer to operate the account jointly under their signatures but in the absence of the Vice-President the Hony. Secretary was authorized to operate the account jointly with the Hony. Treasurer.

e. The Hony. Secretary was authorized to incur expenditure up to a maximum of Rs. 1,000 on contingencies subject to audit by Hony. Treasurer.

f. To remit Rs. 25,000 immediately to West Punjab Provincial Committee as the first instalment for disbursement of relief for refugees. Further instalments to follow as and when sufficient funds have been collected.

2. The Committee proceeded with consideration of the agenda put up by the Hony. Secretary and agreed as follows:

a. *Function and Scope of the Central and Provincial Committees*

The function of the Central Committee will be limited to:

i. Collection of funds, and

ii. Administration of funds and gifts

The Central Committee will not be actually concerned with the administration of relief measures which will be the concern of the Provincial Committees within their respective areas. The Central Committee will, however, proceed to allocate funds and gifts received direct from time to time to the Provincial Committees for disbursement and distribution of relief measures subject, however, to the general control, instructions and directions of the Central Committee.

The collection of gifts, in addition to collection of funds, will be a function of the Provincial Committees, who will furnish periodical reports of such collections to the Central Committee for the purpose of allocations to other provinces of such items as are not required by the Provincial Committees within their own areas. It was considered desir-

able that all organisations and donors should be requested not to send any gifts outside the province but to hand over these to the Provincial Committees for their respective areas. The allocation of all funds, however, will remain a responsibility of the Central Committee.

With a view to centralise and co-ordinate relief activities, the Committee considered it desirable that all other existing relief funds should be scrapped and the organisers requested to transfer balances available to the Central Relief Fund.

b. *Nomination of Provincial Committees in Hindustan Areas*

The suggestion to set up Provincial Committees in Hindustan areas was not approved. It was, however, agreed that Muslims in Hindustan areas may constitute their own representative committees in such a manner as they consider advisable. The Central Committee will allocate funds for the relief measures for the Muslims of Hindustan to the approved bodies established there to such extent as may be necessary from time to time.

c. *Nomination of Persons Authorised to Collect Subscriptions for the Central Committee*

It was decided not to authorise any person for collection of funds for the Central Committee. The Provincial Committees may, however, nominate such persons, if desired, at their own discretion.

d. *Appointment of Bankers and Auditors*

Vide resolution 1(d) above, the Committee appointed Habib Bank Ltd. as official bankers. The question of appointment of auditors will be considered at one of the subsequent meetings of the Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammed has promised to recommend suitable auditors.[2]

e. *Issue of Special Appeals*

The Committee agreed to the suggestion contained in item 6 of the Agenda.[3]

f. *Publicity*

The Committee agreed to the suggestions contained in item 7 of the Agenda and directed that the list of subscribers to the Fund should be published periodically in the press. The first list for publication will be issued shortly.

g. *Approved Methods of Collection*

The Committee considered that the methods of collection are the concern of the Provincial Committees who should adopt such methods as may be considered suitable for each province.

h. *Collections, Storage, Accounting of Free Gifts and Methods of Administration of Gifts and Funds*

This point has already been dealt with under para 2 (a) above.

i. *Office Accommodation*

The Committee approved setting up of the Hony. Secretary's office at Variawa Building, McLeod Road, [Karachi].

j. *Any Other Business*

i. The Committee directed that the method of appointment of District Committees and opening of accounts and method of accounting as adopted by the West Punjab Provincial Committee should be circulated to other Provincial Committees with a view to ensur[ing] uniformity of procedure.

ii. The Committee directed that certain selected items of the proceedings of the meeting should be issued in the form of a note to the press.

[Z. A. KHAN]
Honorary Secretary

[1]A copy was forwarded to Jinnah by Z. A. Khan on 25 September. See F. 80(A)-GG/1. Not printed.
[2]See Annex.
[3]See F. 80(Vol. I)-GG/13. Not printed.

Annex to Appendix II. 1
A. F. Ferguson to Z. A. Khan

F. 80(5)-GG/2

MERCANTILE BANK BUILDING,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
13 October 1947

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter No. QARF/9(i) of the 10th instant[1] intimating that at a meeting held on the 9th instant at Government House of the Central Committee, under the presidentship of His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam, we were elected as Honorary Auditors to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, and have much pleasure in accepting this appointment.

Our Mr. Bray would like to have the opportunity of meeting the members of the Committee at some future date; perhaps before or

after a Committee meeting would be a possible time.

Yours faithfully,
A. F. FERGUSON
Chartered Accountants

The Honorary Secretary,
Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable. However, see F. 80 (A)-GG/19-21, 9 October 1947. Not printed.

II. 2

Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/21

30 September 1947

[*Paras 1 to 6(a) omitted*]

RESOLUTION

6(b). The Committee resolved that the Punjab Provincial Committee should be asked to furnish detailed proposals and accounts for the money already remitted to them by the Central Committee (Rs. 50,000), and furthermore to furnish similar accounts and proposals for the remittances to be sent in future. The Punjab Provincial Committee should also be asked to intimate their further requirements for monetary help with rough estimate and particulars of the purposes on which the money will be spent.

[Z. A. KHAN]
Honorary Secretary

II. 3

Report of the Central Committee of QARF for the Week Ending 28.9.1947

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/6-7

In accordance with the resolution[1] of the Committee, Habib Bank Ltd., were appointed official bankers and requested to arrange with all their branches to receive subscriptions and to remit the same to their Karachi office.

[*Paras 2 to 4 omitted*]

5. A personal appeal by the Quaid-i-Azam to His Exalted Highness the Nizam[2] of Hyderabad and the Aga Khan[3] has been issued.

6. An appeal[4] by cable to foreign countries for contribution to the Fund has been issued by the Vice-President through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to our representatives abroad. This is being followed by letters.

7. An appeal[5] for winter clothes has already been issued to the press and will appear shortly.

[*Paras 8 & 9 omitted*]

[Z. A. KHAN]
Honorary Secretary

[1]Appendix II. 1, para 1(d).
[2]Annexure I.
[3]Annexure II.
[4]Annexure III.
[5]See F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/11. Not printed.

Annexure I to Appendix II. 3
M. A. Jinnah to the Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 80 (Vol. 3)-GG/28

27 September 1947

Your Exalted Highness is doubtless sharing the distress at this unparalleled crisis through which our young State of Pakistan and the Musalmans are passing. More than one million refugees have already crossed into the Western Punjab and Sind and many more are expected. Even the distressing accounts that appear in the press from time to time do not present an adequate picture of the heart-rending plight of these refugees. It is a tragedy unparalleled in history. Uprooted from their ancestral homes, they have been driven out without food and clothes. Several thousands have been mercilessly killed, several thousands are severely wounded. All of them are in dire need of protection, shelter, food and clothes. We have issued public appeals for help and unless substantial help, both in cash and kind, is forthcoming at once it would be almost impossible to save several thousand lives in the forthcoming severe winter of the Western Punjab and Sind.

At this critical juncture Muslims' eyes naturally turn to Your Exalted Highness, and I feel confident that Hyderabad will not fail us. I solicit immediate help[1] from Your Exalted Highness, from your Gov-

ernment and from your nobles and people.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]For Nizam's donation, see Appendix II. 14.

Annexure II to Appendix II. 3
M. A. Jinnah to the Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/9

[*Undated September 1947*]

An unprecedented calamity has befallen the young State of Pakistan. Lakhs of refugees are arriving daily into West Punjab and Sind in deplorably destitute condition. Immediate help is needed. I approach Your Highness for your and your followers generous financial help[1] to save further loss of life.

[1]For Aga Khan's donation, see Appendix II. 14.

Annexure III to Appendix II. 3
Appeal by Vice-President, QARF, through Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Telegram, F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/10

[*Undated September 1947*]

Kindly urge on humanitarian societies and personalities imperative need for lakhs of refugees pouring into West Punjab and Sind of immediate relief[1] with money, medicines and particularly warm clothing before onset of bitter Punjab winter. Inconceivably miserable condition of refugees, challenge to the hearts of civilized men and women.

[1]For donations from different sources, see Appendix II. 14.

II. 4

Pakistan Central Relief Committee, Johannesburg, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Telegram, F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/27

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE JOHANNESBURG,
No. 2161 *30 September 1947*

The Pakistan Central Relief Committee composed of permanent

Transvaal Muslims request that they may be urgently informed:

a. What medicines, food and clothing are required by refugees,
b. address to which money or goods for relief purposes may be sent in Pakistan, and
c. for supply of up-to-date information about refugee situation.

2. Bishop Ferguson Davis, a former resident of Punjab, enquires whether South African Indian doctors can be of assistance for medical relief.

II. 5

Ministry of Foreign Affairs to
Pakistan Central Relief Committee, Johannesburg
Telegram, F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/28

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

KARACHI,
2 October 1947

Quyamans, Johannesburg, S[outh] Africa

Your telegram 2161 thirtieth September.[1] Our requirements for refugees are as follows: All general medicines and vaccines for epidemic diseases, tinned foodstuff, warm blankets and clothings. Monetary contributions should be remitted to Habib Bank Ltd., Karachi, account Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. Gifts should be consigned to Honorary Treasurer, 243 Staff Lines, Karachi. Millions of refugees have crossed the border and more are coming in without food, clothing and thousands are maimed and wounded. Condition most deplorable. Bishop Ferguson Davis' offer to send South African Indian doctors is welcome[d] and gratefully accepted.

[1]Appendix II. 4.

II. 6

Ghulam Mohammed to Pakistan Central Relief Committee,
Johannesburg
F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/29

VARIAWA BUILDING, McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 October 1947

Dear Sirs,

I am directed to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your cable-

gram No. 2161 dated the 30th September[1] addressed to "Foreign" Karachi, a reply to which has already been sent *vide* copy attached.[2]

2. As a result of disturbances in Eastern Punjab, Delhi and some of the Indian States, over a million of refugees have already arrived in the Dominion of Pakistan. Equally large number of Muslim refugees are still waiting in the refugee camps of the Indian Dominion and arrangements are being made to transfer them to places of safety in Western Pakistan. The condition of refugees is most deplorable. Uprooted with cyclonic suddenness, far from their ancestral hearths and homes, they have lost everything they possessed in the world. They are coming without food and clothing and thousands of them are maimed and wounded.

3. The youngest Muslim State of Pakistan has thus been faced with an unprecedented administrative problem at its very inception. We have to find for them immediately food, clothing, medicines, shelter and arrange for their rehabilitation.

4. The Committee expresses its gratitude for the initiative taken by you by forming Pakistan Central Relief Committee and expresses the hope that through your efforts, substantial help will be forthcoming which is most urgently needed to save lives of thousands of refugees. The Committee also appreciates Bishop Ferguson Davis'[3] efforts to send South African Indian doctors for medical relief which they [*sic* for it] gratefully accept[s].

5. All monetary contributions should be remitted direct to Habib Bank Ltd., Karachi, and all gift parcels should be consigned to the Hony. Treasurer, 243 Staff Lines, Karachi.

Yours faithfully,
GHULAM MOHAMMED
Vice-President, QARF

[1&3]Appendix II.4.
[2]Appendix II. 5.

II. 7

Appeal by Honorary Secretary, QARF[1]

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/25

VARIAWA BUILDING, McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
5 October 1947

Dear Sirs,

As a consequence of recent disturbances in East Punjab, Delhi, and

other parts of India, over one million refugees have already crossed the border into Pakistan. Thousands more are coming in every day. The cost of evacuation, relief and rehabilitation is straining to the utmost the resources of a State only a few weeks old. Those refugees who have managed to escape with their lives have had to leave all their personal belongings behind. They urgently need food, shelter, clothing, medicines, etc. The distress is so acute and suffering so widespread that words can hardly describe the extent of the calamity.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

Businessmen both in their individual capacity and as institutions have always been the pioneers of humanitarian work. It is in recognition of this fact that I am sending to you this personal appeal for funds on behalf of the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. I am sure that in this hour of our dire need you will contribute generously.

[*Last line and addresses of Fund collectors omitted*]

Yours faithfully,
Z. A. KHAN
Honorary Secretary

[1]Addressed to business community of Karachi. Also see F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/22, para 2b. Not printed.

II. 8

Appeal by Vice-President, QARF, to USA Through American Embassy in Pakistan[1]

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/24

[*Undated October 1947*]

Pakistan, world's youngest State, finds herself confronted today with one of the biggest administrative problems in history. Nearly two million Muslims living in the adjoining State of India are crossing into Pakistan's borders. They have had to leave behind them all their worldly goods, their implements of trade, their agricultural paraphernalia, their cattle—everything they possessed. They are entering our borders in hundreds of thousands, maimed and wounded, with their lips parched with hunger and thirst and their clothing in tatters. Hundreds are dying by the wayside of fatigue and exhaustion caused by prolonged starvation and more are falling victims to cholera and other dreaded tropical diseases. I have no desire to apportion blame for this tragic state of affairs. I only want to make an appeal to the people of America and in fact to the whole world to aid and assist us in saving hundreds

of thousands of human beings from what seems to be inevitable destruction. We badly require funds and foods and medicines—particularly quinine and anti-cholera vaccine and winter clothing to save these people. I firmly believe that America will live up to her great humanitarian traditions and help to save hundreds of thousands of people from misery which has hardly any parallel in the history of the world. In my capacity as Vice-President of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund I shall gratefully accept all donations and contributions and these should be addressed either to me at Government House, Karachi, or sent to Ambassador for Pakistan at Washington.

[1]The appeal was transmitted by Charles W. Lewis of the Embassy to Secretary of State, George Marshall in Washington on 2 October. See *U.S. National Archives*, 845.00/10-247. Not printed.

II. 9

Appeal by M. A. Jinnah to Muslim Countries

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/26

[*Undated October 1947*]

As a result of disturbances in Eastern Punjab, Delhi and some of the Indian States, several hundred thousand Muslim refugees have already arrived in the Dominion of Pakistan. Equally large number of Muslim refugees are still living in the refugee camps of the Indian Dominion and arrangements are being made to transfer them to places of safety in Western Pakistan.

The condition of refugees is most deplorable. Uprooted with cyclonic suddenness from their ancestral homes and hearths, they have lost every material thing that they possessed in the world. They are coming without food, without clothes and thousands of them are maimed and wounded.

The youngest Muslim State of Pakistan has thus been faced with an unprecedented administrative problem at its very inception. We have to find for them immediately food, clothing, medicines, shelter and then arrange for their rehabilitation.

To face this colossal situation, we appeal to our brethren in the Muslim countries to come forward and share the privations of their co-religionists in Pakistan and render immediately such financial and other help as they can. Winter is fast approaching. The rigours of winter in the Western Punjab and Northern Sind are well known. Unless immediate help is forthcoming, it will be difficult to save their

lives. Immediate need is for warm clothing—old or new—and blankets.

All monetary contributions should be sent direct to the Habib Bank Ltd., Karachi, for credit to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and all gift parcels should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, 243 Staff Lines, Karachi.

II. 10

Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of Central Committee, QARF
[*Extract*]

F. 80 (A)-GG/22

KARACHI,
14 October 1947

PRESENT

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President
Ghulam Mohammed, Vice-President
Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
Fazlur Rahman
Yaqub Shah, Hony. Treasurer
Z. A. Khan, Hony. Secretary
Hafeez Ahmad, Joint Secretary
M. Arshed Hussain, Publicity Secretary

Item 2

CONSIDERATION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE EAST BENGAL PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

The Committee approved the constitution of the East Bengal Provincial Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund as follows:

Chairman	The Governor of East Bengal
Members	The Prime Minister of East Bengal
	Nurul Amin
	The President of the Provincial Muslim League
	The Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League
	Kiran Sankar Roy
Treasurer	The Accountant-General, East Bengal
Secretary	Private Sec[retar]y to the Governor of E[ast] Bengal

II. 11

Press Note by the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80 (9)-GG/5

[KARACHI,]
10 January 1948

The Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund have so far made the following allocations of funds for refugee relief:

Rs. 1 lakh to the West Punjab Committee for relief to refugees at its discretion; Rs. 6 lakh to the West Punjab Committee to be spent on the purchase of clothes and garments; Rs. 5 lakh for the purchase by the Central Committee of 1,03,000 blankets from the U.K.; Rs. 10.5 lakh to West Punjab Committee for *razais*; Rs. 1,68,000 to West Punjab Committee for production of warm clothes and garments; Rs. 1,15,000 for the purchase by the Central Committee of 14,000 blankets from East Bengal; Rs. 8 lakh to the Central Committee for the production of 1,00,000 *razais* in Karachi; Rs. 2 lakh to East Bengal for Chittagong Cyclone Relief; Rs. 30,000 to East Bengal to be spent on clothes and rehabilitation of Bihar refugees now in Jessore District.

Other amounts sanctioned include:

Rs. 25,000 to the Christian Committee of Relief, West Punjab; Rs. 25,000 for transport and maintenance of volunteers, doctors and nurses from the U.K. who are now working in West Punjab; Rs. 5,000 to the Vice-Chancellor, Sind University for refugee students.

Special amounts have been sanctioned for the relief of families of servicemen which will be administered by a committee of officers of the Army Headquarters. These are:

Rs. 1 lakh for Pakistan Army; Rs. 10,000 for Pakistan Royal Navy; Rs. 5,000 for Pakistan Royal Air Force.

In addition to the above, the Central Committee has despatched 50,000 blankets and *razais* to West Punjab out of which 30,000 were either produced or manufactured in Karachi and the rest were gifts.

Very large number of clothes and other gifts in kind have been received[1] by the Central Committee and Provincial Committees of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which have been distributed. Full details of these will be published later.

[1]See F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/30-2. Not printed.

II. 12

Message[1] *by M. A. Jinnah*

F. 80 (9)-GG/3

[*14 January 1948*]

The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has passed the one crore mark. In this connection the Quaid-i-Azam has issued the following message:

Response of the people of Pakistan and from outside to my appeal of the 12th September 1947[2] for contributions to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has been magnificient. The Fund has already passed the one crore mark and contributions are still pouring in. It is a matter for gratification that donations have been received from all classes and all communities. I also acknowledge with gratitude the help which has come to us from sympathisers all over the world, both Muslims and non-Muslims, and in particular from the U.S.A., U.K., South Africa and the Islamic countries. Although majority of the six million refugees has been resettled, there are still many who are in urgent need of relief. There are still very many relief problems to be tackled even in connection with those who have been resettled, such as the provision of clothing, blankets and medicines. I must, therefore, urge upon our people, our relief workers and organisers and our friends and sympathisers the necessity for still greater effort and sacrifice. I hope everyone in Pakistan and our friends abroad will continue their good efforts in this humanitarian task so that we may be able to make the lot of those who have suffered so terribly and lost their all or most of what they possessed in this tragedy and upheaval, endurable and, if possible, comfortable.

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 January 1948.
[2]No. 223.

II. 13

Press Note by Honorary Secretary, QARF

F. 80 (9)-GG/54-5

KARACHI,
5 September 1950

OVER 2 CRORE SPENT ON REFUGEES RELIEF

Report of Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund

Nearly [Rs.] 2.5 crore have been spent on refugees relief, says the report of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, which is to be published shortly in Urdu and English.

The Relief Fund was opened by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

in September 1947, immediately after the establishment of Pakistan, to canalise aid to the millions of stricken refugees who came in a destitute condition from India.

The Quaid-i-Azam's appeal met with an immediate response throughout Pakistan and in other countries. By the end of December 1949, contributions totalled Rs. 3,01,63,042-8-4. Of this amount Rs. 2,32,84,948 were spent on relief measures by the various Provincial Committees and the Central Committee, Rs. 1,57,78,839 being incurred on winter clothing, blankets and *razais*. The floods which resulted in very heavy losses consumed Rs. 21,00,000, while Rs. 9,11,756 were spent on medical aid.

After several days of continued starvation when the refugees reached safely they had to be given food, and, in the case of children, special diet. On this account the Fund incurred an expenditure of Rs. 17,56,038.

HELP FOR STUDENTS

Then there was the case of a very large number of school and university students, who not only needed relief to alleviate their misery but also required help to continue their education. Till the end of December 1949, the Fund incurred an expenditure of Rs. 1,15,000 on [this] head, and the bulk of this contribution went for the benefit of the students of the West Punjab and Sind Universities through their Vice-Chancellors.

RESETTLEMENT OF MILITARY FAMILIES

Among the refugees were also members of the Pakistan Armed Forces and their families, and they had to be provided aid not only for immediate relief but also for a fresh start in life. For this purpose the Fund spent Rs. 7,70,000 mostly through the Commander-in-Chief of the three Services of the Armed Forces. Out of this Rs. 3,00,000 were spent on the resettlement of military families in Bahawalpur.

Then there were many other kinds of assistance which the refugees needed for relief as well as rehabilitation and which did not come under any one head. For this purpose the Committee had to spend Rs. 18,53,315.

KASHMIR REFUGEES

As the Punjab (Pakistan) received the bulk of the refugees and contributed the largest amount among the provinces, it received nearly half the amount allocated by the Central Committee [i.e.] Rs. 94,77,849. Next came the Kashmir refugees, fleeing from the horrors of war.

The Central Committee spent Rs. 16,71,790 on the allocations it made direct for various purposes; the East Bengal Sub-Committee was given Rs.13,13,115; the NWFP Sub-Committee Rs. 2,65,600; the Sind Sub-Committee Rs. 19,40,625; the Baluchistan Sub-Committee Rs. 2,95,000 and the Karachi Sub-Committee Rs. 4,26,000.

Among the allocations the Fund made in its later days for the rehabilitation of the refugees, there is a sum of Rs. 5,00,000 for the establishment of an institution for the rehabilitation of artisans and craftsmen, Rs. 1,00,000 for the Pakistan Spinners and Weavers Association and Rs. 10,000 for a Spinning Home for destitute women in the Frontier Province.

The Committee also contributed Rs. 1,20,000 to Jinnah Central Hospital in Karachi for 50 beds and clinical treatment of refugees.

II. 14

List of Donors—Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund

Whereas a complete list of donors would run into scores of pages, certain categories have been short-listed below:

A—DONATIONS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Sr. No.	Date	Donor	Amount
1.	17-11-47	A. M. Moola, Honorary Secretary, Pakistan Relief Committee, Natal, South Africa (S. A.)	Rs. 13,127 US$ 40,000
2.	12-12-47	Mariam Khatoon, Honorary Secretary, Muslim League, Pretoria, S. A.	Rs. 92,362
3.	18-08-50	Secretary, Muslim Congregation, Transvaal, S.A.	Rs. 45,000 £ 200
4.	01-04-48	Pakistan Relief Fund, Nairobi, Kenya	Rs. 33,274
5.	16-10-47	Haq Nawaz Mehal, Honorary Secretary, Pakistan Relief Committee, Hong Kong	Rs. 30,000
6.	08-01-53	Ruler of Kuwait, Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabbah	Rs. 30,000
7.	17-05-48	Pakistan Relief Fund, Capetown, S.A.	Rs. 26,437
8.	20-02-48	Contributions from Muslims, Mauritius	Rs. 25,000
9.	22-10-47	Muslim League, Manchester, U.K.	Rs. 25,000
10.	03-08-48	Donations through Imperial Bank, London	Rs. 25,000
11.	13-01-48	Dawood Haji, Honorary Secretary, Muslim *Jama 'at*, Lindenberg, Germany	Rs. 15,366

12.	23-02-48	Pakistan Fund, Kampala, Uganda	Rs. 14,275
13.	12-12-47	M. Mayet, Johannesburg, S.A.	Rs. 6,762
14.	02-02-48	Honorary Secretary, Muslim Association, Tanganyika [now Tanzania]	Rs. 10,679
15.	27-09-47	Muslim League, Wolverhampton, U.K.	£1005-17-0
16.	04-12-47	Muslim Employees, Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Iran	Rs. 8,373
17.	05-11-47	Muslim League, Glasgow, U.K.	£ 725
18.	27-08-48	Abdul Sattar Essack, Durban, S.A.	Rs. 6,598
19.	12-12-47	Subedar Allah Dita, Jahore Bahru, Malaya [now Malaysia]	Rs. 3,182
20.	11-10-47	Muslim Women Committee, Transvaal, S.A.	Rs. 2,423
21.	4-12-47	British Red Cross Society	£ 100,000

B—MAJOR DONATIONS

Sr. No.	Date	Donor	Amount
1.	08-11-48	The Aga Khan	Rs. 5,00,000
2.	15-10-47	Nizam of Hyderabad	Rs. 5,00,000
3.	29-09-47	Ameer of Bahawalpur	Rs. 5,00,000
4.	11-12-47	Ruler of Swat	Rs. 4,00,000
5.	20-04-48	Pakistan Army	Rs. 1,17,798
6.	13-12-49	Muzaffargarh District	Rs. 1,00,000
7.	22-12-47	West Punjab Education Dept.	Rs. 1,00,000
8.	01-11-47	Sir Maratab Ali, Lahore	Rs. 50,000
9.	26-11-47	Al Haj Sheikh Mustafa bin Abdul Latif, Karachi	Rs. 50,000
10.	25-04-48	President, Executive Council, Khairpur State	Rs. 50,000
11.	02-12-48	Bengal Oil Mills Ltd., Karachi	Rs. 25,000
12.	04-12-48	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Governor of Sindh	Rs. 25,000

13.	16-02-48	Executive Officer, Quetta Municipality	Rs.	20,000
14.	06-10-47	Haji Ahmed Nagra, Karachi	Rs.	20,000
15.	16-10-48	Nawab Sir Ghaibi Khan Chandio, Larkana	Rs.	18,000
16.	18-04-48	Frontier Force Rifles	Rs.	15,600
17.	14-10-47	Ibrahim Yoosoof Gardee c/o Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani, Karachi	Rs.	10,000
18.	13-10-47	A sympathiser	Rs.	10,000
19.	25-10-47	Pakistani Community, Kabul		120,000 (Afghani)[1]

C—OTHER DONATIONS

(A few representative names given)

Sr. No.	Date	Donor	Amount	
1.	16-04-48	Tochi Scouts, Miran Shah	Rs.	8,000
2.	06-10-47	Ist Bn., 14th Punjab Regiment	Rs.	6,800
3.	03-08-48	Muslim Association of Dar es Salaam, Karachi	Rs.	5,679
4.	28-08-47	Anglo-Indian Members of Burt Institute, Lahore	Rs.	4,000
5.	15-02-49	Parsi family, Karachi	Rs.	10
6.	14-10-47	Haji Ali Mohammad, Teacher, Larkana	Rs.	2
7.	14-11-47	Mistry Dharam Chand, Sialkot	Rs.	1-4-0

[1]Unit of Afghan currency.

APPENDIX III

COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST

The partition of India on 15 August 1947 was attended by cataclysmic events. The communal carnage on either side of the Divide in the Punjab, which quickly assumed genocidal proportions, led probably to the largest-ever mass migration in human history: over 8 million Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were rendered homeless and forced to migrate. Ismay felt astounded at the indescribable sight of refugee movement from East Punjab to West Punjab and vice versa. He wondered whether, in the history of the world, there have ever been two simultaneous migrations on that gigantic scale.[1]

The communal strife which gripped parts of Bengal and Northern India in late 1946 sparked savage violence, mass murders, looting and arson. While scores of thousands of Muslims were slain by Hindus in Garhmukteshwar, Gurgaon, Calcutta and Bihar, several thousands of Hindus and Sikhs were killed in Calcutta, Noakhali, Rawalpindi, Multan, Lahore, Amritsar, and Hazara during January-March 1947 and also as a sequel to the earlier anti-Muslim riots.

During most of August and September 1947, communal violence raged in Punjab, Delhi and adjacent areas, in which a huge number of Muslims lost their lives in the orgies of murder by Sikhs and Hindus. Countless people were driven out of their homes and had to seek refuge on the other side of the Divide.

Ironically, no serious preparation had been made by the administration to contain or arrest the tide of communal violence which certainly was not unexpected. Even the Sikh plan for driving Muslims out of East Punjab was not unknown to Mountbatten and Auchinleck, as reported by the West Punjab Governor Francis Mudie, and yet no action was taken by them to frustrate the plan. Sikhs were at the root of the communal trouble and Jinnah had, according to Ismay, no doubt that the Indian Government could, if Patel so minded, suppress the whole Sikh movement in a week, without which there could be no peace. Nehru, on the other hand, maintained that the highly organised Sikhs could be "called off" by Master Tara Singh. Moreover, about 2-3,000 terrorist organisations, mainly supported by the Sikh rulers of the Punjab States, could best be controlled by the Sikh supreme religious authorities.[2] He thus admitted the impotence of his Government in dealing with this important issue. In the words of Ismay, the "civil administration was weak: forces that were too strong were at work: uncontrollable impulses had been unleashed: hundreds of thousands

of refugees were already on the move, presenting easy targets for grizzly revenge".[3]

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, a militant Hindu organisation, known for its deep hatred of Muslims, abetted the Sikh violence against Muslims in the East Punjab and itself perpetrated excesses in Delhi and elsewhere. Pakistan High Commissioner in India, Zahid Husain's despatches to Karachi unfold the communal carnage in Delhi and adjacent areas. A large number of men, women and children, who had to flee from disturbed areas, sought refuge at his residence without any arrangements for food, medical aid or sanitation. How horrid the communal situation had become is exemplified by Mountbatten telling Nehru on 2 September 1947 that the train from Kalka to Delhi was stopped on two successive nights and all the Muslim passengers butchered in front of the military escort. He, indeed, admitted to have been "shaken by the events which have touched my own staff ...".[4] It was indeed a very desperate situation.

In August, however, communal violence rose to an unprecedented pitch in the Punjab, particularly in the wake of the Boundary Commission's Award. Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru together visited the affected areas in an attempt to restore peace. Several other joint visits by Indian and Pakistani leaders were organised to oversee the steps taken to restore law and order.

Jinnah demonstrated a firm resolve in curbing the communal violence. In June, he exhorted Mountbatten to put down the disturbances in Lahore and Amritsar ruthlessly. "I don't care whether you shoot Muslims or not, it has got to be stopped", he declared.[5] On another occasion, he said he "would support the Sikhs against the Muslims any time that any Muslims took unfair action against the Sikhs".[6] He reassured all communities that the Governments of Pakistan and India were determined to stop ruthlessly the orgies of violence which had "already taken a colossal toll of human life" and "displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people,"[7] as agreed by the Joint Defence Council at its meeting on 29 August. Later, on 3 September, concerted remedial measures were put into operation at the India-Pakistan Conference held in Lahore.

Again, in a radio broadcast on 31 August, Jinnah spoke of his deep distress at the communal killings and called for the cessation of the prevailing violence. He emphasised that Pakistan had been achieved without "bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force" and asked his compatriots: "Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement...by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery"?[8]

Jinnah discussed with Ismay, in September, the heart-rending plight of Delhi Muslims, of whom thousands had been forced to live in camps without food or clothing and in mortal fear. Even *roti* had to be airlifted from Karachi for those hapless refugees. Ismay also found the situation in Delhi critical in the extreme. He reported thus:

> Muslims were being systematically hunted down and butchered. Thousands of them were herded into camps, where the conditions defied description... The dead lay rotting in the streets, because there was no one to collect and bury them. The hospitals were choked with dying and wounded, and in imminent danger of attack because of the presence of Muslim staff and Muslim patients. Arson and looting were widespread. Food supplies both wholesale and retail were disrupted, the first because consignments arriving by train could not be unloaded and distributed for lack of labor: the second because all markets and food shops were closed in terror. The Muslim members of the Delhi police had either deserted or were disarmed: the Hindu members had either been suborned or were afraid to do their duty.[9]

The Quaid therefore demanded of the Indian Government that "the lawlessness, going on under the very eyes of that Government, must be stopped by every means in their power. Those who defied the authority of that Government were the enemies of the State.... They should be treated as such and dealt with accordingly".[10]

In September, once again Jinnah strongly urged the people in Pakistan against recourse to reprisals on the ground that resort to violence on their part would in no way help their Muslim brethren in India. "Apart from such action being contrary to Islamic teachings," he reminded, "it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action would serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Muslims who happened to be minorities in Hindustan...."[11]

The situation in the Indian Punjab remained grim for all the efforts of the Indian leadership at defusing it. Nehru admitted that the Government of India had under-estimated the seriousness of the communal problem.[12] In particular, he had not visualized the situation developing as it did in the wake of the Boundary Commission's Award. Master Tara Singh, who had incited the Sikhs to violence against the Muslims, confessed in a public statement on 24 September:

> We do not hesitate to admit that our brethren Sikhs and Hindus have also been guilty of most shameful attacks upon [Muslim] women and children in the communal warfare.[13]

The exponentially growing scale of communal bloodshed and plunder compelled Liaquat Ali Khan to take up the matter with the British Prime Minister as well as with the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and urge them to devise "ways and means of saving gravest situation in India which presents serious threat not only to the peace of this great sub-continent but to

that of the whole world".[14]

In addition to this upheaval, studied efforts were made by India to strangle Pakistan's fledgling economy. Despite the financial settlement on division of assets and liabilities in accordance with the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947, India refused to pay Rs. 55 crore to Pakistan out of the latter's share of Rs. 75 crore from the pre-partition cash balances. Pakistan was also denied the agreed share of vital military equipment and stores, besides the ordnance factories allocated to Pakistan or cash compensation of Rs. 6 crore in lieu thereof. Economic blockade of East Bengal and cessation of urgently needed supplies of cloth, coal and other consumer goods, due to the withholding of over 1,000 railway wagons across the new frontier, compounded the economic problems. At home, a seriously handicapped administrative structure, a disturbed and disorganised revenue system, incapable of generating the required resources, made matters worse.

In the circumstances, economic future of the nascent State appeared uncertain, indeed rather bleak, for it had inherited an under-developed economic and physical infrastructure. Excessive dependence on agriculture, an industrial sector hardly worth the name, and a per capita income as low as 50 dollars[15] presented a dismal picture. An American Embassy assessment of 29 August also depicted a gloomy scenario: "To have Pakistan,... by far the largest Muslim State, and potentially the most powerful, succumb to internal disorders...would be a tragedy unparalleled in modern history".[16]

Undaunted, Pakistan took up the prodigious challenge of economic rehabilitation. Speaking at a Cabinet meeting on 15 August, Liaquat Ali Khan was sure that with "steadfast faith in God and under His guidance we would succeed in our task".[17] The Cabinet assured full support in the task that lay ahead. A state of emergency was declared on 27 August to prepare the country for the stupendous task. Strict economy measures were enforced. Timely financial help was extended by the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Aga Khan and others to help tide over the financial crunch. Six months later, Jinnah was able to declare, with a sense of pride and vindication, that the new State's first budget had demonstrated the soundness of its economy.[18] The prophets of economic doom had been confuted as the Government and the people of Pakistan responded to the challenge with great eclat.

Time had now come to give practical expression to the national urge to develop its enormous resource potential with a view to making speedy socio-economic progress. The Quaid's advice for achieving this national goal was:

If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with the agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias.[19]

[1]Note by H. L. Ismay, 5 October 1947, *U.S. National Archives*, 845.00/11-147. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., para 22.
[3]Ibid., para 8.
[4]See *IOR*, R/3/1/172. Not printed.
[5]Appendix II.21, Vol. II, 829.
[6]Enclosure 1 to Appendix I.30.
[7&8]No. 175.
[9]See note 1 ante, para 9.
[10]See H.L. Ismay, *Memoirs*, London, 1960, 439.
[11]Annex II to No. 166.
[12]Appendix III. 22.
[13]Appendix III. 25.
[14]No. 225, para 10.
[15]Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, London, 1967, 337.
[16]Charles W. Lewis Jr. to George Marshall, 29 August 1947, Despatch No. 109, *U.S. National Archives*, 845.00/8-2947.
[17]See Minutes of the Cabinet Meeting, 15 August 1947, Case No. 4/1/47. Not printed.
[18]Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches & Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan*, 1947-48, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 214.
[19]Appendix IV.4.

III. 1

T. W. Rees to Claude Auchinleck

Telephone Message, IOR, R/3/1/171

[LAHORE,]
21 August 1947

From Rees for Supreme Com[man]d[er]. On my information[1] Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts, also now starting in Gurdaspur [*sic*] are now experiencing the happenings which have been going on in Lahore and Amritsar during the last two or three weeks, and information of the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur etc. Happenings, plus refugees with fiery stories, are now reaching Lahore and West Punjab. This is causing natural reactions and unless the killings in the South and East Punjab are stopped, there is the very real danger, of which you are aware, of Mohammadan retaliation on Sikhs and Hindus in the West Punjab. Meanwhile, Sikhs in the West Punjab are appealing to Sikh leaders in the East Punjab to stop the killings there, otherwise they (the Sikhs in West Punjab) may suffer in mass reprisals. The situation has not deteriorated to the extent feared by the Muslim leaders of the West Punjab. Meanwhile troops of the P.B.F.[2] are minimizing

the killings to the full extent of their power, as they have done up here and will go on doing so, and I am reinforcing the South. Also I have got Sikh leaders to tour with peace messages and the Muslim leaders in West Punjab have promised to do the same and are, indeed, doing so. In conclusion the real necessity is for the East Punjab massacres to be stopped. I have shown this message to Messervy who agrees and I intend, accompanied by two West Punjab Ministers, to visit Trivedi at Jullundur tomorrow morning if he can receive us there.[3]

[T. W. REES
Major General,
Commander, Punjab Boundary Force]

[1]Frank Messervy, after visiting Lahore, confirmed the contents of this report and observed: "Lahore and Amritsar have burnt themselves out... The main danger is in East Punjab in the districts of Jullundur, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur." See *IOR*, R/3/1/171. Not printed.
[2]Punjab Boundary Force.
[3]Auchinleck, in his letter of 22 August 1947, suggested to Mountbatten that since "the answer lies in the East Punjab, every effort should be made by leaders to stop killing there". See *IOR*, R/3/1/171. Not printed.

III. 2

Frank Messervy to Claude Auchinleck

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, F. 128
[*Extract*]

D. O. [No.] 5/C *25 August 1947*

The communal strife gets worse, I fear rather than better. It may well spread North and West as well as South and East. The Police on both sides are now almost 100% communal and frequently take no action, or become armed supporters of the mob. Feeling is very bitter, not unnaturally. The Deputy Inspector General Police here, for instance, has lost all his property by burning and looting in Amritsar, worth several lakhs. The Deputy Commissioner heard yesterday that his house in Jullundur has been burnt and his mother is missing. All this sort of thing makes it difficult to ensure impartial administration. At the moment the train situation is the worst. Sher Khan (my D.D.M.I.)[1] arrived yesterday. His train was attacked near Bhatinda and a lot of Muslims murdered. J.B. Dalison arrived this morning by the Frontier Mail. They were attacked at Maur, south of Bhatinda, before taking on a military guard. His servant was killed before his eyes by the Sikh attackers and his whole kit in the brake van was looted. It has rather put him off serving on and he now says he wants to go. I have asked him to think it over before deciding.

I am keeping on Lahore Area till the trouble has subsided and putting in Norman Gane to control the areas we are taking over from the P.B.F.

I think the P.B.F. has done very well. Its difficulties have been enormous. The only consistent widespread complaint I have heard about is Amritsar where all Muslims unanimously complain that they could have protected themselves better without the troops. It was a pity also that two British officers of the Para Field Co[mpan]y were shot and killed by a Jat piquet of the Raj[putana] Rif[les] which did not improve the feeling between the two units.

[FRANK MESSERVY]

[1]Deputy Director, Military Intelligence.

III. 3

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, IOR, R 3/1/171

SECRET/IMMEDIATE KARACHI,
27 August 1947

From all reports conditions in Eastern Punjab far worse than could have been imagined. In Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur Districts and parts of Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore Districts [there is] complete breakdown of administration. Thousands of men, women and children massacred and large proportion of Muslim villages burnt. Abduction of women on a large scale. Reign of terror in these districts has driven hundreds of thousands to West Punjab. Number of Muslim refugees may run upto a million or more.

2. Appears Sikh object is to exterminate or drive out entire Muslim population from this area.[1] Promises by their leaders and speeches and statements by Ministers of India have made no difference to actual situation. Punjab Boundary Force has on the whole failed in its objective. There are many instances of Hindu and Sikh troops of Boundary Force siding with rioters and terrorising Muslim population.

3. Only way to restore order is ruthless application of forces against Sikh *Jathas* who are roaming about country-side murdering, looting and burning. Now only effective way of applying this force is by operational use of aircraft. Joint Defence Council authorised use of aircraft for reconnaissance purposes but that has proved inadequate. Air Force must, I consider, be used for action against these Sikh *Jathas*.

4. If you and India Defence Minister agree orders should issue at once. Otherwise a special emergent meeting of Joint Defence Council should be called immediately to consider this question.

5. Please pass copy to High Commissioner, Pakistan.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Annex.

Annex to Appendix III. 3
Henry Grady[1] to George Marshall[2]

Telegram, U.S. National Archives, 845.00/9-147

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 777

NEW DELHI,
1 September 1947

Following information furnished [to] Donovan by Stimson, BBC correspondent, just returned from Punjab:

General view all correspondents that Sikhs are more responsible for disturbances than Muslims or Hindus. Sikhs are well-organized and many bands are equipped with sten guns, mortars and hand grenades. It is opinion of all foreign press correspondents that Sikh rulers of Faridkot, Nabha, Kapurthala and Patiala have furnished arms to Sikhs in Punjab. Muslims in general were poorly armed. Stimson confirms story. Embassy has heard from various sources that 1,200 Muslim police in Amritsar were disarmed by orders from GOI[3] (who issued these orders is mystery but the police were disarmed). This left Muslims at mercy of Sikh and Hindu mobs. Amritsar is practically destroyed.

There are numerous well-established cases of police and soldiers refusing to extend protection to other than co-religionists, and in some instances, police and soldiers have attacked refugees.

Train crews will not go nearer the frontier than 30 miles and there is a complete breakdown of transportation throughout northern India.

[*Last 3 paras omitted*]

[HENRY] GRADY

[1]US Ambassador to India.
[2]Secretary of State, USA.
[3]Government of India.

III. 4

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/5

[SECRET] NEW DELHI,
Report No. 2 *2 September 1947*

Presume that report sent yesterday has been received.[1] From reports received to-day it seems that situation is deteriorating very fast as was anticipated in yesterday's report sent from here. Bahadurgarh, a large village about 17 to 18 miles from here where our baggage train was burnt and looted 2 days ago, is reported to have been attacked last night by the same mob. No information is available regarding the number of casualties. Houses are said to be burning. Large number of women and children are said to have been collected at the police station and are in serious danger. It is also reported that Najafgarh, a town within the Delhi Province at a distance of about 16 miles from Delhi, is in danger of an attack tonight. The gangs which have been operating in the neighbourhood are said to have reached as near as Azadpur, a village 5 miles from Delhi.

2. I am informed that certain groups of Sikhs have come and settled down near Birla Mandir and Bara Hindu Rao ostensibly as refugees. They are suspected to be members of the gangs who have been operating in East Punjab and who are now infiltering [*sic* for infiltrating] into Delhi Province.

3. It might be mentioned here that the people who escaped from the mob in Bahadurgarh and came to Delhi state that the military is responsible for arson as well as for shooting. The houses were set on fire and when people tried to escape they were shot.

4. In view of the situation I have asked Mr. Inamur Rahim, who happens to be in Delhi, to help me. It is necessary that one or two officers should be available to tour with officers of the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner in response to appeals from the population. Subject to confirmation by Govt., I have put him here temporarily as Deputy High Commissioner and have informed the Govt. of India accordingly and asked for their concurrence.

5. I interviewed Sardar Patel this afternoon and explained to him the situation in Bahadurgarh and Najafgarh as reported to me. I also took with me some of the people who had come from Bahadurgarh whom Sardar Patel gave a little time to hear their account of the last night's happenings. It has been arranged that a senior officer of the

Defence Department and Mr. Inamur Rahim will go to the disturbed areas under military escort both in East Punjab viz. Bahadurgarh and Gurgaon and within the Delhi Province. I was rather surprised that Sardar Patel was not aware of the happenings in Bahadurgarh and of the imminent danger to Najafgarh from mob attacks. In the afternoon, I received reports of collection of mobs in the Bara Hindu Rao locality which is a predominantly Muslim area in Delhi City adjoining Nawabganj. I got into touch with the Chief Commissioner. He expressed his thanks for the information. At my instance he sent some police detachments to Najafgarh and took some action in regard to Bara Hindu Rao also.

6. Our arrangement for transporting our men from here by air are going forward, but the Govt. of India have taken hold of the 3 aeroplanes which had been placed at our disposal by Tatas on a commercial basis. This is an interference with our arrangement and I am lodging a strong representation against it with the Govt. of India. I am asking the Govt. of Pakistan separately to make a protest direct also. This is an unfortunate set-back to our arrangements but in other respects they are going on according to plan.

7. In view of the increasing volume of work arising from the deteriorating situation in the neighbourhood of Delhi and also on account of the enquiries which are increasing in number, I have arranged that the 3 Foreign Service Probationers should be withdrawn from their training and attached to my office subject to confirmation by Govt.

8. This morning I sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Punjab asking him that Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Sardar Baldev Singh should be requested to tour the districts of Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hissar also. If possible the two Prime Ministers also should attend to this area, the conditions in which are fast deteriorating.

9. Sardar Patel seems to be very pessimistic in regard to the situation in the country. He said that the news regarding Shekhupur [Sheikhupura] had had immediate reaction in Calcutta. The situation according to him is deteriorating in Sind and minorities in the NWFP are in a state of very great panic. One and all, they are asking for evacuation. He also said that he had very little army in the East Punjab, a statement which was not very intelligible to me. According to him, the Punjab Boundary Force consisted mostly of troops which were rightly allocable to Pakistan and have therefore gone over to the West Punjab. He said that he was arranging for troops from South India, but that it would take time before they could take up duties.

10. It is perhaps fully realised by Govt. that the army has more or less succumbed to mob rule. This state of affairs is well-illustrated by an incident reported to one of our men by Mr. Nanda of the well-known

Nanda Bus Service. He came with a lorry convoy from Lahore to Delhi yesterday. He states that between Ambala and Karnal, the convoy met a band of Sikhs who stopped the convoy and made full search and everyone was strip[p]ed naked to verify the community to which he belonged. There was no Muslim in the convoy except one driver. The mob wanted to kill him but at this stage the Sikh Commander of the convoy intervened. There was some argument and in the last resort the Commander had to threaten them with the machine-gun at which they desisted from carrying out their intentions.

ZAHID HUSAIN
[*Pakistan High Commissioner to India*]

[1]Not traceable.

III. 5

Zahid Husain to Vallabhbhai Patel

FOA, IU/4/5

NEW DELHI,
2 September 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I enclose copy of a letter[1] which I am addressing to the Ministry of E.A. & C.R.[2] You are taking very great interest in the refugee problem in the East Punjab and I believe that you will take similar interest in the Muslim refugees in Delhi and its neighbourhood. If this problem is dealt with satisfactorily it will go a great way towards the restoration of goodwill as also the normal conditions.

2. There are over 20,000 refugees from Mewat and Alwar in Delhi, nearly 3 regular camps with 13,000 people are being run by private enterprise, nearly 7,000 persons are camping in the various parts of Delhi like Idgah, Shedipura, Qarol Bagh, Pahargunj, Subzimandi, etc. and help has not so far been forthcoming from the local authorities for running these camps. Recently the Delhi Muslim League was asked to remove all these Mewatis to an open place near Old Fort after levelling the ground. The authorities have been asked to make suitable sanitary, water and electric arrangements. The Muslim League has been told that no tents are available, but that if the League is able to arrange for tents, the authorities will meet the expenditure. Efforts have been made to secure tents, but none are available and the only source there-

fore left is the army who have a large stock of tents at Cawnpore. I should be very grateful for your help in getting a sufficient number of tents for these refugees.

3. The Rationing authorities are extending their cooperation by issuing ration cards for refugees in our regular camps, but they have not seen their way to issuing ration cards to people outside the camps.

4. I shall be very grateful for your help in these matters.

Assuring you of my highest regards,

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Enclosure.
[2]External Affairs & Commonwealth Relations.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 5
Zahid Husain to G. S. Bajpai

FOA, IU/4/5

No. 159

NEW DELHI,
1/2 September 1947

The Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations,
Govt. of India, New Delhi
Sir,

I have been directed by my Government to represent to the Govt. of India the desirability and urgency of devoting special attention to the welfare of Muslim refugees in Delhi and other parts of India. As the Govt. of India are aware, there are large number of refugees in Delhi from Mewat, Alwar, etc. and are living in Delhi under extremely difficult conditions on private charity which in the very nature of things cannot be sufficiently far [*sic*] to fulfil even minimum requirements. There are about 2,50,000 refugees in a radius of 20 miles in Ferozepore Jhirka Tahsil of Gurgaon District. There are relief camps at Gurgaon and Rewari but information has been received that supply of ration has been stopped for reasons which are not known. It is not therefore possible to obtain foodgrains for them.

2. Recently the Govt. of India announced a grant of Rs. 5 lakh for refugees in Eastern Punjab. It is clear from their pronouncement on the subject that if more funds are needed, sanctions will be forthcoming. I am also aware that it is the intention of the Govt. of India to assist the

Eastern Punjab Govt. to the maximum extent necessary in regard to the provision of funds for the relief of refugees. In addition, and quite rightly, steps are being taken to ensure reasonably good sanitary conditions as far as possible, provision of medical relief and supply of food etc. The Government of Pakistan express the hope that similar measures of relief as far as they may be found necessary will be extended in the case of Muslim refugees also.

ZAHID HUSAIN

2 September 1947

3. Certain leading persons and Sardars came yesterday to Delhi and gave a signed statement to the effect that substantial forces of the Union of India appear to be moving towards Alwar border near Ferozepore Jhirka to assist Alwar forces in dealing with Mewatis who have taken shelter in the hills. The object of this movement is not known. It is hoped that the intention is not to take any punitive measures as the remedy appears to be to bring these people to Ferozepore Jhirka in Mewat. In the end I am to express the hope that the Govt. of India will take necessary measures for the relief of these refugees and their rehabilitation. I will be grateful for the views of the Govt. of India for communication to the Govt. of Pakistan.

I have, etc.
ZAHID HUSAIN

III. 6

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, IU/4/5

SECRET NEW DELHI,
Report No. 3 *4 September 1947*

The imperative necessity of avoiding all publicity regarding the arrangements made for the transport of Pakistan personnel either to Karachi or to Lahore has been emphasised on several occasions in letters and reports from Mr. Wazir Ali to Mr. Mohamad Ali. Repeatedly we find that publicity is given from Karachi presumably by unauthorised persons and this has played some part in frustrating our arrangements. In the Delhi *Dawn* issue of the 2nd September 1947,[1] I find a message from the API quoting the Press Note issued by the office of the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan saying

that 12 Dakota aircraft will be employed from September 3rd to 6th between Delhi and Lahore for the transfer of Pakistan personnel. This is most disconcerting and I see no occasion for such publicity.

2. Arrangements for the transport of personnel are going forward. For the staff of the Joint Defence Council, the Supreme Commander has agreed to establish a tent colony at Hardinge Avenue and if this is done, there will be greater sense of security and measures of protection will be facilitated. We are worried about the large staff engaged on the duplication of files and in the present circumstances they are doing very little work and I am seriously thinking whether they should not be sent away. I have not however come to any decision yet and will investigate the matter further after my return from Karachi. In case this staff is also returned, we shall have only the staff of H.C.'s office proper. For this staff I shall have to ask the Govt. of India formally for special measures of protection.

3. I have not been able to establish any contact with Mr. A.K. Malik who has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in India with his Headquarters in Amritsar. I have written to him several letters by Air Mail c/o the Premier in Lahore and the Chief Secretary, West Punjab Government, but have had no response so far. My only contacts with Lahore have so far been on two occasions by telephone with Mr. Mumtaz Daultana. In Delhi, Air Mail is delivered regularly, but I am not sure of Lahore. (I am writing on this subject once again to Lahore and asking the West Punjab Govt. to ask the Deputy High Commissioner to avoid all publicity of our transport arrangements.)

4. I have stated in my DR No. 2 of 2nd September 1947[2] that I propose to write to the Home Minister regarding the general security arrangements. It was also my intention to suggest evacuation of minority community but on second thought I decided to leave this suggestion out. I send herewith a copy of a letter I have received from Sardar Patel[3] along with a copy of the letter I have sent him in reply.[4] I request that this correspondence be brought to the notice of the Premier and His Excellency the Governor-General.

I find that the entire Ambala Division with the exception of Simla has been declared as a dangerously disturbed area. Conditions according to the report received are still showing signs of deterioration. Yesterday on my representation, Sardar Patel arranged a meeting with the Commander-in-Chief and the Area Commander in order to take decisions regarding general arrangements. Very disquieting reports are reaching me from Karnal, Panipat, Hissar, especially Bhiwani and neighbouring areas of Delhi, and killings in the trains continue. Violence is spreading further and last night Howrah Express, which

leaves Delhi at 9 p.m. was attacked at Sikandra near Khurja. Casualties are reported to have been very large. Sir J.P. Srivastava, who was the first to give me this information this morning said that the train was held up and is still standing there (8 a.m.). The Kalka-Ambala-Delhi Section is specially affected in regard to train incidents. I have represented to the transport Member on several occasions and have since represented to the Home Minister. Representations to the Foreign Office take a circuitous route and no useful purpose is served.

5. It appears that the gangs of Sikhs have spread themselves out in the Ambala Division and have incited the rural population to form themselves into bands for attacking, looting and murdering Muslim population. The language used by Sardar Patel in his letter referred to in para 3 is, if I may say so, ominous. He thinks that unless atrocities stop in West Punjab trouble is bound to spread. The Muslim population of West Punjab started their attacks on non-Muslim population about a week after murders and atrocities began in East Punjab, but unless they stop first there is no hope of the trouble being brought under control. One may reasonably doubt whether there is real earnestness and sincerity behind the measures for stopping and controlling communal violence and bloodshed. Musalman is described widely here as a fatal poison which must be removed in order to make the body politic healthy. Large scale conversions under civil and military supervision are taking place in Alwar though I can get no written or authentic report about them.

Conversions are taking place, though not in the same way, in other areas also, including some of the western districts of U.P.

6. For Muslim population generally life is becoming full of hazards. Even at the Delhi Railway Station there is always the danger of some trouble being created and the number of Muslims there now is extremely small. Isolated stabbings are taking place although Muslims have shown the greatest restraint and there has not been a single attack or attempt on a non-Muslim. His patience is being tried while he is being gradually reduced to the position of a sorely beleaguered population.

The general attitude of the Hindu[s] now is that the Muslims having been granted Pakistan have no place in India and must quit. The ground is thus fertile for the propaganda of the Sikhs inciting the population to violence and bloodshed.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Also see *Pakistan Times*, 3 September 1947.
[2]Appendix III. 4.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 6
Zahid Husain to Vallabhbhai Patel

FOA, IU/4/5

NEW DELHI,
No. 178 *3 [September 1947]*

Dear Sardar Patel,

I write to thank you for your letter of the Ist September 1947.[1] I fully appreciate the position as you have described in your letter. Unfortunately for our country, and in this term I hope you will permit me to include both India and Pakistan, an unending chain of reaction has been set up which had its origin in certain happenings about a year ago. I do not wish to refer to this in any detail for they represent facts of recent history which are well-known. The happenings in the East Punjab are alleged to be due to the events of 6 months ago in Rawalpindi and elsewhere while the recent happenings in West Punjab are alleged to be due to the events in the East Punjab. I was in Lahore till the 10th August and very disturbing news used to come to us of the atrocities in the rural areas of Amritsar. They were often the subject of informal mention and discussion in the Partition Committee presided over by Sir Evan Jenkins, the late Governor of Punjab. I am in full agreement with you that the situation in the West Punjab must be brought fully under control. The visit of the Governor-General of Pakistan and of the Premier who, I understand, is still in the Punjab, is evidence of the anxiety of my Government to strain every nerve and to do everything within their means to bring the situation under control and to restore normal conditions of life. Last evening at about 10 o'clock I was told by the Finance Minister of the West Punjab Govt. that the situation in West Punjab is normal in nearly all areas except in a few places which are also being rapidly brought under control. Refugees will continue to move from the West Punjab to East Punjab and vice versa for some time to come and always will continue to circulate stories most of which will be related as if they happened recently.

2. It is clear that my Government are fully conscious of their responsibilities in this matter. I am sending a copy of your letter for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan as also the Premier who is also the Defence Minister.

3. While on this subject I would bring to your notice the stories that are circulating here about the murderous assaults committed in the trains on Muslim travellers. These stories are persistent and have been coming for some days now. They have spread far and wide among the

highest and the lowest people and everyone now, wherever he is in East Punjab, feels that he cannot undertake any travel either by road or rail without serious risk to his life. These stories are now going to the West Punjab as also to Sind and are producing very unfortunate reactions.

4. I would also take your leave to point out that the part which is being played by some of the papers in Delhi is very unfortunate. Some of the papers have devoted themselves almost entirely to inciting the population to violence such as *Baljit* and *Sangram*. I have also noticed some articles of the same kind in *Sher-i-Punjab* of Delhi. I enclose September 2nd issue of *New Times*[2] which appears to be an English daily. It appears that this paper is also devoted to unrestrained provocation to violence. Material of the kind published in this paper is bound to provoke passions and will lead to difficult situations. May I urge you kindly to ensure that the papers published here realise their responsibilities in the matter of restoration of peaceful conditions. If there are any papers published in Pakistan areas who are guilty of incitement and provocation, I would immediately bring the matter to the notice of the Governments concerned and urge them to take suitable action. As no papers are reaching me from Pakistan areas, I have no personal knowledge myself.

5. I am quite sure that my Government will fully appreciate the steps you are taking to bring the situation under control.

I again thank you for your assurances in regard to the efforts of your Government to restore normal conditions and assuring you of my highest regards,

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1&2]Not traceable.

III. 7

C. M. Trivedi to Swaran Singh

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, F. 129

CAMP JULLUNDUR,
4 September 1947

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

My dear Home Minister,

You know that I have made no secret of the fact that the problem of restoring law and order in East Punjab is very largely one of putting a

stop somehow or the other to the activities of the Sikhs. There is undoubtedly an organisation behind these activities. Sikh leaders like Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh have, I know, been doing quite a lot for the restoration of peace, but I am not at all sure whether their propaganda has reached the interior in all districts or has really gone home to what we might describe as low-level leaders in *tahsils* or villages. My information is that *Jathas* are getting bigger and more organised. There are only two ways of dealing with these activities, namely, either propaganda or vigorous police and military action. It is most important from all points of view to achieve results immediately, for unless we check these activities I am sure the situation will be much worse than it is at present. This is no time for complacence and we as a Government have a duty to discharge and also to impress upon our officers the vital necessity of taking stern and immediate action. Obviously if the Sikhs themselves cry a halt—and I think they can do so if they are really so minded—that of course is the best solution, but failing that there will be no other alternative but to set the whole of the police and military machinery in motion. I would beg of you to treat this matter with the seriousness it demands and I request that the Honourable the Prime Minister and yourself should discuss it with me today. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Honourable the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. TRIVEDI
[*Governor of East Punjab*]

Hon'ble Sardar Swaran Singh,
Home Minister, East Punjab,
Camp Jullundur

III. 8

Howard Donovan to George Marshall

U.S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/9-547
[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 184

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
NEW DELHI,
5 September 1947

Subject: Refugee Movement in the Punjab

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose the text of a joint press despatch issued

by the press correspondents who are accompanying Pandit Nehru on his tour of the Punjab. What is now occurring in the Punjab is practically a mass exchange of Sikhs and Hindus for Muslims from East to West Punjab and vice versa.

These joint press despatches can be taken as an accurate portrayal of events in the Punjab. While there is no censorship, obviously a joint press despatch of this kind would not be sent unless it met with the approval of Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan. In this connection it should be mentioned that the only impartial reporting on events in the Punjab, so far as Delhi is concerned, is that contained in the *Statesman.*

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador,
HOWARD DONOVAN
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure to Appendix III.8

GIGANTIC EXCHANGE OF TWO MILLION PEOPLE BEGINS IN THE PUNJAB[1]

LAHORE, Sept. 2—The gigantic refugee relief machinery is getting into swing. The great exodus has begun, which may easily involve an exchange of more than a million people on each side—an operation unprecedented in size and historic significance, calling forth all the organizational ability of the military and the civilian authorities, says a joint despatch issued by the Press correspondents accompanying Pandit Nehru on his tour of the Punjab.

The residents at Faletti's Hotel woke up this morning to the sound of a great bustle and shuffle along the road. For more than two hours they watched the quaintest cavalcade passing along. That was the first organized evacuee party of Hindu and Sikh refugees on its way to Amritsar. Men, women and children with their few movable earthly belongings, including cycles, *charpoys* and pets, on 60 trucks and hundreds of donkey-carts, bullock-carts and horse-carriages, formed the caravan. Besides, hundreds trekked, driving their cattle along. A flying military jeep patrol shepherded the procession, which was also accompanied by lorry-loads of troops.

These refugees were the first large batch of the 10,000 Hindus and Sikhs crammed in the D. A. V. College camp.

Altogether 1,300 lorries have been mobilized by the Government of India to carry out this major operation of exchanging evacuees from East and West Punjab. The Pakistan Government is co-operating in this task. An inadequate petrol supply, however, is reported to be

handicapping the operation.

It comprises not only the transport of evacuees from refugee centres to the other side of the border, but also the picking up of people from isolated parts of the country and providing relief and food supplies for them. Doctors and nurses are being held in readiness to minister to their medical needs.

Those who want to trek on their own are provided with armed escorts; others are transported by rail and trucks and yet others by air, for which purpose 12 Dakotas have assembled at airfields in West Punjab.

60-MILE LONG CARAVAN

The staggering figure of 300,000 Sikh and Hindu refugees having moved within the past week from the Montgomery [now Sahiwal] District into Indian territory was given on Tuesday to Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and the military authorities when the two Premiers reached Montgomery after having travelled 102 miles by road.

This caravan was perhaps the longest in history. At one time 15,000 persons were on the road, spread over 60 miles. The majority of them passed over the Sulaimanki Bridge, which was crossed by the refugees in 36 hours.

This mass movement was chiefly undertaken by those who had bullock-carts or animals for transport. Those who are to be carried by train number about 40,000 and are chiefly in camps in Montgomery and Okara. When these are moved within the next week or two, practically 90 percent of the Sikh and Hindu population of Montgomery district will have moved into India.

According to the military authorities, casualties since the military took over had not been more than 200. Since the flare-up occurred on August 18 and lasted till August 25, however the casualties occurred before the military took charge of the situation. According to the civil authorities the total casualties are about 1,000 but a deputation of Congress leaders estimated them at 10,000.

Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan were accompanied on Tuesday by Mr. Karamat Ali, a Minister of the West Punjab Government. For about 40 miles they passed Muslim refugees moving westward in small groups and others resting on the roadside for their midday meal. Soon they found the road blocked by a three-mile long procession of refugees, mostly Sikhs. Pandit Nehru got out of his car and stood gazing at them. Apparently the refugees, who were mostly from villages in Sheikhupura district, had not seen him before and therefore did not recognize him.

They did seem struck by the personality of the Gandhi-capped and

khaddi-dressed leader and the several cars and jeeps accompanying him. Pandit Nehru then moved towards a group and asked them where they had come from. A typically rustic woman, without knowing whom she was talking to, said instantly: "If you wanted to partition the country, why did you not first arrange for exchange of population. See what misery has come on us all". Pandit Nehru did not answer. His heart was too full with sympathy for this mass of humanity. The huge caravan was escorted by Gurkhas and Dogras. It ran little risk of attack, because most of the able-bodied Sikhs and Hindus were armed with spears and *kirpans*.

The next stop was at Okara, where Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went into a flour mill and a Government milk-condensing factory to find out whether they were safe and needed any help. They all reported that no incident had occurred, but that their Hindu and Sikh staff had left in panic.

The two Prime Ministers next visited Okara grain market, where the scenes witnessed in the Muslim refugee camp at Hoshiarpur on Monday were re-enacted. About 25,000 refugees had gathered here and both the Premiers made a round of the market through large crowds. First, the crowd was reverential and cried "Pandit Nehru *Zindabad*". Later on, it became boisterous and shouted slogans.

REFUGEES' STORIES

Pandit Nehru while walking gathered from a Congress leader the story of the camp and of the past week and promised to send them relief without delay.

At Montgomery, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan held a conference with the local civil authorities and military officers. They gathered that the centres of trouble were now isolated villages which would be taken in hand after the mass movement of refugees had been completed. They were told that special trains were necessary to evacuate those in Okara and Montgomery since they had no bullock carts of their own nor rations on which to subsist en route.

A deputation of Congress and Sikh leaders appealed for help in rescuing their co-religionists in danger in the countryside, where they were contained in several small pockets. A deputation of Muslim League leaders stated that the atrocity stories were based on rumour largely, that on the whole Montgomery had been peaceful and they wanted the Sikhs and Hindus to remain in the district and not disrupt its economic life by wholesale withdrawal.

The two Prime Ministers and the party next visited a Hindu refugee camp near a temple and the Sikh camp in the local Gurdwara and a barbed wire open camp where refugees from villages had been collected.

Pandit Nehru addressing gatherings at the temple and the *gurdwara* told them that the Governments of India and Pakistan had jointly resolved to use all their strength to bring peace, to punish the guilty and to evacuate as quickly as possible those who wished to move either east or west. He told them that the dead could not be brought back to life but the living would be cared for. The speech made considerable impression.

POPULATION EXCHANGE

As the party started for Lahore, it came across a refugee train that had brought Muslims to Montgomery District. All compartments and roofs of bogies were fully occupied and there were about a thousand refugees per bogie.

The visit to Montgomery had the effect not only of raising the morale of the refugees but it made the two Prime Ministers probably feel that in ■ week or two a million persons would have crossed either way[2] and this enormous exchange of population would have occurred.

[HOWARD DONOVAN
Counsellor]

[1]The *Statesman*, 4 September 1947.

[2]Huge columns of refugees and evacuees from the Punjab, both east-bound and west-bound, continued to cross the India-Pakistan border by road or train throughout August-September under the security arrangements agreed between the two countries. However, a large number of Muslim refugees suffered untold hardships and casualties on the way due to connivance of Hindu and Sikh army personnel with the hooligans and the armed *Jathas* in the Indian Punjab. See *Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1995.

III. 9

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, IU/4/5

NEW DELHI,
7 September 1947

Interviewed Lord Mountbatten immediately after arriving. He asked following to be brought to notice of Qaeda [Quaid-i-]Azam. Atrocities in West Punjab continue according to latest news. India is taking all possible steps and straining every nerve to bring situation under control. He thinks situation is being gripped. A committee has been appointed consisting himself as Chairman with Prime Minister, Home, Transport, Defence and Communications Ministers, States Secretary,

Commander-in-Chief and other high ranking officers concerned to deal with situation. Committee will meet day to day. Lord Ismay will see Qaeda [Quaid-i-]Azam in near future.

[ZAHID HUSAIN]

III. 10

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/5

SECRET NEW DELHI,
Report No. [4][1] *8 September 1947*

The situation in Delhi got very much worse this morning. Throughout the night Hindu mobs attacked various Muslim quarters and the attacks continued throughout the day.

The plan of the attack seems to have been very well-thought-out. The method employed seems to have been that first of all outlying areas were cleared of Muslims and later attacks were made at more solidly Muslim localities. Yesterday afternoon a number of villagers attacked the outskirts of the University area and Sabzimandi and refugees started pouring in from a vast sector extending from Badli Railway station to Kingsway. The ring became shorter and shorter until in the evening a Muslim factory situated right in the neighbourhood of the University was burnt. At night attempts were made by the Hindu refugees to attack Sabzimandi, but the Muslims were on their guard.

2. In the evening the situation got much worse and the Military and the Police came on the spot and opened fire. The Muslims complained that the fire was directed against them and not against the Hindu mob who were the aggressors. As this was going on, residential quarters of the Muslim staff of the University in the Rajpur quarters were plundered. The trouble spread to the whole University area with the result that the houses of the Registrar and Dr. [I. H.] Qureshi, Member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University, were plundered. Eye-witness accounts concur in saying that students of the University formed part of the mob who looted some of the houses.

3. Another scene of trouble was the Hindu refugee camp in front of Dewan Hall near the Red Fort. They attacked all passers-by and attacked the More Sarai where they inflicted loss of life and property on the small Muslim colony.

4. The night before, attempts had been made to attack Chooriwalan. Qarol Bagh which had already suffered heavily was again attacked with the result that very heavy losses were inflicted on Muslims. The Ajmeri Gate area, Lodi Road and certain areas of New Delhi were also affected, where once again sufferers were Muslims.

5. Towards the evening, all Muslim localities were being attacked and plundered. Sabzimandi area, Multani Dhandha, Qarol Bagh, Bandooq-wali Gali, Ballimaran, Bulbuli Khana, Kucha Chelan, all have either been cleared of Muslims or will be shortly cleared. These are localities where the Muslims formed compact majorities.[2]

6. Muslims have not only been attacked by mobs, but the mobs have been supported by the Hindu police and the Hindu army. No action seems to have been taken against the Hindus who have uniformly been aggressors. If these conditions continue for a few more hours, the Muslim population of Delhi will be found only in the few refugee camps which [they] are trying to set up.

7. The situation is so grave that it is impossible to exaggerate its gravity and it seems that the long connection between Delhi and Islam will soon cease to exist if the present conditions continue.

It has been possible to evacuate some of the inhabitants of those areas, but the loss of life and property is difficult to assess. All reports however show that lakhs[of rupees] worth of property has been wantonly destroyed and plundered and the number of those killed must run into thousands. It is however difficult, as has already been said, to make any proper assessment of the loss.

The High Commissioner's house became crowded with refugees and it was obvious that it was impossible to hold any more. Two refugee camps were therefore started, one at Hyderabad House and, later on, another in the Old Fort, which has been put under the guard of Baluch [Regiment] soldiers. Refugees are even now pouring in and they are generally in a very destitute condition. The Indian Govt. has failed to make any arrangements either for feeding these refugees or even for their satisfactory lodging. The refugees in the Old Fort will pass the night under the open sky without any lighting.

It is not only Delhi whose fate seems to be sealed; the same tactics of isolation and cutting of communications are being adopted against other cities in western U. P. so that it is impossible for any one to reach or leave Aligarh or Meerut, and if something is not done at this juncture it seems that the entire Muslim population of India is facing total extermination.

8. It seems clear that the campaign is being worked out in accordance with a well-thought-out plan. The Sikhs have been used as a

vanguard, a position which they were very qualified to fill in view of the political frustration which they had suffered and the total extinction with which they were faced. The Sikh leaders had threatened that they would turn out the Muslims from the Punjab and had decided to eliminate the Muslims when Tara Singh drew out his sword after the resignation of the Khizr Hayat Ministry. The Sikhs at that time received a beating as a result of which their prestige ran very low and they were taunted both by the Muslims and Hindus. In consequence of the bad handling which the Sikhs and Hindus received in the Punjab disturbances of March 1947, some of the well-to-do non-Muslims decided to finance the Sikhs in order to wreak their vengeance upon the Muslims. Dr. Zakir Husain some time ago related to me a story which is very relevant in this connection. He says he was travelling to Simla when he met one Moti Lal Kapur, who was a big business magnate in Lahore, but suffered in the disturbances and had had to leave his house in confusion and haste. His family suffered some casualties. He was drunk and told Dr. Zakir Husain of the plan he had made and in which he was taking a very large share. This was nothing else than financing the Sikhs to prepare them for working out the extermination of the Muslims. He said that he had become mad, that there was no other explanation for the diabolical plan which he had prepared and which he was financing. It would appear that the Sikhs decided to adopt the plan of exterminating or banishing Muslims from the East Punjab in order that Sikh population should be concentrated in one compact area instead of being divided between Pakistan and India. This ensures their continued political life instead of complete political extinction with which they were faced. This is how they must have calculated, though one may still doubt whether they would succeed in their attempt and perpetuate their political existence as a powerful and ruling community. It would thus appear that very likely the present abnormal situation in the Punjab can be met by a decision to exchange population between the East Punjab and the West Punjab to the extent required for consolidating the Sikh population in East Punjab. I think that this would not be a correct view to take of the situation because the plan of the Sikhs has fitted admirably into the plan made by R. S. S. in India as a whole. It is probable that R. S. S. would not have been able to do very great harm to the Muslims and very possible the movement might have died down. The Hindu seeing a great future before him might have got busy with his problems of peace and peace-time construction, but the plan of massacre and plunder adopted by the Sikhs has enabled the dreams of R. S. S. to be realised. The Sikh has started a fire which the R. S. S. finds extremely useful for furthering its

own objective. R. S. S. S. will continue to add fuel to this fire until the plan is completely fulfilled.

9. The question which naturally arises in this situation is whether Pakistan Govt. can render any help in this great crisis in Muslim history. We must have a historical perspective and be prepared to treat the crisis in the way it should be treated. In some ways, it is greater calamity even than that which befell the Muslim world when the Mongol invasion took place. Let us not be accused before the bar of history for having failed to take any action which it was within our power to take and which might have halted the destruction or at any rate slowed down its pace. We might fail in our attempts, and it is probably likely that we shall fail, but that is no reason at all why we must not put forth our best efforts to prevent this ruthless and widespread destruction of Muslim population. Today we are witnessing one of the foulest crimes committed in human history against mankind. It will be wrong to watch listlessly and helplessly while this orgy of massacre is going on in India.

10. I feel very great hesitation in making any suggestions. When I was in Karachi recently I attended a meeting of the Cabinet on this question. I also had an occasion to discuss this with His Excellency the Governor-General. The opinion appeared to be that the Sikhs will get tired of killing the Muslims before the Muslims are completely finished and therefore we could affort [*sic* for afford] to wait. The other view was that we could reasonably expect for some reason or other that matters will improve even though in logic or fact no reasons could be given for it. I regret that I do not find myself in agreement with either of these views and the course which [the] events have since taken appear clearly to confirm my opinion. I still feel it to be my bounden duty in the present crises of Muslims in India to present my views with such emphasis as I can command for the consideration of the Government. I feel that action on the following lines must be taken even if it is considered that it will not produce any useful results:

1. We should immediately ask that neutral observers should be sent out to India. We shall have to place this matter before the UNO. I realise that Pakistan not being a member of UNO[3] cannot make a direct move, but there is nothing to prevent us from asking the good offices of Great Britain or some other country like Egypt. I think we ought to have 6 observers, 2 of whom can be stationed in Pakistan and the rest in India. They should be made responsible for observing things for themselves and making reports to the UNO. The publicity organisation of India has been perfected to such an extent that we cannot expect to com-

pete with it for many years to come. It is therefore necessary to counteract it in some measure by inviting neutral observers and independent and impartial men reporting to the UNO.

2. We should ask that the matter should be discussed immediately by the UNO. Here again we sh[a]ll have to use the good offices of Great Britain or some other country. It is very important that the attention of the world should be focussed on the events in India in this particular aspect. India must be made to appear before the bar of world opinion and should be forced to place facts before an impartial body.

3. Pakistan Govt. should immediately appoint a high-powered mission to remain in constant contact with the Govt. of India at its headquarters in this matter. The mission should consist at least of three persons of the rank of Ministers. It will mean expenditure and possibly some slowing down of the work of the Secretariat at Karachi, but this is the minimum which the Govt. of Pakistan can do to the people who are now being destroyed for having fought and made supreme sacrifice for bringing Pakistan into being.

11. Large number of Muslims are being forced out of the city and are congregating in various places. They are completely destitute, in most cases without anything except the clothes which they are wearing. They have been able to escape with their lives while in many cases their near and dear ones have been killed. They have been reduced to a state of abject penury and are no better than those refugees in the Punjab for whom the Premiers of the two Dominions have spent several days devising measures of relief and touring the various districts in order to find out the true state of affairs. I propose that these remnants of the once flourishing Muslim community of Delhi should be given facilities for moving to and settling down in Pakistan. They should be treated as refugees exactly in the same way as those in the East Punjab. I propose to place before the Govt. of India following suggestions for their consideration:

1. Proper refugee camps should be formed under the general protection and control of a refugee officer appointed by the Govt. of India.
2. The Govt. of India should assume responsibility for food, medical aid, sanitation, etc.
3. They should be guarded by soldiers of their own community in the same way as has been arranged in East Punjab.
4. Their transport to Pakistan should be arranged on a reciprocal basis again in the same way as has been agreed upon in the case

of East Punjab.

12. I am fully aware of the tremendous strain which the Govt. of Pakistan will have to bear in case my proposals are approved. It will mean a further commitment for the infant Dominion of Pakistan whose financial and budgetary prospects will be worsened. Despite all these considerations I would urge the Govt. of Pakistan to accept my recommendations as a small measure of gratitude to these people for their services to Pakistan and as a very small compensation for the sacrifices they have rendered.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]The number given in the original copy is 3 which has been changed to No. 4 as Appendix III.6 also bears the same number. Subsequent reports have been numbered sequentially.
[2]See Map of Delhi and Environs in the Atlas section of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXVI, Plate 57, Oxford, 1931, for some of the larger localities where communal disturbances broke out later. Not printed.
[3]Pakistan was admitted to the United Nations on 30 September 1947.

III. 11

Zahid Husain to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, IU/4/5

NEW DELHI,
8 September 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to describe in the following paragraphs the position in which I find myself as a result of the disturbances in Delhi and New Delhi.

2. I went to Karachi for two days for taking some instructions from my Government and returned on the evening of the 6th inst[an]t. While in Karachi I had received news of serious disturbances in the city. [Rest of the paragraph omitted]

3. On arrival I sought an interview with Lord Mountbatten to inform of the position in Karachi. During the course of the interview the conversation turned on the protective measures adopted for myself and my house. I told him that there were about 8 or 9 policemen detailed to guard the house. Lord Mountbatten did not consider this sufficient and issued instructions for more adequate measures in this regard. During my absence my secretary had approached your department in regard to protective measures and had been told that the situation was very serious and that we should approach the Chief

Commissioner, Delhi.

4. It was my intention to approach your department formally but I found myself disabled from doing so in view of the developments to which I will refer below.

5. As far as I could judge the situation continued to deteriorate yesterday and refugees continued to flow into my house, as also to certain other places which appeared to them to be most convenient. By the evening the number of men taking refuge in my house had risen to about 300.

6. After an interview with H.E. the Governor-General I had an interview with the Chief Commissioner Delhi and represented to him the immediate necessity of providing food for the people who were congregating in various places, including those who had taken shelter in my house. He promised to make necessary arrangements in this regard. Yesterday, the telephone in my house did not work at all and I was unable, therefore, to get into touch with anyone. After the interview with H.E. the Governor-General I wanted to send some telegrams to Karachi. The first telegram was a message from H.E. to Q[u]aid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and to inform the Government at Karachi of my position here. These telegrams were refused by the telegraph office on the ground that I was not entitled to send immediate telegrams.

It appeared to me to be futile to send ordinary telegrams which had very little chance of serving any useful purpose. I might mention that in the past immediate telegrams had been accepted by the telegraph office without any objection. Thus I had no telephonic or telegraphic communication with the outside world.

7. One of my bearers who went to make some purchases in the bazar was attacked and was able to return safe with the help of certain policemen nearby. No servants now are willing to go out on any business.

8. In view of the danger on the road and outside it is not possible for me to send any letters to any offices here or to maintain contacts.

9. No food supply has so far been arranged for this place or any other place where Muslims have congregated yesterday. I have occasion to meet the Chief Commissioner again and he promised to do his best.

10. It is clear from the foregoing that I am unable to perform any duties at the moment. Women and children are being fed with the help of supplies which refugees have brought with them but these are very scanty and will be exhausted within the next 4 hours. Thereafter, we will have no food supplies of any kind. I have not had any visits

from any responsible officer to see the situation in this place and to help in making arrangements.

11. In respect of protective measures I was informed yesterday that the matter will be discussed by the Hon'ble Member for Home Affairs with his officers. I waited till 9 o'clock but as no arrangement was made till then I managed to have a guard from the Baluch Regiment. At midnight, I am told, about 12 soldiers of Jat Regiment came. In view of the happenings in Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts and also the neighbourhood of Delhi the arrival of Jats made the women and children very nervous and it was, therefore, decided to request them, in case they had no objection to withdraw which they very kindly did.

12. I am bringing these facts to your notice for such action as you consider necessary. I shall have to deliver this letter through my Secretary who will proceed with a proper escort. This arrangement is not normally possible and unless conditions improve it may not be possible for me to send further communications.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ZAHID HUSAIN

III. 12

Zahid Husain to Ghulam Mohammed

FOA, IU/4/5

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
8 September 1947

My dear Ghulam Mohammed,

When I arrived here on the 6th I found my house in uproar. Delhi had been given over to mob rule and Muslims were being combed out from area after area. There were about 100 men, women and children in 8-B Hardinge Avenue[1] without any arrangement for food, sanitation or medical aid. Some badly injured men were also brought to the house and for lack of any facilities or medical aid we found ourselves completely helpless. I sought an interview immediately with Lord Mountbatten primarily with the object of telling him of the position in Karachi and elsewhere. He asked me to convey some messages to

Qaeda [Quaid-i-]Azam, but as my telephone did not work and as my telegrams were not accepted by the telegraph office, I could not convey those messages. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar is now going after an interview with Lord Mountbatten and will do the needful in this respect. During the interview one of the matters which came up for mention related to protective measures taken for 8-B Hardinge Avenue.

2. After the interview with Lord Mountbatten I went to Mr. Khurshid Ahmad, the Chief Commissioner, in order to get the latest appreciation of the position in Delhi. Lord Mountbatten told me that the Govt. of India were gripping the situation, and Mr. Khurshid Ahmad also held out hopes. I am sorry to say that I remained pessimistic and was not convinced by what I was told. Throughout this period while we have been expecting deterioration in the situation in Delhi we have been assured that while the situation was bad it would be kept under control.

3. Yesterday I made a round of New Delhi and got some idea of the extent to which deterioration has set in. Lodi Road Colony, so far as Govt. servants are concerned, had been practically evacuated. A large part of Qarol Bagh has similarly been emptied by Muslims. I saw dead bodies on the road[s] of New Delhi and also one or two mosques burning. I could see smoke rising from houses in the vicinity of Bengali Market, in Qarol Bagh and elsewhere.[2] Reports are persistent that police for some reason or other is not performing its allotted duty while the army is partial. A stream of refugees has been coming into my house which I did not have the heart to turn back. Last night there were about 300 men, women and children and the number is still increasing. The house has become a refugee camp without any facilities in respect of food and sanitation. The Govt. of India have been thinking over measures of protection for my house and it was at 12 o'clock last night that they sent about 12 Jats whom we decided to return because of the nervousness caused among women and children. This was not surprising in view of the part played and is being played by the Jats in Rohtak, Gurgaon and the neighbourhood of Delhi.

4. I would not say that our days are numbered for that is a matter in which I would not prophesy, but the situation is certainly desperate. Very likely we will find this house practically as a beleaguered camp and possibly it has already assumed that position though we do not yet know it. I am enclosing a copy of 2 or 3 notes[3] which I am handing over to Sardar Patel whom I am hoping to see in the company of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar at 8.30 a.m. [on 8 September]. You will get some idea of my position here at this moment.

5. I regret to have to observe that I find very few people in Karachi with imagination enough to visualise the extent of deterioration that is

about to set in at Delhi and later in other Muslim areas like U.P. There was more attempt to minimise the gravity of the happenings than to appraise the situation at its true value. I am therefore writing this to you hoping that you will impress upon the Premier and the Governor-General the extreme gravity of the situation in Delhi. I am not leaving Delhi for that would be extremely demoralising for the people who look to the representative of Pakistan for help and encouragement. The representative of Pakistan, however, is in the position more or less of a prisoner except that the prisoners are assured of food and protection.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Residence of the Pakistan High Commissioner.
[2]On 8 September, the American Embassy in New Delhi reported to State Department in Washington about the spree of killing and looting of Muslims in the Embassy neighbourhood and the city shopping centre. The police were reported to be ineffective to control the situation. See telegram No. 817, *U.S. National Archives*, 845. 00/9-847. Not printed.
[3]Only one Enclosure is traceable.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 12
Note by Zahid Husain

[*7 September 1947*]

FORMATION OF CAMPS IN DELHI FOR DELHI MUSLIMS

As a result of disturbances in Delhi City and New Delhi very large number of Muslims have left their quarters and their *mohallas* and have congregated at certain places which appeared them to be most convenient. The largest concentration has taken place near "L" Block close to the Secretariat North Block. As a rough estimate the number of men, women and children is about 8,000 and is still increasing. About 300 individuals have collected in 8-B Hardinge Avenue.

2. There are two categories of people in these concentrations:
   1. those who have to go to Pakistan for employment under the Govt.,
   2. those who are citizens of Delhi and have their permanent residence here.

There is a large number of people domiciled in Pakistan areas who do not form either of the above categories.

In regard to the first category, arrangements are being made for their transport by such means as are available. Some of them will be transported by BOAC planes. If any remain, they will have to stay until Railway communications open up. As regards the second category viz. citizens of Delhi, they have to stay here until measures of rehabilita-

tion are considered and put into force. As regards the Pakistan nationals, they shall have to stay until the Railway communications open up and it is found possible for them to travel.

For all these categories, it is desirable that immediate arrangements should be made to have properly organised camps. For those who have to be transported to Pakistan under Govt. supervision for purposes of employment in Govt. departments, a camp has been opened near Palam. For others, the following places appear to lend themselves suitable to the formation of camps:

1. Safdarjung
2. Purana Qila [Old Fort]
3. Anglo-Arabic College, Ajmeri Gate

Considering the number of persons involved, it would probably be necessary to organise camps in all these 3 places. No tents will be required and arrangements for sanitation can be made on a satisfactory basis without serious difficulties. A committee shall have to be formed for each camp with suitable persons in-charge of food, sanitation, transport, if necessary, etc. So far as Indian nationals are concerned, the Govt. of India would presumably like to rehabilitate them in Delhi. For this purpose it is suggested that *mohallas* should be marked out as Muslim *mohallas* where Muslims in the refugee camps can be accommodated for purposes of rehabilitation. In case protective measures continue to be required, it would be easier to provide them for *mohallas* in which Muslim population is concentrated than if they are scattered over the entire city. A proper scheme will have to be worked out, but as this is not a matter of immediate urgency, this can be thought out later.

3. Our chief requirements for which we apprehend some difficulties and in which the assistance of the Govt. of India would be greatly appreciated is in regard to medical supplies and food. In regard to medical aid, I have discussed the matter with the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Health and there is every reason to hope that necessary assistance will be made available. In regard to food, the assistance of the Hon'ble Home Minister is solicited.

4. If relief could be organised on proper lines which, of course, would not be possible without the help of the Govt., it will go a very long way to the restoration of good relations between the communities. In regard to food, it may be pointed out that all the people who will find shelter in these camps are those who have come out of the city either Delhi or New Delhi. Some of them may have ration cards, but most of them must have left them in their houses, which they have to leave in haste and without making any preparations. The food

supply to them will not, therefore, be an additional burden on the food supplies allotted to Delhi. All arrangements will be made to ensure that no abuse takes place and that supplies are taken only for minimum sustenance. In 8-B Hardinge Avenue alone, there are now about 300 or more men, women and children of whom only 25 have been able to produce their ration cards. For others, it would be necessary to supply food on an ad hoc basis.

ZAHID HUSAIN

III. 13

Zahid Husain to Jawaharlal Nehru

FOA, IU/4/5

8-B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
9 September 1947

The present situation of Muslims of Delhi is that the Muslim population including the staff of the Pakistan Government held up here is flocking for safety to the High Commissioner's Office. We are trying to sort and put the staff and their families in the transit camp near Palam which is being maintained to feed the aeroplanes flying to Karachi. The rest of the Muslim population is being sent to the Purana Qila. The population of each of these two camps has already run into several thousands and is swelling every hour as attacks are made by mobs in the various localities. They need military protection, rations and some sanitary arrangements. The only way of tackling this problem is to declare these camps as refugee camps and to run and protect them on the lines agreed to by the two Governments, namely that the Government of the country concerned should take the responsibility for these camps and provide Muslim troops for protection.

2. In addition to the running of these camps and their protection, there is the question of evacuating people from threatened or attacked areas. This requires transport and escorts. Purana Qila will not be sufficient and second camp will have to be started immediately at Safdarjung.

3. The best way would be to treat the problem of Govt. staff and of the rest of the Muslim population separately.

4. The transit camp for Govt. staff near Palam is at present in the charge of the Transfer Division of the Office of the High Commis-

sioner for Pakistan, assisted by a Military Administrative Section. The Military Administrative Section, which is in the charge of a Lieut. Col., has a company of Muslim soldiers for escort and guard duties and 9 trucks. This company and the transport which were sanctioned when the transfer of staff was proceeding in an orderly manner are now insufficient for the present task of evacuating Govt. staff from various localities, providing guard at the transit camp and at Palam Aerodrome and in the High Commissioner's Office where people collect, waiting to be cleared to the Transit Camp or to Purana Qila. It is requested that the Govt. of India should give at least one company more of Muslim soldiers to the Military Administrative Section of the Transfer Division and 20 more trucks. The number of Pakistan Govt. staff in Delhi is roughly 20,000. These Muslim soldiers and the vehicles will also transport to the Purana Qila the civil Muslim population which collects at the High Commissioner's Office along with the Govt. staff.

5. The High Commissioner's Office has arranged for the running of a mess at the transit camp near Palam and the Govt. of India should issue rations for this mess.

6. In the case of the rest of the Muslim population, the Govt. of India are requested to arrange evacuation from the affected localities, provide Muslim troops for escort and guard duty, rations and medical aid. The officers appointed in-charge of evacuation and protecting troops would be able to give estimates of their requirements. The High Commissioner for Pakistan will appoint liaison officers and the local Muslim League will provide workers and supervisory staff to help in evacuation and administration of the camp.

ZAHID HUSAIN

III. 14

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/5

SECRET
Report No. 5

NEW DELHI,
9 September 1947

Throughout the day today the High Commissioner's Office received urgent calls from various families and quarters in imminent danger of extermination. Unfortunately owing to the lack of resources, petrol, trucks and personnel, it was not possible to accede to all these requests and a number of heart-rending appeals were left unanswered. Yet a

large number of refugees were rescued.

Muslims are literally on their last legs in the matter of defence. Their strongest centre Sabzimandi has been particularly wiped out.[1] Other centres like Bara Hindu Rao and Turkman Gate are showing signs of complete collapse. A deputation of local Muslim League leaders came to see the High Commissioner for advice and help, but unfortunately under the circumstances it was possible to give neither. So great is the strain on every Muslim in Delhi that a number of them would prefer death to this constant effort which seems to have no end except that of calamity. Stalwart strong men came bringing news of despair and breaking down in narrating them. There is no street in the Muslim locality in the city which is not full of dead bodies whom there is no one to move and who are being eaten by crows and vultures. We are witnessing here in Delhi, one of the greatest tragedies in the history of Islam and it is heart-breaking to think that we cannot move a little finger to avert it. The Railway Station is without any exaggeration at all, covered with dead bodies of Muslims, fresh and decaying. Between the Railway Station and the various Muslim localities the pavements and streets are strewn with dead bodies of people making a last effort to escape this hell of destruction which has been let loose on them with the connivance of those [whose] duty it was to give protection.[2]

2. There have not been many open attacks today, not because the Muslim resistance is strong but because the marauders are consolidating their gains before making the final effort and one shudders to think what its consequences will be. The villages are now being mobilised and it has been learnt that a mob running not into thousands but lakhs may now fall upon Delhi to give a final blow. The villagers have been exceedingly well organsied. Their communal virus is heightened by the desire of plunder because now they look upon the homes and property of the tired Muslims as a rich prize like a ripe fruit to fall into their lap at the slightest touch. The next two days will prove critical and one does not know what turn the events might take.

3. One example of the way in which the villagers are working is the incident of the looting of the Grand Trunk Express day before yesterday on the bank of the River Jumuna near Humayun's Tomb. A large mob, fully armed, killed Muslim passengers and looted the train and in spite of the arrival of the military and the police in large numbers they were able to take away their plunder and loot in boats. They suffered only three casualties. When one thinks how close Humayun's Tomb is to New Delhi, it becomes clear how the Indian Govt. is functioning.

4. Near the railway bridge between Delhi and Shahdra there is a

cluster of Gujar villages. A little beyond is a small Muslim *Ghosi*[3] village known as Jheel Karanjia and a little further down the river is another *Ghosi* village called Karanji. First of all Jheel Karanjia was attacked and the *Ghosis* of this village were given shelter and protection in the sister village of Karanji where the police arrived to help them. In the evening, the police persuaded these *Ghosis* to move out in the direction of Delhi for protection. There seems to have been some secret understanding between the police and the Gujars because when this was done the Gujars collected all their men and fell upon the Muslim *Ghosis*. Out of a total number of 2,000, hardly 250 reached Jamianagar in a completely broken condition. The famous Muslim institution Jamia Millia is in peril of being exterminated and the same technique of closing a ring round them [*sic* for it] has been adopted. It is a commentary upon the working of the India Govt. that the Prime Minister spent, a couple of days ago, more than two hours at Jamia promising all help. In his wake came the Deputy Commissioner with promises from the Chief Commissioner and all this produced a guard of 2 armed policemen for three days. However, after constant efforts, the Jamia has now succeeded in getting a military guard of ten soldiers under a VCO (Viceroy's Commissioned Officer) the inadequacy of which would be obvious to anybody who knows the extensive area covered by the various buildings of the institution and the houses of its staff.

5. Mr. Gandhi arrived in Delhi this morning and various people in the city are contacting him. Dr. Zakir Husain of Jamia Millia and a number of other citizens explained to him the situation in Delhi and gave him an idea of the perilous position. He has decided to stay here and make all efforts to restore peace, but it seems to be almost impossible to do so at the present stage. Besides, he has very limited time at his disposal.

6. We are witnessing not only the destruction of one of the finest Muslim communities in India but it seems to us that the days of the present Govt. also are numbered. It is obvious that their orders are not carried out, or at least different members of the Govt. are following conflicting policies. In either case, ordered govt. seems to be impossible and there is bound to arise a conflict either between the Govt. and the forces against it which are having the upper hand or between the two sections of the Govt. This is leading to gross indiscipline and there are reasons to believe that orders given by superior officers to their subordinates which are not to the liking of the latter are disobeyed. The instruments on which a Govt. has to rely like the army, the police and the other services, including intelligence, seem to be non-cooperating with the Ministry. Decisions of the Govt. and public announcements made in

the press and on the radio are disregarded openly. The Ministry does not consider any suggestions made by us seriously because it knows that even if it accepts them it will not be possible to enforce any orders based upon their acceptance.

7. There are signs that along with the regular police and military there are bands and gangs of Sikh and Hindu organizations working for their own ends in false uniforms which makes confusion worst confounded. It has been estimated that the arms and ammunition as well as means of transport are more plentiful with these gangs than are available to the Govt. Some of the States are taking active interest in these activities and they have not yet shown their hands openly.[4] But there seems to be a deep conspiracy between the Sikhs and certain States in this connection. The RSS and the Hindu press have been preparing the ground necessary for their success and activities.

8. Municipal services seem to have broken down in the city. Delhi may be in the grip of serious epidemics any day. In addition to the rotting corpses in houses and streets, the scavengers are not working and the areas within the jurisdiction of the Delhi Municipality is, we understand, plunged in darkness tonight. It is not possible to give a correct estimate of the situation because it is too gruesome to be described and one has to live in the midst of it to believe it.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]See Annex.
[2]Appendix III. 12.
[3]Milkmen.
[4]Appendix III. 29.

Annex to Appendix III. 14
Henry Grady to George Marshall
Telegram, U.S. National Archives, 845.00/9-1147
[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL
NO. 823

[AMERICAN EMBASSY,]
NEW DELHI,
11 September 1947

One. Military may now be able [to] bring situation under control [in] Old and New Delhi. Arrival of Gurkha troops who are more apt to fire both on Muslims and non-Muslims than Indian troops, tightening of military discipline under British officers, and complete elimination [of] Muslims from most sections of city either by slaughter or

evacuation appear to be factors centrifuging to quieter conditions. Yesterday, however, there were cases of rioting, looting, arson, and fights between troops and Muslims. Estimated 5,000 Muslims evacuated from one area of Delhi alone yesterday morning. Sabzimandi (west of civil lines) where 12-hour battle took place between Muslims and troops [on] September 8 still littered with bodies yesterday, as was Paharganj. Killing of passengers in Old Delhi railway station yesterday halted when five members of gang shot dead. Assistant Military Attache yesterday saw several Muslim women and children clubbed to death at New Delhi station while Indian army troops stood by.

Two. Since majority [of] ration shops were Muslim and have been looted, few Hindu ration shops now open, cannot cope with crowds. Immediate food situation not desperate but very precarious. Even if adequate food arrives, food distribution is immediate problem and a basic source of very serious trouble.

Three. Difficult [to] take seriously Government's ban on carrying of *kirpans* more than nine inches long, since if Government had been determined [to] stop Sikh depredations, order could have been issued before main objectives of Sikhs had been realised and should have banned carrying of weapons of any kind. Furthermore, order effective for only ten days.

Four. It is reported [that] plans are being considered [to] transport Delhi Muslims to Pakistan despite danger [of] attacks on truck convoys. Thousands of Muslims [are] now concentrated in several camps under small guard of Pakistan soldiers. Very little food available. Embassy personnel endeavoring [to] provide food for Muslim office and household servants taken to concentration point under escort of Embassy officers.

Five. While present lull will probably last as long as strict military measures [are] in effect, possibility of new flareups must be assumed as long as any Muslims remain in Delhi province. Panic now reported spreading among Muslims in U[nited] P[rovinces]. Movement of Punjab refugees to other urban centers in India may result in communal warfare similar to that in Delhi. Department please repeat [to] London.

GRADY

III. 15

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram,[1] *FOA, IU/4/5*

MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET
No. 182

KARACHI,
9 September 1947

Your telegram No. 32 dated 7th September.[2] My colleague Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar has just now returned from Delhi and brought most alarming reports about situation there. Pakistan High Commissioner has also sent an officer to report on state of affairs in Delhi. He has written to you and you are fully aware that life of no Muslim, not even that of Pakistan High Commissioner, is today safe in capital of India. You stated in your telegram that at no time was mob out of hand. Reports so far received show that murder and loot are going on in daylight without any check and that there is pre-arranged plan by Sikhs and certain other elements to wipe out Muslims sector by sector. Tactics followed in East Punjab to liquidate Muslim population are being repeated with success in Delhi.

2. I understand that in spite of representations made and assurances given, adequate protection has not been given to Pakistan High Commissioner and his Office and that he is cut off from contact with outside world. I trust that if action has not already been taken, immediate steps would be taken to provide safety and other facilities particularly communications. I am sure, you as Foreign Minister would appreciate that if anything untoward happened it would creat[e] many complications.

3. In my telegram of 6. 9. 47, I drew your attention particularly to safety of Pakistan Government employees and their families in Delhi. I am informed that a number of them have been killed and many are without food or medical help and that arrangements for their protection are most inadequate. Most essential to take immediate action to protect and provide food for these employees and their families.

4. If Government of India is powerless to protect Muslim lives and property in its capital, it must be a thousand times more so in outside areas. My information is that this extended to areas farther east in the U. P. and elsewhere.

5. Unless India Government is prepared to deal firmly with Sikh and other lawless elements without fear of [*sic* for or] favour it is

impossible to restore peace and establish law and order.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Copies of the telegram were sent to the Governor-General and the Secretary-General.
[2]Not traceable.

III. 16

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/5

SECRET NEW DELHI,
Report No. 6 *10 September 1947*

On the 8th afternoon I went to see Sardar Patel to ask him that I should have permission to tour New Delhi and Delhi areas affected by riots in the company of a military or a civil officer of India of suitable status. Fortunately Gen. Lockhart also happened to be there as also Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister. All of them agreed that this was a good idea and that arrangements should be made for this purpose. I asked that I should have facilities for a visit the same evening but Gen. Lockhart said that there would be some difficulties in making the arrangements but that he would take me for a tour of the city next morning at 7.30 a.m. when he himself was out on his usual tour. This was agreed in the presence of Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh. Gen. Lockhart did not turn up at the appointed time and the tour could not therefore be undertaken. Thereafter, I went to see Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai and among other suggestions included this one also. The Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, was asked to let me have a reply to the various points that I had raised in writing and also personally. In the afternoon, Mr. Dutt, the Secretary, rang me up and informed me of the action that had been taken on the various points. In regard to tour he told me that my request would be discussed in the Cabinet. I have not since heard from him and the reasons why the Govt. of India are so hesitant are not far to seek. They are naturally anxious that I should not see the results of their mismanagement and disorganisation which is leading to mass massacre of men, women and children, leading to complete destitution. This morning when I was absent on a visit to Mr. Bhabha,[1] who has been appointed Chairman of the Delhi Co-ordination Committee in order to co-ordinate the functioning of the various services, an officer by the name of Col. Eldmann came with the following note:

"Dear High Commissioner,
Herewith Lt. Col. Eldmann, C. O. of 6 Raj[putana] Rif[les]. If you would like to visit Paharganj where there are large number of Muslim refugees about which he will explain, Col. Eldmann will take you there.

Yours sincerely,
LOCKHART"

As I was absent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi went with him and came back with a most harrowing tale of misery, destitution and suffering. In the Maidan near the 'Idgah, and Jhandawalan there are about 50,000 destitutes, Muslims from Multani Dhanda, Paharganj and certain other neighbouring areas who have been forced out of their houses after what must have been a massacre and harrowing experience for every one of them. There are no arrangements for taking them to any place and obviously the intention of the Commander-in-Chief was that we should assist in arranging a refugee camp for them and to look after them. In other words, the Muslim minority in Delhi are the responsibility of Pakistan Govt. and not of India. India having done its duty and played its part, now it is for Pakistan to do whatever it can which is very little indeed. The sense of powerlessness and helplessness is overwhelming.

2. Yesterday I arranged to go to Karachi but before doing so I wanted an interview with the Governor-General. I was first informed that I should go and see him at 2.30 [p.m.] but later on I was asked to go at 5.20 [p.m.] as the meeting of the Joint Defence Council [JDC] had been fixed at 5.30 [p.m.]. I did not receive any agenda and had not received any previous notice of this meeting. I therefore informed the Private Secretary that as I was going to Karachi I could not take advantage of the time given by the Governor-General for the interview. At the aerodrome the Deputy Private Secretary came and explained that I should stay on for the meeting of the JDC as I was the only representative of the Pakistan Govt. I came away and attended the meeting. Before the meeting I had an interview with Lord Mountbatten, explained to him my personal situation and also raised the question of the responsibility of refugees. It was agreed that I should make statement before the JDC which I did later when the meeting started. In regard to refugees, it was agreed that that will be the responsibility of the Govt. of India and not of Pakistan Govt., that they should be guarded by Muslim soldiers and that all arrangements should be made by India.

3. I was asked to see the Minister for Refugees as if I am the person responsible for making all arrangements and for awakening officers of the Govt. of India and the Ministers to a sense of their responsibilities. I was also asked to see Mr. Bhabha, Chairman of the Delhi Co-ordinating

Committee. I promised to do so, but it is clearly obvious that it is absolutely impossible for the H. C. to undertake such responsibilities with the limited resources of transport, guard, money and personnel at his disposal. The Govt. of India did not appear to have any sense of the responsibilities left in relation to their minorities. They think that they are responsible for non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan and not for minorities in their own territories. Their perversity is indeed colossal if not diabolical.

4. When I was stating my position and the problems arising in connection with refugees, Sardar Patel observed that although the situation was bad yet it was very much better than what had been experienced by non-Muslims in Lahore. I had no intention of entering into controversy with him for that would have led us nowhere, but the venom of the observation leaves one amazed and bewildered. The extreme callousness of the most diabolical character that we are witnessing could alone be responsible for an observation of this kind.

5. Dr. I. H. Qureshi found a mob of 50,000 destitute Muslims in the 'Idgah Maidan in a state of extreme indiscipline and indeed it would have been futile to expect anything better. There is no food for them, no arrangement for any aid of any kind, they have no belongings with them except some rags on their bodies and there is nothing which the Govt. of India is prepared to do for them. It is clear that we must steel our hearts and be prepared to see the same fate befalling to [*sic* for the] remaining Muslim population of Delhi.[2]

6. Yesterday after the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi I made arrangements to bring over Dr. Zakir Husain from Okhla and sent him to Mahatma Gandhi in the company of Dr. I. H. Qureshi. There were a number of non-Muslims there giving an account of the happenings in Delhi. Dr. Sushila Nayer had been sent for inspection and was giving her report. I am told that they described the state of affairs truthfully and told Mahatma Gandhi how the Hindu soldiers and police were behaving and shooting the Muslims. I am told that he did not hold his prayer meeting yesterday.

7. I hate to think that Mahatma Gandhi's efforts will not bear fruit, but I find doubt assailing my mind that all that is happening may not after all be totally opposed to the innermost wishes and ambitions of the Congress bosses.

8. A meeting was held today of the Joint Defence Council to consider the transfer of Indian troops from NWFP to India and the pace of reconstitution of troops. The decision reached will be communicated in the form of minutes as usual. Before the proceedings started, His Excellency the Governor-General made a statement and said that all

possible facilities would be provided to the High Commissioner for Pakistan. He will be fully protected and the Govt. of India are anxious that he should stay on in Delhi for his departure from here could not possibly be contemplated under any circumstances. He also said that the Govt. of India had decided to invite him to attend the meetings of the Emergency Cabinet which are held every day, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

9. I accepted the offer with thanks and said that I never had any intention of leaving Delhi and that if I went to Karachi, it would be only for a couple of days at the utmost. I never had any intention of leaving myself completely helpless in so far as the performance of my duties is concerned.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]C.H. Bhaba, formerly Member, Commerce, Interim Government.
[2]See Annex to Appendix III. 14, para 1.

III. 17

C. M. Trivedi to Swaran Singh

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, F.129

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

CAMP JULLUNDUR,
11 September 1947

My dear Home Minister,

You will remember that I addressed you a letter on the 4th September[1] on the question of restoring law and order. I still find that armed bands of Sikhs are operating in practically all the districts of the Jullundur Division except perhaps Ferozepore. I would like to know from you whether propaganda by the Sikh leaders in the cause of peace is now continuing, and if so where. I must repeat what I said in my last letter that I am not at all sure whether such propaganda as has been carried on has reached the interior or has really gone home to what might be described as low-level leaders in tahsils and villages.

A recent manifestation is what may be described as pure lawlessness indulged in, not against Muslims, but against sections of non-Muslims. This may well develop into a Hindu-Sikh quarrel, the dimensions of which, unless checked initially, will spell ruin to the whole of East Punjab. We decided yesterday to write to the Deputy Commissioners asking them to adopt certain administrative measures, but here again propaganda by non-official agencies should prove of great use. I

would like to know what plans you have. I still do not know the Punjab very well, but as one whose ignorance is less than what it was on the 15th of August I should say that the future of this province lies not in domination by one party but on Hindu-Sikh collaboration. This is, to my mind, a fundamental truth and the sooner we, as a Government, get it recognised the better it will be for the Province. Already reports of strained relations between Hindus and Sikhs, particularly at Amritsar, have reached me.

I have written to you quite frankly, because you are entitled to know what I feel, and I should be most grateful if you let me know what you yourself think. I have sent a copy of this letter to the Honourable Prime Minister. What I should welcome is a joint reply from you both, but I have addressed you because you are incharge of law and order.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. TRIVEDI

[1]Appendix III. 7.

III. 18

C. M. Trivedi to Swaran Singh

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, F.129

IMMEDIATE

CAMP JULLUNDUR,
12 September 1947

My dear Home Minister,

I offer no excuse for writing to you in continuation of my letter of the 11th September[1] on the question of restoring law and order. The attacks by Sikh armed bands on Muslim refugees continue. For instance, in the Military sitrep[2] of the 11th, received by me today, it is noted that (1) a Sikh armed band attacked a refugee caravan near Dera Baba Nanak railway station, (2) a refugee train from Kapurthala to Jullundur was derailed and (3) that a convoy of Muslim refugees proceeding on foot to Tarn Taran under escort was heavily attacked from north and south by large Sikh bands armed with rifles and automatics and that casualties to refugees are believed to be heavy. I know that incidents are happening on the other side, but if attacks on refugees on both sides continue all chances of an orderly and peaceful evacuation will be very nearly gone. It must be remembered that we

have large number of Hindus and Sikhs still awaiting evacuation from West Punjab. In this connection you will remember that I sent a telegram[3] to the Governor of West Punjab protesting against the tone of Daultana's telegram[4] to H. P. M. [Honourable Prime Minister] of the 8th September. In reply[5] the Governor has informed me that due allowance must be made for frayed tempers these days and that continuing organised massacre by Sikhs of Muslims spreading into Delhi is naturally producing a violent reaction in West Punjab. I feel that we are heading towards a disaster even worse than what has fallen us already. Is there really no way to do something effective, and that too most immediately, to put a stop to these attacks by Sikh armed bands? I would request an immediate reply or discussion.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Honourable Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,

C. M. TRIVEDI

[1]Appendix III. 17.
[2]Situation Report.
[3,4&5]Not traceable.

III. 19

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/12

SECRET

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
12 September 1947

Report No.7

I dictated the daily report of 11th September last night at 10 o'clock. This morning according to the information received the situation is far worse.

2. We have undertaken the evacuation of Pakistan personnel and their families from the city in order to transport them to our camps. Yesterday, three trucks were sent for this purpose. They were held up by military patrols and there was danger that the armed guards would be shot. However, they were able to come back after several hours' effort. It has therefore been decided not to undertake any further evacuation. We are writing to the Govt. of India to make arrangements

for evacuation of our personnel but I expect no results, partly because of the complete breakdown of discipline and mainly because of the unwillingness of the officials to help us.

3. The police have started searching our people who are in our transit camps at Palam. Their attitude is very threatening and insulting. This transit camp is at present guarded by Muslim Rajput soldiers. The Rajput[ana] Rifles to which they belong is about to be transferred to Pakistan. When this happens our transit camp will become unsafe and even feeding will become impossible. Very likely the road to Palam would be blocked in the same way as the road to Willingdon Aerodrome. All the people in transit camps would then be in serious danger of their lives.

4. Notice has been given to Col. Haq Nawaz, our Army Liaison Officer, to vacate No. 9 Aurangzeb Road where he has been staying along with Messrs Wazir Ali[1] and D.M. Malik.[2] Complaints have presumably been made to the authorities that the guards standing there is [*sic* for are] a menace to the neighbouring residents. This is an excuse for taking this action. The 9 Aurangzeb Road has therefore to be vacated and Messrs D.M. Malik and Wazir Ali and their staff have to come into my house.

5. Transfer Office at "L" Block has been cordoned off and certain rooms occupied. It was after very great difficulties that we were able to remove files to 8-B Hardinge Avenue.

6. It is now clear that the evacuation of Pakistan personnel is impossible.

7. In this connection a very illuminating incident has been reported to me. Mrs. Dundas, the wife of our Defence Secretary, happened to meet Lady Mountbatten and the conversation turned on the gruesome happenings in Delhi city. Lady Mountbatten observed that the conditions are still not so bad and the Muslims have not suffered as much as the non-Muslims in Lahore. This is clear proof of the propaganda that has been carried on in regard to Delhi by Sardar Patel and others.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Private Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan.
[2]Pakistan Liaison Officer for East Punjab.

III. 20

Mian Abdul Aziz[1] *to M. Ikramullah*

FOA, IU/4/12
[Extract]

SECRET
Report No. 8

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
16 September 1947

REPORT OF HAPPENINGS IN DELHI

12 SEPTEMBER 1947

The city remained, comparatively speaking, quiet. The High Commissioner visited the assembly of refugees, because it cannot be called a camp, at Jhandawalan in the company of Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Refugees Minister, and Mr. Kirpalani, the Secretary to the Ministry and other officers. The plight of the refugees was most miserable. After persistent representations from the High Commissioner's Office, 11 bags of rice were sent there the evening before. These men had no shelter and no protection either against the weather or attacks excepting the military guard of Rajput soldiers, against whom there were bitter complaints of hostility. Large number of wounded and sick men and women were left unattended to, and babies were born without any medical assistance. When it is realized that these people are actually sitting, because camping would once again be a misnomer, over a refuse dump, the implications of this statement can be understood.

2. The High Commissioner also took the advantage of his visit to Jhandawalan and inspected Multani Dhanda and certain portions of Paharganj. The damage to Muslim property was found to be very great. Muslim houses and shops had been burnt or plundered and some of the buildings were still burning. There were, however, signs of returning confidence because some people under military protection were trying to salvage any odd goods left and in one mixed locality a few Muslims were seen walking about. According to a member of the staff making investigations, it was discovered that the number of Muslim refugees was very great. They have congregated at 8 centres: Purana Qila; Jhandawalan; 'Idgah; Serai Khalil; Jamia Masjid (inside the building); Ihata Kidara; Dujana House; Chandni Mahal (old tahsil).

3. In addition to these, all Muslim *mohallas* have a large number of refugees. Some of them are lodging in separate houses and others are

staying with some friends. It is not possible to estimate the number of refugees. As the Muslim *mohallas* have finished their stocks of food and as the ration shops in Muslim localities have not been replenished, practically the entire Muslim population has been reduced to abject misery. All the military [personnel] is non-Muslim consisting of Sikhs, Punjabis and Gorkhas and their behaviour is deplorable; it is possible neither to restore peace nor to organise proper relief work.

4. The feeling amongst the Muslims is unanimous that at least the Punjabi magistrates and the officials should be removed. Muslims are getting more and more nervous every moment.

13 SEPTEMBER 1947

5. After a comparative lull on the 12th, there were again incidents in the city. As a result of the lifting of the curfew, large number of stabbing cases took place. Some Muslim shops were looted at Daryaganj and also in Chandni Chowk. The military had to fire and to [*sic* for the] panic amongst Muslims in the city increased with the result that the number of refugees in the Purana Qila and other centres began to swell. Another factor in swelling the number of refugees was mischievous and misleading rumours started by the Hindus and Sikhs to the effect that all refugees will be sent to Pakistan at the expense of the Pakistan Govt. The entire game seems to have been that as Muslims leave their property and houses in panic they should be occupied by Hindus and Sikhs. The Govt. of India has gone so far as to appoint a Magistrate Mr. Suri to arrange for exchange of property between Muslims in Delhi and non-Muslims in East Punjab. If this mischievous move of the Govt. of India is not counteracted by some method or other, the entire Muslim population will leave this great historic city.

Mr. Siddiqui[2] met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with whom he had an informal discussion. Later on he talked to the Maulana's secretary whose reading of Mr. Patel's statement published today in the form of a peace appeal, was that Mr. Patel wanted to extricate his minorities from Pakistan and then to exterminate the Muslim population left in India. It seems to be a very reasonable interpretation of the statement. Indeed it is so obvious that no other meaning can be attached to it. It is essential that the Pakistan Govt. should realise the magnitude of the problem and try to have a consistent policy in this connection.

14 SEPTEMBER 1947

The situation in Delhi became much worse. There was another serious flare up of Hindu activities. The motor van of *Dawn* was burnt by the Hindus and the driver was killed. The occupant escaped with great difficulty. Later fire was set to *Dawn* press which has resulted in

very extensive damage; nothing has been salvaged. A number of staff are marooned and repeated efforts of inducing the local Govt. to rescue them hitherto proved to be futile. There was trouble in Koocha Chellan and Tiraha Bairam Khan area with the result that the Military went on firing for a considerable time. This has further aggravated panic. The situation in the central portion of the Civil Lines which had hitherto been safe has also deteriorated and crowds trying to plunder Muslim houses had to be fired at. The house of Dr. Salim-uz Zaman Siddiq[u]i, the famous chemist has been plundered. Muslims are being disarmed and their licenced arms are being taken away. Muslim families embarking for Pakistan at Palam were rigorously searched and women were searched by men in an indecent manner. The searching authorities at Palam tried to dislocate the programme by throwing out the contents of boxes and packages in different directions so that they could not be re-packed within a reasonably short period. As urgent messages came pouring in from Palam transit camp, Mr. Siddiq[u]i went to see Mr. Banerji, Secretary to the Ministry for Interior. He has promised to help and it seems that the instances of Muslims being made to sign away their property at the point of pistol [*sic*], one such instance being the owner of Hayat Furniture House in New Delhi.

7. The situation is still very grave. There may be a bigger flare up any moment.

8. The Govt. is opening another refugee camp at Humayun's tomb. The Purana Qila camp has been taken over by the Govt. of India and their officer Mr. Suleman Seth assisted by two or three younger officers took charge yesterday. The arrangements in the Purana Qila are still very poor and there is no administration with the result that conditions are chaotic. Those who have been saved from the knife of the assassin or the bullets of the soldiers' gun are likely to fall victims to disease and hunger. To add to the difficulties it has rained throughout the night and it is impossible to describe the plight of the refugees who have no shelter worth the name. In Purana Qila alone, there are now at least 50,000 refugees; (the number is continuously increasing.) The state of panic can be understood from the fact that a seat in a private bus costs sometimes Rs. 100 to cover a distance of 2 miles.

15 SEPTEMBER 1947

9. Cases of loot and arson continued in various localities of the city, specially in Tiraha Bairam Khan, Naher Saadat Khan and Hamilton Road. The Purana Qila is packed like sardines and now ingress and egress have become almost impossible. The Indian Army has taken over the defence of the refugees. A long procession of refugees carrying their miserable belongings entered the Fort today at 3. 15 p.m. This was the

result of happenings in the Tiraha Bairam Khan area. It seems impossible to restore confidence now. The morale of Pakistan Govt. servants who are to be sent by trains has deteriorated after the news of the mishap to the special train carrying our personnel, which occurred near Amritsar, reached Delhi. The families of the staff of *Dawn* are still marooned and our efforts have not succeeded in persuading local authorities to rescue them. We are continuing these efforts even now.

16 SEPTEMBER 1947

10. I could not attend the morning's Emergency Meeting yesterday but I interviewed Lord Ismay in the afternoon and had a long discussion with him concerning the points that came up for discussion between Mr. Zahid Husain and Lord Ismay.

11. This morning I saw first of all Mr. [Rafi Ahmad] Qidwai as he is in-charge of Communications. He gave an assurance that he would see that a Press Note is issued and also an announcement will be made on the Radio that Pakistan Specials travelling towards West Punjab would be fully safeguarded.

12. I then tried to see Mr. Neogy, but could not find him. As this search proved useless I proceeded to discuss with Mr. [A.D.F.] Dundas the attitude that we should adopt at the Joint Defence Council meeting this evening. His suggestion was that the Government of India are bound to carry out their commitments towards States that had not acceded to any Dominion.

13. My next visit was to Mr. Girja Shankar Bajpai.[3] I attach a list[4] marked "A" that I handed over to him of our immediate requirements. He is an old colleague of mine and he promised to do the utmost that he could.

14. I also handed over to him note[5] marked "B" and with regard to this he gave a definite assurance that there is no objection to the proposal and he will see what can be done.

15. I am asking the Principal Secretary here to send a list for whom diplomatic passes are necessary to save them from being held up during curfew hours and also to avoid the necessity of our cars being searched.

16. Mr. Girja Shankar assured me that the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is taking action to prevent any indignity.

17. This afternoon after interviewing the Indonesians I hope to meet Mahatma Gandhi at 4 p.m.[6] and later on at 5 p.m. I will attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council.

18. It has been raining incessantly during the last 24 hours and the plight of the people in the Purana Qila is unmentionable. The mere fact that we have been able to despatch to-day 8,000 people in the two

specials that are leaving to-day for Lahore make no impression on the vast concourse of distressed people in the Purana Qila. The mass of huddled humanity half-clad and more than half-starved presents a picture of misery that defies description. The Indian Government is perhaps incapable or perhaps unwilling to look after their own Muslim subjects who are being harassed from all sides.

19. In the Emergency Cabinet Meeting this morning, it came out that Muslims were being harassed practically all over East Punjab, not excluding the treacherous area around Bhatinda in the Patiala State. The reports that were read out indicated that mob assaults have extended to the area between Dehra Dun and Luxur. Fresh violence against Muslims in the Gurgaon District has also broken out. As the report mentioned nothing about West Punjab, the Hon'ble Defence Minister and the Hon'ble Health Minister, both pointed out that something had happened at Balloke. The Military Officer then read out a non-official message stating that 200 deaths had taken place in the Balloke locality (head-works of the lower Chenab Canal), but he reiterated that there is no official confirmation. *I am mentioning this little incident just to indicate that if anything favourable comes up about West Punjab, attempts are made to throw mud even when there is no occasion for it.*[7] The happenings in East Punjab are being minimised and what little does happen in West Punjab is magnified beyond all sense of proportion. I suggest, for what it is worth, that some means should be found by which the Governor of the Punjab can keep [in] touch with the Emergency Cabinet Meeting and supply them with what he considers to be the situation in his Province. It is further absolutely essential that some independent authority (preferably Military) should be approached to give a correct picture not of any one incident but of the cumulative effect of the savage attacks on Muslims throughout East Punjab. Only the Supreme Commander is in a position to detail some high European officer who can without being smothered by reports of the day's occurrence bring out in full relief the magnitude of the disaster that has overtaken the Muslims in East Punjab. I hope you will be good enough to consider these points and bring them to the notice of the Prime Minister.

A. AZIZ

[1]Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan.
[2]S. A. Siddiqui, Principal Secretary to the High Commissioner.
[3]Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, India.
[4&5]Not traceable.
[6]Annexure.
[7]Underlined in the original.

Annexure to Appendix III. 20

FOA, 1U/4/12

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN M. K. GANDHI AND PAKISTAN HIGH COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. D. M. Malik,[1] Mr. Siddiqui and myself [Mian Abdul Aziz[2]] went to call on Mahatma Gandhi by appointment. He returned from his interview with the Governor-General about quarter past four and we were with him for about 35 minutes.

Mr. D. M. Malik put his case before Mahatma Gandhi in the most reasonable and convincing manner and assured him that he would issue the statement that Mahatma Gandhi desired. Mahatma Gandhi looked at the statement and was pleased with it. Mr. Malik promised to send it at once and I understand from one of our office-hands that the statement[3] has reached API. After Mr. Malik, our Principal Secretary Mr. Siddiqui urged the Mahatma in a very reasonable way, also very persuasively, that the Mahatma himself should live at least for 2 days in Asaf Ali's house. The constructive part of Mr. Malik's proposal and of Mr. Siddiqui's suggestion was politely brushed aside by Mahatma Gandhi on the ground that the Hindus told him that the Muslims had concealed a lot of arms and that his going would be ineffective unless all arms were given up. He of course said that all arms by both sides should be given up, but my impression was that this last thing was being said with his tongue in his cheek.

At this stage Mr. D. M. Malik came out in a very clever manner with the idea, which is really based on facts, that the Hindus of Delhi have no animus against Muslims of Delhi. He said it is those outsiders who are the root cause of the trouble. To this the Mahatma agreed, but when Mr. Malik rubbed in the point that it is really the Sikhs who sponsored the whole upheaval the Mahatma agreed in a way but was prepared to take no action.

In my turn I suggested to him that as he cannot go himself he should at least send 8-10 of his devoted disciples to spend the night in Tiraha Bairam Khan and assure the Muslims and the Hindus that all were Mahatma's children and he was very anxious that they should live amicably. I convinced him and he whole-heartedly accepted the position taken up by me that it is no use blaming the police or the army or trying to shift the guilt and the responsibility for aggression on either side. Our main task I said and to this also he agreed, was to prevent further evacuation of the Muslims from the homes where up till now they had somehow or other carried on under very trying circumstances. He assented but would not undertake to send his men

on this peace mission. He concluded by saying that he is thinking of what suitable measures can be taken and that he will come to some decision in a day or two.

The net result is that the Mahatma has got the statement out of us and we have got nothing out of him.

MIAN ABDUL AZIZ

[1]Pakistan Liaison Officer in the East Punjab.
[2]Acting High Commissioner for Pakistan.
[3]Not traceable.

III. 21

Mian Abdul Aziz to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, 1U/4/12
[Extract]

SECRET
Report No.9

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
18 September 1947

[Paras 1 to 3 omitted]

4. I have informed him [Chief Commissioner] that I will be interviewing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru this afternoon at 3 p.m. and that I was going to ask the Prime Minister of the Indian Dominion that he should be good enough to make some kind of pronouncement that it was no part of the policy of the Indian Dominion to desire that Muslims should leave Delhi. The Chief Commissioner strongly supported this and said that it would help him if the Govt. could declare such a policy.

5. The Chief Commissioner's idea, however, was that the refugee camps should be looked after better and he undertook to do whatever he could. His previous Commandant of the Purana Qila, Mr. Suleman Seth, had proved, according to the Chief Commissioner himself, somewhat ineffectual. I informed him that some Europeans helped by Mr. Ormerod[1] were also helping to restore order in the Purana Qila. The position in the city itself has undergone no change and panic still prevails. Many leaders are hard to get at and even when they try to restore confidence, their efforts do not seem to bear any fruit. There is a constant stream of Muslims leaving town to proceed towards the

new refugee camp in Humayun's Tomb. This is very deplorable as the houses vacated are first looted by the non-Muslim mobs and then occupied.[2] The Chief Commissioner assured me that as soon as the refugee camps are set in order, attempts would be made to see that the possession of the houses of those who wish to return to Delhi are restored to the original owners.

A. AZIZ
Acting High Commissioner for Pakistan in India

[1]District Traffic Superintendant, Bengal-Assam Railway.

[2]On 19 September, the American Embassy in New Delhi reported to the States Department in Washington that "the New Delhi Municipal Committee has announced that shops vacated in the New Delhi Municipal areas will be allotted to refugees from West Punjab as of October 1. In most cases, however, it seems unlikely that the Municipal authorities will attempt to dislodge refugees who have already taken possession. The New Delhi Municipal Committee has also recommended to the Deputy Commissioner that three months' leave be granted to Muslim employees of Municipal offices and the temporary employees be appointed in their place. Whether the Muslim employees will find it feasible to return to their jobs after three months or even later remains to be seen." See telegram No. 208, *U.S. National Archives*, 845.00/9-1947. Not printed.

III. 22

Howard Donovan to George Marshall
U. S. National Archives, 845-00/9-1847

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 204

AMERICAN EMBASSY, NEW DELHI,
18 September 1947

Sir,

With reference to my telegram[1] to the Department No. 835 dated September 14, 1947, I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Department five copies of a report of a press conference held in Delhi by the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, on September 13, in which Mr. Nehru discussed the communal warfare during recent weeks in the Punjab and in Delhi Province.

It will be noted that Mr. Nehru stated the number of deaths resulting from the Delhi disturbances might be estimated "roughly at 1,000". On the basis of personal observation and conversation with official and non-official eyewitnesses, the Embassy regards this estimate as extremely low and believes the total number of deaths in Delhi Province during the last ten days may easily exceed 5,000. It will also be noted that Mr. Nehru said official figures on casualties in the East and West Punjab indicated 15,000 killed, but he felt these figures were very low and might easily be doubled or trebled. This seems entirely plausible. As the Department

realizes, the actual number of deaths will never be known.

Mr. Nehru said as many as 1,250,000 persons may have moved from West Punjab to East Punjab, and a similar number in the opposite direction, while as many as half a million were probably now on the move and another half million waiting to be moved, making a total of at least 2,000,000 on each side of the frontier who had been moved or were waiting to be moved. While, as the Embassy has reported, official figures through September 7 indicate that less than 850,000 persons had crossed the frontier from West Punjab to East Punjab and less than 323,000 had crossed in the other direction, Mr. Nehru's estimates as of September 13 probably do not exaggerate the magnitude of the problem.

Mr. Nehru said his government had not contemplated an exchange of population but circumstances had forced it on them; that it had occurred in the midst of "a fairly severe food crisis" and "a big economic crisis", but that he thought the Government would deal with it "more and more satisfactorily" as time went on. As to the large number of evacuees in camps in Delhi, he said the best time to formulate policy would be when passions had cooled but that in general there should be "no compulsion".

Mr. Nehru reviewed the events of the last month in some detail. He said that while India was celebrating independence on August 15, things were "blowing up " in the Punjab; on August 17 he went to the Punjab and met Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan; he had to confess that the Government of India had on several occasions underestimated the seriousness of the problem and that on August 17 he had not believed it would develop the way it did a week later. He said that in view of the "tremendous administrative difficulties" in the East Punjab resulting from partition of the Province, the Central Government formed a Cabinet Emergency Committee presided over by the Governor-General; efforts were being made to build up machinery to deal with "every possible contingency and emergency all over India"; and he had no doubt the organization would become "more and more efficient". He said the Delhi Emergency Committee during the last two days had "begun to function more or less properly"; the effect of coming to grips with the Delhi situation was already "fairly visible" and there would be "more evidence soon".

After criticizing some of the press reports sent abroad, including one which had allegedly stated half a million people had died in Delhi, Mr. Nehru touched on the background of the Punjab and Delhi disturbances. He said the happenings of the past month were particularly extraordinary in India because India was "a more peaceful country

than any other country in the world"; that "many average Indians" had behaved with "quite excessive brutality", even though normally they disliked killing "even a mosquito or a snake", which meant that "terrible shocks" had "completely upset all their mental machinery". He said he did not propose to discuss the relative ferocity of Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims, for it had been "bad all round", but that it was "not fair" to lay the majority of the blame on the Sikhs as had been done in reports to the foreign press.

Mr. Nehru said events of the last month had stemmed from the Calcutta killing which began August 16 last year, followed by Noakhali, Bihar, Rawalpindi, Multan, Lahore, Amritsar and parts of the Frontier Province, such as Hazara district. He estimated that in the course of three or four months a quarter of a million people or more had come to Delhi and to northern parts of the United Provinces from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier, while trouble continued in Lahore, Amritsar and other centers; that since there was something of "an even balance" in the Punjab, most of the people there had "kept the peace" because they knew that if the balance was upset "there would be big trouble"; but that "this partition business... excited the Punjab greatly" and when the Boundary Commission Award was made "a feeling of great insecurity came to the Punjab". Whether this feeling was justified or not, he said, there was an immediate reaction in Lahore where Sikhs were picked out as enemies of the Muslims and other non-Muslims were attacked, "and this thing went on in East and West Punjab".

With reference to disturbances in Delhi, Mr. Nehru said Delhi had had a joint Hindu-Muslim population for "four or five hundred years" but that nearly one quarter of the population now consisted of refugees "who had seen the most terrible things" and many of whom might be considered "completely unhinged"; the disturbances had snowballed partly because of past happenings and partly because of the refugees. In conclusion, he said he thought it would be correct to say that seventy-five per cent of what had happened in Delhi was directly traceable to the stories brought to the city by refugees.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Mr. Nehru's statement has an almost pathetically vague quality when one recalls that he is the titular head of a Government responsible for the welfare of some 300,000,000 people, his relative frankness and humility are perhaps refreshing in a part of the world where truth is so frequently sacrificed on the alter of personal prestige. It is true that Mr. Nehru is intelligent enough to realize he could not hide

the facts from as large and active a group of correspondents as he faced in his conference, but the comparatively straightforward manner and the virtual humility which characterized his remarks evoke admiration regardless of the man's frequent ineptitude as a politician and his distinct limitations as an administrator.

Mr. Nehru's presentation of facts, so far as it went, cannot be seriously questioned. His analysis of background and causes, however, raises some debatable points. While no one will deny that communal warfare in the Punjab and Delhi Province is part of a chain reaction which started in Calcutta in August 1946 it may be pointed out that if the Congress high command had agreed to unqualified acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan in June of last year—after the Muslim League had accepted the Plan—the League might not have withdrawn its acceptance and announced "Direct Action Day" on which the Calcutta riots started. It was the Calcutta riots which revealed the intensity of the primitive passions which had formerly been held in check by British colonial administration, and which in recent years had been stimulated by communal politics.

For Mr. Nehru to say that India is essentially a peaceful country is hardly accurate. The India he has known in his lifetime has been relatively peaceful mainly because of British administration, but prior to establishment of British authority this was certainly not the case. Now that British authority is being withdrawn, the unruly elements in the population are asserting themselves and the "uncivilized" qualities in large bodies of the people who, under firm administration, have been peaceful citizens, are now manifesting themselves.

As might have been expected, Mr. Nehru skimmed lightly over happenings in the East Punjab where, as nearly as the Embassy can ascertain, attacks on Muslims have been every bit as savage and widespread as attacks on non-Muslims in the West Punjab. In this connection there is good reason to believe that the mob warfare which flared up in the East Punjab during the first week in August was started primarily by Sikhs, who felt frustrated by the partition of the Punjab; that for some days at least the West Punjab authorities succeeded in giving better protection to non-Muslims fleeing to the East Punjab than was given Muslims leaving the East Punjab for Pakistan. On the basis of reports now available, however, it is perfectly obvious that both the Muslims in West Punjab and the Sikhs and other non-Muslims in East Punjab have indulged in savagery on a scale unprecedented in modern times. As has been reported in telegrams, I can testify on the basis of personal observation to the bestiality of murders committed by non-Muslims in Delhi.

While all available evidence points to the Sikhs as the worst offenders in the current communal slaughter, the Government seems loath to offend them and this attitude is reflected in Mr. Nehru's appeal to the correspondents to be "fair" to the Sikhs. As has been reported by cable, the Government of India has apparently been afraid to demand that the Sikhs give up their traditional weapon—the *kirpan*—which in various forms (often a three-foot sword) has been used to murder and mutilate thousands.

Another point which Mr. Nehru could hardly be expected to mention is the great extent to which Indian Army troops appear to have become communal. In addition to incidents witnessed by members of the Embassy staff in which Muslims were killed in Delhi while Indian troops stood by, eyewitness accounts of systematic attacks on Muslim neighborhoods indicate that many Indian troops—particularly the Rajputs, according to some reports—have made no serious effort to interfere with the operations of Sikh and Hindu mobs. When one recalls that there are still some 45,000,000 Muslims in the Indian Dominion and that from now on these people may have no assurance that their lives or property will be protected by the police or troops, the prospects of restoring and maintaining order are distressingly limited.

While Mr. Nehru in his press conference does not appear to have dwelt on the question of partition, there is no doubt that he is beginning to regard partition as the primary cause of India's present troubles. He hinted at this in the course of the conference held for the diplomatic corps on September 12 (my telegram[2] No. 831 of September 13) when he said that the main trend of Indian history had always been toward "synthesis", and that he wondered whether trying to go against this trend had been wise. In saying this he apparently forgot that prior to the establishment of a strong colonial administration, India had been far from united, and that the country is now unfortunately showing a tendency to revert to "normal" conditions. And, as has been pointed out before, the greatest irony of the present crisis seems to be that if the Congress Party had been willing to accept the compromise offered by the Cabinet Mission last year, partition and the consequent tragedy might not have occurred.

HOWARD DONOVAN
Counsellor

[1&2]Not traceable.

III. 23

F. Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/174

MOST IMMEDIATE
NO. 289-G

LAHORE,
23 September1947

Information just received from Military, Col. Sher Khan, Liaison Officer with [Major General B. S.] Chimni's staff that Muslim evacuee special was attacked in Amritsar yesterday with the result that except for 200 persons who are reported as "all right" every one else in the train including escort was either killed or wounded. British Officer in Command escort was killed.

Unless order is restored in Amritsar district and Sikhs suppressed I cannot hold myself responsible for consequences to Sikhs in West Punjab.

No convoy passed through Amritsar yesterday or today [22 and 23 September] and it is reported that it may be impossible to move convoy even down canal bank tomorrow owing to disturbed state of district. In the circumstances I have issued orders that Lyallpur [Faisalabad] Sikh convoys are not to be allowed to cross into East Punjab until further orders.

[F. MUDIE]

III. 24

F. Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/174

IMPORTANT
NO. 294-G

LAHORE,
24 September 1947

Reference my telegram No. 289-G[1] of yesterday's date I have interviewed Colonel Sher Khan, the Liaison Officer referred to therein. He has given following additional details: The train which was attacked was said to be carrying 4,500 Alwar refugees. There appear to have been about a thousand wounded which leaves over 3,000 killed and missing.

When train was attacked the British Officer started organising defence. He was at once killed by a burst of fire from automatic weapons.

On this the 13 Hindus of escort belonging to Royal Indian Army caved in to save their lives. Eight Muslims also of Royal Indian Army were all killed. Attack lasted apparently uninterrupted for 2 hours [and] was made by RSS Sangh as well as by Sikhs.

[F. MUDIE]

[1]Appendix III. 23.

III. 25

Statement by Master Tara Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, F.129

[24?]September 1947

We do not hesitate to admit that our brethren Sikhs and Hindus have also been guilty of most shameful attacks upon women and children in the communal warfare which is still continuing. Human nature shudders to think of these atrocities and we do not like to repeat these and thus give a shock to the world. We know Sikhs stooped to these low depths only in retaliation for what was done by the Muslims. But this is no justification for the Sikhs who have falsified tradition.

We tried our best and we are trying our best to prevent our brethren from falling into these low depths. But it appears that most of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs have gone mad. Crime, then retaliation; and then retaliation continued and there is no end to it. We therefore appeal to our brethren, Hindus and Sikhs, to halt and stop all retaliation. We do not desire friendship of the Muslims and we may never befriend them. We may have to fight again but we shall fight a clean fight—man killing man. This killing of women and children and of those who seek asylum must cease at once. It would mean that there should be no attacks on refugee trains, convoys and caravans. We ask you to do so chiefly in the interests of your own community's reputation, character and tradition, and not to save the Muslims. We are sure that the Muslim religion does not permit these fiendish deeds. It is for them to think what is right from the Muslim point of view. We only desire that they may also stop this devilish warfare on their part at once, lest the devil of retaliation should overpower the human nature of our brethren, the Sikhs and Hindus.

III. 26

Mian Abdul Aziz to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/12

SECRET
Report No.10

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
25 September 1947

If I am not mistaken, Musalmans outside Pakistan are in grave danger. This is probably well-known to the Pakistan Government, but it is my duty to set down in the fewest possible words the developments that can be glimpsed. The main features are as under:

a. The Govt. of India give courteous assurances to our Govt. and proclaim in all sincerity that Muslims in India will receive due consideration and will be protected but the fact remains that the non-Muslim public of India seems to be determined to put an end to the very existence of Muslims all over India. This outrageous feeling is widespread and is not on the decline. The gulf between the pious pronouncements of the Govt. here and the conduct of the people is much too wide and the Hindu-cum-Sikh pugnacious elements feel certain that really effective action will not be taken against them. They are in their own hearts absolutely certain of impunity. They know that no penalty of any kind can overtake them, now or in the near future.

b. Everything has been made easy for these savagely hostile widespread hordes that are armed and receive actual encouragement from subordinate officials. The Muslims are first disarmed, then frightened into leaving their houses which are looted at leisure. The plight of these miserable groups of Muslims in refugee camps is pitiable. They have no resources, no help, no food and hardly any protection.

c. The enclosed cutting,[1] specially the portion marked, leaves no doubt about the ultimate attitude of the Hindus and the Sikhs. The Pakistan Govt. can draw their own conclusions. Even the blind can see that the unofficial but open *hostilities*[2] now being carried on against the Muslims all over India have solid Hindu and Sikh support behind them.

d. Even if the entire campaign is not planned and has not the blessings of the very highly-placed top leaders in New Delhi, there is every reason to believe that the hostilities now in progress

will gain in intensity. The western position [*sic* for portion] of the U. P. is already witnessing massacres in Dehra Dun, Bulandshahr and elsewhere. Villages are being burnt or raided over a widely scattered area and Muslim passengers are being thrown out of trains in various localities on several railway lines. There is, in addition, resort to a frightfully diabolical process. In several places where a Muslim has been stabbed to death or shot a story is concocted that the Military were fired at. The Military then wreak their vengeance and those that are not killed are in some cases threatened with prosecution under [Section] 302 of the I. P. C.

2. The conviction sincerely entertained by those who lead Hindu and Sikh mobs, namely that they have complete immunity, is at the bottom of the entire well-organised campaign to exterminate the Muslims partially, if not completely. Except in very few and rare instances no effective action is being taken to teach these mobs a lesson that the Govt. of India means business. In this connection I enclose a copy of a letter[3] that I sent to Pandit Nehru yesterday afternoon [and a reply received today[4]]. It is a very polite letter but I could not say anything more. Without really effective action there is not a shred of hope of[*sic* for for] the Muslims who are being herded into isolated pockets as a preliminary to final liquidation. We are being ruined financially and there is great jubilation in Hindu circles over this indirect but most important victory.

3. I am not venturing into the domain of policy. If what I have set down carries conviction or is even partially acceptable, it is for the Pakistan Govt. to take steps to see whether any really effective measures are adopted by India to suppress the wholesale terrorisation of Muslim subjects of the India Dominion. I reject all sentimental approach to practical problems. The logic of action is irrefutable. The persecution is gathering volume and is gaining in intensity and if it does not stop or does not appreciably diminish within the next month or so the Pakistan Govt. may dismiss this subject altogether and start thinking of defence. Please assure the Hon'ble the Premier that I am the last person in the world to be an alarmist. I despise cowards but it is no crime to think ahead. I am deliberately not referring to East Punjab because there the death trap is fully at work.

[MIAN ABDUL AZIZ]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Underlined in the original.
[3]Enclosure 1.
[4]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to Appendix III. 26
Mian Abdul Aziz to Jawaharlal Nehru

FOA, IU/4/12

[NEW DELHI,]
24 September 1947

My dear Pandit Sahib,

For three days running West Punjab [Government] has asked me on the telephone to stop sending refugees by train. They have begged, implored and insisted. I can, in view of recent occurrences, understand their difficulty. Every one realises that assaults on trains have terrible repercussions. I also fully comprehend that refugee camps cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely.

It is also well-known that the refugees in Purana Qila and Humayun's Tomb are still very panicky and cannot be induced to return to Delhi city because a number of Muslim houses, apart from being looted, have been occupied by non-Muslims.

I am sincerely convinced that you are doing your best to restore confidence. May I suggest that it would be very helpful if those who are willing to leave the Purana Qila for their houses could be assured of Military protection in the city for a fortnight to start with?

I wonder if this suggestion will appeal to you. Both the Dominion Governments have a common object and if effective action could supplement what has been proclaimed I have no doubt that you will be placing the whole of India under a great obligation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIAN ABDUL AZIZ

Enclosure 2 to Appendix III. 26
G. S. Bajpai to Mian Abdul Aziz

FOA, IU/4/12

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY, NEW DELHI,
25 September 1947

My Dear Mian Abdul Aziz,

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has requested me to answer your letter dated the 24th September. It has already been decided to stop all refugee trains from Delhi and East Punjab to West Punjab. As regards your suggestion that Muslims now in Purana Qila should be allowed to

return to their houses in Delhi city, it has been decided that this should be done as soon as the paramount need to ensure the security of those who return to the old city can be fully met. Everything possible is being done to satisfy this condition, but it may take a little time before the requisite measure of security is assured.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. S. BAJPAI

III. 27

Mian Abdul Aziz to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/12

[*Extract*]

SECRET
Report No.11

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
26 September 1947

My dear Ikramullah,

In the Map Room this morning a detailed account was given of how the Sikhs moved in a big *jatha* from Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] towards Balloke. In the front were horsemen who reconnoitred to make certain that nobody would interfere. The women and children were made to walk in the middle with stalwart men protecting them on both the flanks. In addition ex-soldiers with their arms did regular guarding. In the rear were horsemen who were in charge of the cattle. There was a perfect arrangement to convey messages from the front to the rear and from the rear to the front within two minutes. The discipline observed by this *jatha* has won the admiration of all. All this arrangement was of their own making and the military guards were in addition. I am mentioning this because of the utter disregard of discipline in which our crowds move and whoever our Liaison Officer is should at least advise that when convoys are marching on foot from East Punjab to West Punjab, they should have similar arrangements.

2. You will be glad to learn that on my writing to the Hon'ble the Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the good work done by the Karachi doctors headed by Dr. Pasha will be mentioned in today's Cabinet meeting.

3. Apart from writing to the Hon'ble Mr. Neogy, the Refugees Minister

to the Govt. of India, I spoke to him personally this morning and also to his Secretary Mr. C.L. Chandra, I.C.S., who at one time received settlement training under me. I am trying my best to get the Safdarjung tomb or Kotla Firozeshah for Pakistan employees and their families. The whole muddle about the transportation of Pakistan employees arose out of the fact that they were scattered, that they had no complete list and their families were far away from them. If I succeed in my plan of getting them all located in one place with proper guard, their transportation would present no difficulty.

[*Paras 4 and 5 omitted*]

6. I visited the Purana Qila this morning. At my intercession a Muslim Military doctor has been ordered to take up the place vacated by Major Ramzan because the Muslims are terribly afraid of Hindu doctors. On the whole, the misery in the Purana Qila is slightly less than before though disease is rampant and a few cholera cases have started.

7. Major Kaul has supplied me with cholera vaccine, but there has been insurmountable difficulty in transporting it to Lahore. However, I have been able to secure an aeroplane which will fly with this heavy load on Sunday next from Delhi to Lahore.

8. This morning's report shows that there is much less disturbance than was the case two days ago. The newspapers are being instructed by the Govt. of India not to publish U. P. reports. The isolated units in various places in Eastern Punjab, including Gurgaon, are in a terrible plight, but so far no serious attacks on these beleaguered people have come to my knowledge. The situation roundabout Meerut continues tense.

9. You will be glad to learn that Dr. Pasha with his colleagues who has been here for nearly a fortnight has done splendid work in the Purana Qila. I brought [his] work to the notice of the Health Minister and she has assured me in writing that his work will be brought to the notice of the Governor-General in the Cabinet Meeting today. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Chief Secretary, West Punjab Govt. in order that they may issue instructions regarding the movement on convoys on foot. It should be possible for the ex-soldiers among these convoys to make similar arrangements provided our Liaison Officer in East Punjab can get into touch with the leaders who can put some heart into the refugees about to move away from Ferozepore, Jullundur, Ambala etc.

Yours sincerely,
MIAN ABDUL AZIZ

III. 28

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/12
[Extract]

SECRET
Report No.12

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
27 September 1947

I arrived here by plane at 8 p.m. yesterday after 12 days absence. Since then I have been busy acquainting myself with the developments during this period and to have a clear understanding of the position here.

2. So far as the city is concerned, the situation is almost the same as it was when I left on the 12th instant. Conditions have generally remained stable. Muslim areas which have remained largely intact are Pul Bangash, Nawabganj, Sadar Bazar, Jama Masjid, Fyz Bazar, Lal Kuan partly, and Ballimaran. During this period some pressure came to be exerted on Teraha Bairam Khan but beyond this nothing of any consequence happened. The stream of people leaving their houses for the refugee camps continued unabated. I must, however, record that I have been informed from various sources that during the last 2 or 3 days some people have gone back to their houses. Their numbers are very small and they are confined to *mohallas* which have remained largely undamaged. This is a good sign though it is impossible to say whether this tendency will grow and broaden itself out into a regular stream.

3. The arrangements made at the camps have improved. There is more regular arrangement for the supply of food, but difficulties in connection with water supplies continue. There had been some cholera cases and steps have been taken by Government for inoculating the people.

4. The question which one is naturally disposed to ask is whether the improvement which is now visible in the conditions in Delhi is likely to be permanent and is a prelude to stabilisation or not. The basic causes of the present state of affairs remain as before and there is no attempt on the part of the Government of India to deal with them with any vigour or determination. The Sikhs are still armed and are free to engage in their nefarious activities. No arrests have taken place and there are no signs of any police or magisterial action against them;

therefore, some people, including very high officials, are inclined to treat the present improvement as a lull before the storm. It cannot be said that they have no reasons for [holding] this view. Two days ago Mr. Bokhari, one of the Railway Officers responsible for evacuation of Railway personnel, asked Mr. H.M. Patel, the Cabinet Secretary, on the conclusion of a meeting whether Government of India would continue to send special trains carrying Government personnel and refugees despite the heavy attacks made recently on these trains. Mr. Patel gave a very characteristic reply. He said: "Incidents or no incidents, special trains will continue and if you do not send your men by these trains, the responsibility would be yours. If you think that the improvement in the conditions of Delhi may become permanent thereby enabling the Muslims to go back to their homes and live in Delhi, you may be very much mistaken" and so on in this strain. In the non-Muslim circles there is a growing feeling against the emphasis laid by Mahatma Gandhi on the undesirability of exchange of population. It appears that Hindus and Sikhs have been busy looting and disposing of the property of Muslims and settling down in the houses vacated by them. There is a strong rumour that within the next few days possibly sooner than one expects a new drive will be started against the Muslims which will include attacks on refugee camps. I hope this rumour will prove to be unfounded.

5. I have been making enquiries regarding Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu and have not yet been able to get full particulars. It is, however, certain that the personal property of Maulana [Maulvi] Abdul Haq has been plundered, but there is no definite information regarding his valuable library.

6. The Chief Commissioner [Khurshid Ahmad] is now completely powerless and has become a mere figurehead. The Deputy Commissioner as well as the Inspector General of Police act in complete independence while all important decisions are taken by the Emergency Committee of which the Chief Commissioner is merely a member.

7. I have taken stock of the position of the High Commissioner in respect of the work to be done by him. *It is becoming more and more clear every day that Muslim staff cannot work in New Delhi.*[1] I do not wish at present to emphasise this point. The logic of facts will prove more convincing. So far as the work which High Commissioners are normally expected to do, there is very little chance that this office can accomplish anything until the conditions are restored to the normal of which I myself see very little hope in the near future. Our work at present falls under 3 categories:

i. evacuation of essential personnel,

ii. making ineffectual appeals and representations to the Government here in regard to the conditions in the camps and the city as well as in regard to evacuation of personnel, and
iii. attending to enquiries made from all parts of India in regard to people in Delhi of whom no news has reached their friends and relations.

Regarding (iii), very little has been done so far in this direction and I very much doubt whether much would be achieved in the near future. Efforts are being made to collect particulars of people living in the camps and if these attempts succeed it might be possible to do something. We cannot, however, secure information about people living in the city and are, therefore, unable to answer enquiries made from us.

8. The main item of work on which we could concentrate and which might produce some useful result is the one relating to evacuation of essential personnel. Unfortunately, our transfer organisation has been disbanded. Mr. Wazir Ali who had charge of transfer operations has gone away; Col. Haq Nawaz, who was our Army Liaison Officer, has also left. The result is that the only item of work which could be attended to with some hope of fruitful results is being neglected. We could not prepare lists of men who were sent by special trains nor is there any arrangement now existing for issuing authorities to our personnel to travel from Delhi to Pakistan. According to my information the number of persons awaiting transport to Pakistan runs into thousands. This includes men of the Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, Central Excise, Agriculture Department etc.

[*Para 9 omitted*]

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Underlined in the original.

III. 29

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU/4/12
[*Extract*]

SECRET
Report No.13

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR PAKISTAN IN INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
30 September 1947

[*Paras 1 to 6 omitted*]

7. On the 28th I came to know that the Govt. of India had decided to

run a special train to Pakistan, but it was abandoned at the last moment. Yesterday (i.e. 29th instant) again I came to know that arrangements had been made to run 3 special trains, but they were abandoned on receipt of news of breaches owing to floods. There is possibly more in this plea of floods than has been disclosed to us. Support is lent to this view of mine by the story that came to me from the father of Mirza Khairuddin who came to see me yesterday morning. He stated that on the 28th at about 8.45 p.m. when he was trying to tune his radio set he heard some conversation at somewhere just below 100 meter short-wave, which appeared to be going on between two private transmitting stations of very low power. He heard the person transmitting from Delhi conversing with some one at the other end. The gist of conversation was that the Pakistan Special was to run from Delhi and that the route had been changed and that trains would now go via Jullundur, Nikodar and Firozepore. Steps should be taken to break or perhaps remove the track. Names of Brig. Sant Singh and Major Kapur were mentioned, but as he could not hear the person at the other end it was not possible for him to say in what connection these names were mentioned. I am mentioning this so that if Govt. consider it necessary some control should be established in order to hear and record messages given out from private transmitting stations. They might be of some value and some names also might come to our notice.

8. On the 29th instant I attended the Emergency Cabinet Committee meeting in which the latest report was read out. It was a story of attacks on refugee convoys in West Punjab and of progress retarded for various reasons. In regard to the East Punjab, the situation was said to be either improving or quiet or peaceful. Mr. Thapar, the Refugee Commissioner, East Punjab, rose and said that 1500 persons had dropped dead in a convoy going from Jullundur to Lahore. These people were reported to have come from Kapurthala State. Mr. Thapar added that Kapurthala State was in the habit of pushing out Muslims without looking after them and without feeding them. These men who dropped dead for sheer exhaustion are reported to have been without food for 5 days. Representation has been made to the States Ministry with a copy to the Prime Minister and India Govt. has been asked to ensure that this inhuman practice of Kapurthala State is stopped.

9. I visited the Humayun's tomb camp and found it in a rather deplorable condition as compared with the Fort. There has been outbreak of cholera which is being brought under control through inoculations but cleanliness and sanitation leave much to be desired and on the whole the camp is very dirty. The camp is being managed by a

European Officer and give[s] the appearance of being very filthy and very overcrowded. I am bringing this matter to the notice of the Health Minister. It is necessary to bring proper voluntary organisations into being within the camp itself, but obviously European management is not capable to do so. The people are more nervous and more unruly, which is quite understandable. The suggestions that I had made to the Camp Commandant in the Fort were made here also and were accepted.

[*Paras 10 to 12 omitted*]

13. Yesterday I learnt that under instructions from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur,[1] statements are being prepared by the Camp Commandants showing the names of the people in the camps, and their wishes as to whether they wish to go to Pakistan or remain here. In the case of those who wish to remain here, they have further to say how they propose to earn their livelihood, where they wish to reside and how they expect to support their families. This procedure appears to me in direct conflict with the agreement that was reported to have been reached between the two Prime Ministers in Lahore. I am not, however, officially aware of the decisions that were reached and cannot therefore decide whether I can make any protest to the Govt. of India. I am, however, doing so on the basis of what I have read in the papers. According to the newspaper reports, the agreement was that the Govt. of India would not ask the Delhi citizens to leave Delhi for Pakistan and that they would not be asked to make their choice until conditions were restored to the normal. In the present state of feelings there would hardly be a single person who would declare his choice in favour of India. Some of them might make their choice for India conditional on normal conditions being restored and full security and protection being guaranteed. The overwhelming majority, however, being in a state of panic and demoralisation would declare for Pakistan. It is probable that the weaker elements of the population would be inclined to declare in favour of Pakistan while those who can look forward to being able to stand on their feet may either elect for India or make their choice conditional. I suggest that the matter is important enough to be taken up by the Govt. of Pakistan direct.

[*Paras 14 and 15 omitted*]

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Health Minister, India.

APPENDIX IV

STATEMENTS BY M. A. JINNAH

Note: Jinnah's broadcasts and a message have been included under Nos. 1, 166 & 175

IV. 1

Message[1] *by M. A. Jinnah on the Occasion of 'Id al-Fitr*

18 August 1947

This is our first *'Id* immediately following in [*sic*] the heralding of free, independent, sovereign Pakistan having been established. This day of rejoicing throughout the Muslim world so aptly comes immediately in the wake of our national State being established, and therefore, it is a matter of special significance and happiness to us all. I wish on this auspicious day a very happy *'Id* to all Muslims wherever they may be throughout the world—the *'Id* will usher in, I hope, a new era of prosperity, and will mark the onward march of renaissance of Islamic culture and ideals. I fervently pray that God Almighty make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to make Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all the nations of the world. No doubt we have achieved Pakistan but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfilment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill.

Let us not, on this occasion, forget those of our brethren and sisters who have sacrificed their all so that Pakistan may be established and we may live. We fervently pray that their souls may rest in peace and we shall never forget the memory of those who are no more and those who have suffered. For many, *'Id* will not be an occasion of such great joy and rejoicing as in Pakistan. Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. Our hearts go out to them, and we shall consider no effort too great to help them and secure their well-being, for I recognize that it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub-continent who were the pioneers

and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority Muslim provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that they were the pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan which today is an accomplished fact.

Pakistan Zindabad

[1]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 57-8.

IV. 2

Statement[1] *by M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1020/66-8

24 August 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has issued the following statement.

I have been watching with increasing grief and concern the orgies of violence in the Eastern Punjab which have taken such a heavy toll of Muslim lives and inflicted indescribable tragedies on hundreds of thousands of Muslims.[2] I know that no words can bring solace to our suffering brethren across the frontier of Pakistan in this hour of their terrible trials. Nor am I ignorant of the grave unrest that those outrages have quite naturally created amongst the Muslims of Pakistan, putting their patience to the severest trial. It is because I realize all this and my heart is also deeply grieved that I consider it my duty to call upon the Muslims to temper their sentiments with reason and to beware of the dangers which may well overwhelm their newly won State, should they allow their feelings of the moment to gain mastery over their actions.

Let me make it quite plain that we are not mere idle spectators of what is happening in Eastern Punjab, but both the Central Pakistan Government and the Western Punjab Government have made it their first concern to give succour and relief to the victims of disturbances, and to organize measures for the evacuation of those who are still threatened or who wish to leave the disturbed areas and seek safety and shelter in Pakistan.[3] We are determined to give all of them every help and facility for evacuation and to arrange for their maintenance and rehabilitation, for which purpose the resources of the State would be utilized to the fullest possible extent. We are also in constant touch with the Government of the Indian Dominion, and the West Punjab

Ministry is acting in conjunction with the East Punjab Ministry, with a view to ending the bloodshed and lawlessness as speedily as possible.[4]

Meanwhile, it is of the utmost importance that Pakistan should be kept absolutely free from disorder, because the outbreak of lawlessness at this initial stage is bound to shake its newly laid foundations and cause irreparable damage to its future. Let me warn Muslims to beware of their enemies who do not wish well to Pakistan and would not like it to grow strong and powerful. In fact they would like to see it destroyed at its very inception and will welcome nothing better than that widespread disorders should break out within its borders thereby causing administrative dislocation and impeding the work of national regeneration and reconstruction. Let not our people play into their hands by indulging in the urge for retaliation, because such a course will not really help the sufferers in Eastern Punjab and elsewhere, or solve any problem but cause further loss of innocent lives and more suffering for large masses of humanity.

I may here say that those who unwisely think that they can undo Pakistan are sadly mistaken. Nothing on earth now will succeed in touching Pakistan whose roots are now truly and deeply laid. Any such dream or feeling on their part which leads them to indulge in killing will only end in increasing toll of innocent lives, and they are only tarnishing the fair name of the communities to which they belong. The civilized world will look upon their inhuman conduct with horror.

I, therefore, call upon every Muslim, man and woman, in Pakistan to fortify themselves against their present sorrows for the establishment of their national State for which they have already suffered and sacrificed so much, and which it is now for them to build up so that before long it can justify its position as the largest Islamic State in the world and win a proud place in the family of nations. It is thus that the death and destruction inflicted on our people elsewhere will be best avenged, and not by acting on first impulses and getting lost in the confineless wilderness of physical revenge and retaliation.

I pray to God that He who has bestowed on us this great boon of a sovereign State may now give our people courage to bear their grief, fortify their patience, and enable them in spite of all provocation to preserve intact the peace of Pakistan for the sake of Pakistan.

[1] *Jinnah, Speeches and Statements*, 59-61.

[2] Communal violence escalated rapidly in East Punjab following the partition. By 19 August, 50,000 refugees from Amritsar had poured into Lahore. The disturbances spread to rural areas of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore and Gurdaspur. See *Pakistan Times*, 19 & 21 August 1947. Also see Appendix III. 1.

[3]Within the first week of independence, the influx of refugees into West Punjab had topped the 150,000 mark. See ibid., 24 August 1947.

[4]In a joint statement on 19 August, the Governments of East and West Punjab declared their determination "to restore peace and order without delay". See ibid., 21 August 1947. On 22 August, the West Punjab Premier, Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, met with Gopi Chand Bhargava, East Punjab Premier. Subsequently Liaquat Ali Khan urged Government of India to take steps to end violence in East Punjab. See ibid., 24 August 1947.

IV. 3

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 188-GG/5

15 September 1947

The following statement has been issued by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan.

I have been in continuous and close touch with the happenings in Delhi.[1] Yesterday some prominent Musalmans of Delhi saw me and narrated harrowing accounts of the plight which has befallen Muslims in that city. Their life and property is not safe; and their condition is most miserable. I deeply sympathise with the sufferings they have endured and still are enduring owing to the destruction of the life and property of Muslims there.

I explained to these representatives of the Delhi Muslims that we are straining every nerve to do all that we can for them and are in constant communication with the Indian Dominion Government on this subject. I discussed it at great length with Lord Ismay who came to Karachi recently. I do hope that immediate measures will be taken by the Delhi authorities to do everything possible to ensure the safety and welfare of the Muslims in Delhi, many thousands of whom are now practically living as worse than prisoners in various camps in Delhi, such as the Purana Qilla, the 'Idgah and other places, for they are without shelter, food or clothes and in fear of their life.

I do hope that Government at Delhi will put down those who are still defying law and order and disturbing the peace of Delhi, the Capital of the Indian Dominion Government, with an iron hand. The lawlessness which is going on under the very eyes of that Government must be stopped by every means in their power. Those who are defying the authority of that Government are the enemies of the State and are bereft of every elementary sense of humanity. They should be treated as such and dealt with accordingly.

[1]See Appendices III. 4-6; III. 10-16 & III. 19-20.

IV. 4

Report of a speech[1] *by M. A. Jinnah*

26 September 1947

"It has given me great pleasure to come here today to lay the foundation-stone of the Valika Textile Mills.[2]

"Pakistan is at present mostly an agricultural State and for manufactured goods it is dependent upon the outside world. If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.

"Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilize them to the best of [*sic*] the State and its people. I hope this venture of yours will prove the precursor of many such enterprises and bring prosperity to all concerned.

"I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labour."

The Quaid-i-Azam went on and said that he had at heart this satisfaction that he had been called upon to lay the foundation-stone of the Textile Mills which was the first of its kind. He said that he was told by a very well-known gentleman in Sind, who has got a very long experience, that if Sind were given full opportunity, it could be three times more prosperous in agriculture and industry than Egypt. So far as agricultural potentialities were concerned, there was no shortage. That was Sind's biggest fortune. Sind had been surplus in the production of food.

The Quaid-i-Azam, therefore, urged Sindhis that they had to develop other fields like science, commerce and industry. He said that they should realize that the real strength and power of the State depended upon its capacity to produce.

For commerce and trade, money was needed and Sind, being prosperous in agriculture, its power was great and we could feed the various channels like educational, social and political. The way in which we could consolidate the State was by industrializing as fast as we could.

He then blessed the sponsors[3] of the Mills and said that it would not

only be the first and the last mill but many more would follow.

[1]*Jinnah, Speeches and Statements*, 71-3.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 263.
[3]Also see Annex.

Annex to Appendix IV. 4
Address[1] *by Fakhruddin Valibhai*
[Extract]

[26 September 1947]

It is with feelings of profound joy and thankfulness that we welcome Miss Fatima Jinnah and our beloved Quaid-i-Azam here on this auspicious historic occasion to lay the foundation-stone of this venture on this soil of Pakistan.

The province of Sind has a plentiful crop of cotton, which instead of being utilised on the soil, has been diverted to enrich the textile industry of cities far beyond its borders.

The mills which will take about a year to build has been started with a paid capital of Rs. 75 lakh. The mill [will] have 25,000 spindles and 500 [looms]. The machinery is expected to arrive from the United Kingdom [...] a 32-acre site and will be air-conditioned and will also have artificial humidification. The output of cotton is expected to average about 30,000 [bales].

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 28 September 1947.

APPENDIX V

ACCESSION OF STATES

Prior to the Partition, there were some five hundred and sixty Indian States with a total area equivalent to about one-third of the territory of British India and a quarter of its population. There were ten States within Pakistan territory, while Kashmir, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer were contiguous to it.

The Government of India Act, 1935, introduced responsible parliamentary government in the Provinces, while the States remained outside its orbit. The States enjoyed internal autonomy except for defence, foreign affairs and communications. The All-India States People's Conference (AISPC), which had been founded in 1927 under the aegis of the Indian National Congress, fostered political consciousness among the people of the States, demanding "the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India".[1]

In 1939, the All India Muslim League also established the States Muslim League which took increasing interest in the affairs of the States. But after the death of Bahadur Yar Jung in 1943, this organisation lapsed into relative inactivity until February 1947, when the Central Office of the States Muslim League was established in Delhi.

The British policy towards the States did not go beyond declaring that British suzerainty over them would lapse on 15 August 1947, and with it all treaties and agreements between the HMG and the States.[2] It was at a later stage that sovereign independence for the States was ruled out limiting their option to accession to one or the other Dominion.[3]

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan set up a negotiating committee to address the accession of the States to Pakistan after 15 August 1947. Junagadh, Mangrol and Manavadar, which had Muslim rulers but Hindu majority, acceded to Pakistan. Their accession triggered a serious conflict with India. The ten States within Pakistan, excluding Kalat which staked a claim to sovereign independence,[4] declared their intention to accede to Pakistan.

Among the States contiguous to Pakistan, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer were inclined to accede to Pakistan. But Mountbatten was exercised that "the defection of Jodhpur would open up opportunities" for other contiguous States to accede to Pakistan. Patel was prepared to go to any length to prevent Jodhpur or any other Hindu state, even though contiguous to Pakistan, joining that Dominion. In the event, both Jodh-

pur and Jaisalmer acceded to India.

* * * *

Kashmir covered an area of some eighty-six thousand square miles with a population of four million, comprising about eighty per cent Muslims. Geography, economy, religion and culture, besides the factor of a preponderant Muslim majority, warranted its accession to Pakistan.

Sardar Patel, however, pressed for Kashmir's accession to India stating that "looking to its history and traditions, it has, in my opinion, no other choice".[5] According to an American report at the time, "the whole effort of the Maharaja is to bring the state into Indian Union, if possible, but at all costs to prevent it from adhering to Pakistan".[6] In the meantime, telecommunication and land links between the State and India were established.[7]

Top leaders of Congress, including Kripalani and Gandhi converged on Kashmir during the crucial months before independence and thereafter Indian troops started infiltrating into Kashmir.[8] On the other hand, the Muslim League had adopted a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the State. Muslim leaders of Kashmir complained about lack of Pakistan's initiative. Ghulam Mohammed, a Kashmiri leader, had warned Liaquat Ali Khan:

> If, God forbid, the Pakistan Government or the Muslim League does not act, Kashmir might be lost to them and the responsibility for this would be theirs.[9]

At the same time, Dogra forces as well as Hindu and Sikh armed bands let loose a reign of terror against the Muslim population of Jammu and the border areas of Sialkot. According to Alastair Lamb, between August and October 1947, at least 500,000 Muslims were displaced from Jammu, perhaps as many as 200,000 of them "just disappeared".[10]

Kashmir remained in a state of turmoil, awaiting an amicable solution to the impasse involving a tug of war between the Muslim Conference and the National Conference and other contending forces.

* * * *

On 15 September 1947, the ruler of Junagadh State acceded to Pakistan. The accession sparked a bitter controversy between India and Pakistan. Nehru objected to the accession and wrote to Liaquat, "...in case Junagadh became a part of federation of Pakistan, Government of India cannot be expected to acquiesce to such an arrangement".[11] In a letter to Mountbatten, Jinnah regarded Nehru's objection as "totally misconceived and untenable". "The position of the Indian states", he

reiterated, "is very clearly defined and it has been repeatedly accepted that after the lapse of paramountcy, every Indian state is independent and sovereign and free to join Pakistan or India Dominion."[12] But that was of no avail. Sardar Patel had already decided on invasion of Junagadh and committed a strong Indian force to this end.[13] His Special Officer, Banesinhji, also warned that "India would never permit Pakistan to have a base in Junagadh".[14] A report by the US Ambassador to India stated that Junagadh's alignment with Pakistan "would make war inevitable between the two countries".[15] Jinnah had already asked Mountbatten to stop concentration of troops along the borders of Junagadh and warned that "any encroachment on Junagadh sovereigny or its territory would amount to hostile act".[16]

On 25th September 1947, the Indian Government set up a provisional government of Junagadh declaring that "Nawab of Junagadh by transferring allegiance of his Hindu subjects against their wishes to Pakistan had forfeited his claim to the allegiance of his subjects, and that the Dominion of Pakistan by accepting the Nawab's Instrument of Accession had violated the principle of self-determination".[17] Babariwad and Mangrol which had acceded to Pakistan were also annexed by India on 20 September 1947.

Manavadar, a state in Kathiawar contiguous to Junagadh had a Muslim ruler with a Hindu majority. On 19 August 1947, he acceded to Pakistan and was "threatened and frightened out of his life" by India.[18] On October 5, Shahnawaz Bhutto reported to Jinnah that India was preparing to take over Manavadar by force[19], which indeed India did on 23 October 1947.[20]

* * * *

Hyderabad, approximately the size of Britain, had an area of eighty-two thousand square miles and a population of 17 million comprising eighty-eight per cent Hindus. Ever since the British Government announced its policy towards the States, the Nizam had toyed with the idea of independence. On 11 June 1947, he declared that on the lapse of paramountcy he did not contemplate joining either Dominion but offered India a "standstill agreement" covering only foreign affairs and communications.[21] As to defence, he offered "an agreed number of troops" to India stipulating that if India and Pakistan pursued mutually hostile policies, Hyderabad would remain neutral.[22] He reaffirmed as late as on 14 August 1947 that though Hyderabad would become independent on the transfer of power, he did not wish the State "to stand aloof either from old allies or from old neighbours".[23] Mountbatten, however, kept pressing the Nizam to make up his mind[24] about acceding to India. On 24 September, he advised the Nizam to

accede to India or agree to a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people of the State.[25] The Nizam refused but offered to continue negotiations on the basis of an "agreement of association" in view of relentless Indian pressure.[26] While the influential Muslim minority, led by Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, pressed for either independence or accession to Pakistan,[27] the Hindu majority demanded accession to India and political reforms. The reforms announced by the Nizam were, however, rejected by the State Congress which launched a movement against him.[28] While discussing the issue with the Hyderabad Delegation on 4 August, Jinnah slammed Mountbatten's stance which contradicted the stated British policy.[29] He advised the Nizam to respond to India as follows:

> You may do what you may like and you may threaten as you like, but I shall never agree to sign any Instrument of Accession or join the Union unless my conscience says that I should do so. You have no right to coerce me and I have the right to make a free choice.[30]

He urged the Nizam, whose stance was not inconsistent with the British policy, to stoutly resist the coercion and threats from Mountbatten and the Congress.[31]

Initially Jinnah believed that the lapse of British suzerainty meant that "every Indian State was a sovereign State,".[32] The Congress however was implacably opposed to independence for the States, which they feared would lead to "balkanisation," and held that every State *had* to accede to either India or Pakistan. Their stance was purely pragmatic as distinct from Jinnah's legalistic approach. As it turned out, India coaxed, cajoled, coerced, or dragooned every State, within or contiguous to India, not even excluding Kashmir, into acceding to it.

Notes

[1]O.P. Ralhan, Editor-in-Chief, *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh*, Vol.4, New Delhi, 1996, 1457.
[2]Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, London, 1961, 226.
[3]Press Communique of an Address by Louis Mountbatten to a Conference of the Rulers and Representatives of Indian States. Appendix VII.19, Vol.III, 993-8.
[4]H.L. Ismay to M.A. Jinnah, 4 August 1947, Annex to No. 120, Vol. IV, 190-3.
[5]Vallabhbhai Patel to Ramchandra Kak, 3 July 1947, Appendix VII.1, Vol. III, 963.
[6]Charles Lewis to George Marshall, 27 October 1947, *U.S. National Archives*, F.845/10-2747. Not printed.
[7]Hari Singh to Vallabhbhai Patel, 2 October 1947, Durgadas (ed.), *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. I, Ahmedabad, 1971, 42-3.
[8]*Pakistan Times*, 20 September 1947.
[9]G. Mohamed to Liaquat Ali Khan, 25 August 1947, Enclosure to Appendix V.26.
[10]Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990*, New York, 1991, 115.
[11]Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan, 12 September 1947, Appendix V.44.
[12]M.A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, 25 September 1947, Appendix V.60.

[13]F. Amin to S.M. Yusuf, 8 September 1947, Enclosure 2 to Appendix V.38.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Charles W. Lewis to George Marshall, 27 October 1947, *U.S. National Archives*, F.845.00/10-2747. Not printed. Also see M.A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, 25 September 1947, Appendix V.60.
[16]M.A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, 18 September 1947, Appendix V.52.
[17]See note 15 ante.
[18]F. Amin to S.M. Yusuf, 8 September 1947, Enclosure 2 to Appendix V.38.
[19]Shah Nawaz Bhutto to M.A. Jinnah, 5 October 1947, F.124(4)-GG. Not printed.
[20]The Indian armed forces entered Manavadar on 23 October and imposed management on the State. See A.P. Qureshi to M.A. Jinnah, 24 October 1947, F.124(4)-GG. Not printed.
[21]Nizam of Hyderabad to Louis Mountbatten, 18 September 1947, *IOR, Mountbatten Papers*, F.450/71-B. Not printed.
[22]Nizam of Hyderabad to Louis Mountbatten, 8 August 1947, *IOR, Mountbatten Papers*, F.450/70-B. Not printed.
[23]The *Hindu*, Madras, 16 August 1947, as quoted in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol. VI, 1946-48, 9-16 August 1947, 8764.
[24]*Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1947.
[25]Louis Mountbatten to Nizam of Hyderabad, 24 September 1947, *IOR, Mountbatten Papers*, F.450/70-B. Not printed.
[26]R.E.B. Bower to George Marshall, 23 August 1947, Appendix V.24, para 14.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Note by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, 4 August 1947, No.124, Vol.IV, 195.
[30]Ibid.
[31]Ibid., 196-A.
[32]Minutes of Viceroy's Eighteenth Miscellaneous Meeting, No.175, *TP*, XI, item 1, 322.

V. 1

Janak Singh[1] *to Abdur Rab Nishtar*

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

SRINAGAR,
12 August 1947

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, States Relations Department, Karachi

Jammu and Kashmir Government would welcome Standstill Agreements[2] with Pakistan on all matters on which these exist at present moment with outgoing British Indian Government. It is suggested that existing arrangements should continue pending settlement of details and formal execution of fresh agreement.

[1]Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir State.
[2]Also see Appendix VII. 18, Vol. IV, 519-20.

V. 2

Janak Singh to Abdur Rab Nishtar

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

No. B/530

SRINAGAR,
14 August 1947

Understand local post offices have received instructions to hoist Pakistan Flag on post office buildings on 15th August. In this connection please refer my telegram of 12th.[1] In view of that telegram and fact that postal buildings in State belong to His Highness' Government, it is necessary that pending final decision the day should be celebrated only as directed by Jammu and Kashmir Government that is by illuminations on 15th and holiday on account of establishment of Indian Union and Pakistan and retrocession of paramountcy. Matter extremely urgent and in order to avoid any complication, grateful if postal authorities are instructed accordingly and information of the action taken sent to me also.

Addressed to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and repeated to Telepost.

[1]Appendix V. 1.

V. 3

All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference to Abdur Rab Nishtar

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

SRINAGAR,
14 August 1947

Kashmir Government dislikes hoisting Pakistan Flag [on] 15th on post office building[s] despite acceptance Standstill Agreement. Understand having telegraphed[1] you on subject. In consideration of preponderance [of] Muslim population, kindly intervene.

[1]Appendix V. 2.

V. 4

M. Ikramullah[1] *to Janak Singh*

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

No. 32 KARACHI,
15 August 1947

Your telegram of the 12th.[2] The Government of Pakistan agree to have a Standstill Agreement with the Government of Jammu and Kashmir for the continuance of the existing arrangement pending settlement of details and formal execution of fresh agreements.[3]

[1]Foreign Secretary of Government of Pakistan.
[2]Appendix V. 1.
[3]On 26 August, a Standstill Agreement was formally reached between the Government of Pakistan and the State of Jammu and Kashmir. See *Pakistan Times*, 28 August 1947.

V. 5

Janak Singh to Abdur Rab Nishtar

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

No. B/50 SRINAGAR,
15 August 1947

Reference my telegram No. B/530 of 14th[1] asking for rescinding orders regarding hoisting Pakistan Flag on post offices in the absence of Standstill Agreement of which copies were also sent to Telepost Karachi, Post Master General Lahore and Superintendent Post Offices Srinagar. No reply received but Flags hoisted all the same. This has been resented by various common spies [communities?] and the situation has become tense. Request order lowering of the Flag immediately failing which untoward events beyond control of the Government may lead to undesirable results. Formal detailed protest regarding the whole question being forwarded separately.

[1]Appendix V. 2.

V. 6

Ruler of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 7-GG/9-10

SHERGARH (AMB STATE),
P. O. OGHI, HAZARA DIST.,
NWFP,
15 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many many thanks for your kind letter of 4th August 1947.[1] I hope you have since received my letters of 3rd August[2] and of 13th August[3] sent to you at Karachi.

Today is 15th of August and for the first time we are living under the Pakistan Flag. May God bless both the Flag and the State of which it is a symbol.

I have very great desire of seeing you personally as soon as convenient to you and will gladly come to Karachi for a couple of days or so. As I am living in ■ very far-off place, 15 days' notice by post (10 days' notice by telegram—telegraphic address: Nawab Amb Oghi) of the date convenient to you will be welcome and would enable me to reach Karachi in time. I will not bring a large entourage with me but only will be accompanied by a staff officer, a personal physician, and 4/5 attendants. I have never been to Karachi and cannot think of any acquaintances there to help me. Will it be asking too much to request you in the midst of your very onerous and multifarious duties to kindly make some suitable local arrangements for my accommodation for 2/3 days when some convenient dates are fixed by you. If you could favour me with telegraphic address of the official concerned, I will communicate with him direct the date of my arrival and details of my companions.

I may not be personally able to attend subsequent negotiations for the conclusion of fresh agreements with the tribes and Frontier States. This will be done by my accredited representatives. For this reason too I am very desirous of having a meeting with you before the negotiating conferences start.

Your message[4] to the nation this morning was very appropriate and tense [*sic*] and its translation in Urdu and in Pushto was very well rendered. I hope its dissemination will have a very good effect.

With very kind regards to you and to your respected sister,

Yours sincerely,
M. FARID KHAN

[1]No. 121, Vol. IV, 193.
[2]No. 95, ibid., 166-9.
[3]No. 238, ibid., 346-7.
[4]No. 1.

V. 7

Ruler of Junagadh to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 124(8)-GG/9

JUNAGAD[H],
15 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, Karachi

Many thanks for Your Excellency's reassuring letter of twelfth.[1] My Government have decided to accede to Pakistan, join Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Shortly deputing representatives for negotiating terms of accession and of standstill agreement. Kindly arrange to confirm.

MAHABAT KHAN

[1]No. 231, Vol. IV, 341.

V. 8

Jan Muhammad[1] to Gulam Mohamad[2]

F. 784/221-4

SRINAGAR,
16 Aug[ust] 1947

Dear Brother,

Hope that you must have reached that place safe and sound and being too busy with the ceremonies which are unprecedented in the history of India, you did not care to write a letter. Well, you have got enough of excuses and everybody can justify you for this.

On the very day when you left this place for Karachi, Ram Chandra

Kak, the ex-Premier of this State, received a sealed letter from His Highness forcing him to resign.[3] He received this news with a great shock. Maharaja disgraced him much. First of all, it was Monday, he could have sent him the orders on Sunday even, secondly as soon as he took his seat in his office, he received the letter and he at once told the *Jamadar* to get his car which to his great misfortune had already left. Then the *Jamadar*, out of necessity, got another car for him in which he left for good and for ever. Had he hesitated and not left the office at once, people would have hooted him much. He is at Gulmarg now. On his way from Tangmarg to Gulmarg, people addressed him as *Rama hoon*[4] and with other nicknames. Some of the National Conference workers have been released and some leaders are yet in the jail. Muhammad Abdullah will be released on 17th of this month.

P[andi]t Jawaharlal Nehru is also coming here on the same date for about four hours by air. People in general have rejoiced much at the retirement of Kak. Yesterday was very conspicuous. There were three kinds of flag: Pakistan flag, Indian flag and National Conference flag. About two thousand people gathered round our mosque when the Pakistan Flag was hoisted. All the Muslim officials were present. There have been some stray quarrels here and there. But on the whole, it was all peaceful. So far about the politics of Kashmir.

Coming to the homeside, I may congratulate you that our sister has been bestowed with a daughter. She is in good health and the baby too is lovely.

Rest O.K. *Salaam* from all of us to you. What about your employment? Please do write [to] me at your earliest convenience.

Yours,
JAN MUHAMMAD

Mr. Gulam Mohamad,
C/o Mr. Khurshid Hassan,
Personal Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Karachi

[1&2]Not identified.
[3]See Appendix VII. 15, Vol. IV, 511-7.
[4]Rama, the wolf.

V. 9

Ministry of Communications, New Delhi, to Sri Prakasa

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

NEW DELHI,
17 August 1947

Following from Prime Minister Kashmir about P & T arrangements in the State.

Begins: Kashmir Government desire arrangements with Indian Dominion Union pending decision whether to have own arrangements or Standstill Agreement with anyone out of the two dominions. *Ends*.

It was decided by Partition Committee that until States decided their attitude definitely in relation to accession, *status quo* about control of P & T office should obtain. Hence P & T offices were allowed to be controlled by PMG West Punjab Circle with effect from the 15th August. Now that Kashmir Government desire that control should rest with Indian Dominion for the present staff belonging to Indian Posts and Telegraphs being posted to Kashmir State in place of those who have opted for Pakistan.

Kindly contact Sardar Nishtar and request him to issue orders to PMG West Punjab to transfer control of all P & T offices telephone exchanges and wireless station in Kashmir State to PMG East Punjab.

V. 10

Note by F. Amin

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/1

KARACHI,
18 August 1947

Mr. [A. S.] Sheikh[1] came to inform that Radhanpur, Varahi, Dasada, Bajana, Vanodh and Jainabad States situated in Northern Gujerat have formed a group and intend joining Pakistan. This decision will be announced by these States as soon as clarification is obtained on these two points:

1. Whether the Pakistan Dominion would be able to render help to these States in case of armed rebellion at the time of declaration; and

2. If immediate help in the form of military aid is not possible, would the Pakistan Dominion be prepared to supply arms and ammunition on payment to these States.

If the Quaid-i-Azam can spare a few minutes, Mr. Shaikh is available in Karachi, and he says he has come for this purpose only.[2]

F. AMIN

[1]President, Ahmedabad Muslim League.

[2]On 20 August, A. S. Shaikh was informed by F. Amin that Jinnah was extremely busy and that he should contact M. Ikramullah who was incharge of the matter in question. See F. 25 (Part I)-GG/18. Not printed.

V. 11

Ruler of Las Bela to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20-GG/1

ARMA BAIL,
GARDEN EAST, KARACHI,
18 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I give you my heartiest congratulation on this happy day of *'Id* and extend to you congratulation[s] on behalf of my subjects of Las Bela State on the independence day of Pakistan, and we have confidence that under your leadership Pakistan will become one of the most powerful country [*sic*] in the world. We assure you every sort of our help.

I know that your time is so precious that it is almost ■ crime to encroach on it without a good cause, but it is quite clear to your honour that Baluchistan ['s] political movements are changing so rapidly that it is very essential for me to meet your honour very soon. Therefore, I shall feel highly obliged if you very kindly spare sometime for my interview to discuss about the future of Las Bela State.

Excuse me for the trouble which I am going to give you.

Yours very sincerely,
MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN

V. 12

Frank Messervy to A. D. F. Dundas

F. 691/6

SECRET

ARMY HEADQUARTERS, PAKISTAN,
RAWALPINDI,
19 August 1947

SUBJECT: BAHAWALPUR STATE FORCES

1. After talking to H. H. of Bahawalpur, I had a discussion with his Premier.[1]

2. Bahawalpur State is very keen on improving its forces and of organizing and equipping them on modern lines.

3. The composition of the formation, which the State Forces would be willing to maintain, is suggested as follows:

B[riga]de H.Q. and Sig[nal]s
1 F[iel]d Reg[imen]t (25 p[oun]d[e]r)
3 Inf[antry] B[attalio]ns
1 G[eneral] T[ransport] Co[mpan]y

4. To maintain the above there will also be:

a Training Centre, Supply and Ordnance detachments, and a Military Hospital

5. The political agreement as to the use of State troops by Pakistan must be arrived at by the Government of Pakistan, but the Premier assured me that the troops would be available either for internal defence anywhere in Pakistan, or for cooperation with the Pakistan Army in case of external aggression.

6. I suggested, and it was agreed, that this B[riga]de Group should form the third B[riga]de Group of 8th Division (Sind Area) and should take part in all forms of training with the Division. In return for this, vacancies at all military schools and training establishments would be allotted to the Bahawalpur State Forces.

7. I strongly recommend this arrangement and consider that it would be of great advantage to Pakistan. I request, therefore, that, as soon as political agreement has been reached, I may be given permission to deal direct with the Bahawalpur State Government and Military Headquarters with regard to the organization and equipment of the State Forces.

8. It is also agreed that inspection by 8th Division (Sind Area) or by

Army Headquarters, Pakistan, would be welcome.

[F. MESSERVY]
General
Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army

The Defence Secretary,
Government of Pakistan,
6 Hastings Road,
New Delhi

[1]Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.

V. 13

Ruler of Manavadar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124 (4)-GG/1-2

THE PALACE, MANAVADAR,
19 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your appointment as the Governor-General of Pakistan which has come into being solely by your constant efforts and sacrifice. I wish you and the Dominion of Pakistan a very very bright future. Under your leadership, there is no doubt, the new Dominion will protect peoples of all caste[s], creed[s] and nationalit[ies] and give chance to the Muslims who have uptil now missed it.

My State is contiguous to the State of Junagadh which acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan and I understand you have very kindly accepted its accession. I have also decided to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan and am deputing my two representatives, Mr. Abdul Kadir Quraishi, my Private Secretary, and Mr. Mohammed Husain, District and Sessions Judge, to convey this decision of mine to you personally. I shall be very grateful if you would very kindly accept[1] my accession to the Dominion of Pakistan.

I hope this finds you in the enjoyment of excellent health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOINUDDIN KHAN

[1]The accession was accepted on 24 September. See Appendix V. 59.

V. 14

Shah Nawaz Bhutto[1] *to M. W. Abbasi*

F. 124(8)-GG/10

JUNAGADH,
20 August 1947

Dear Mr. Abbasi,

I enclose a copy of my letter[2] addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, Pakistan Dominion.

I felt that as His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam is extremely busy, I should write to the Prime Minister also. I wish you could also remind His Excellency to give directions for an early answer. We are facing immense difficulties. Some kind of official announcement or answer from Pakistan Dominion is sure to smoothen matters for us here.

Sincerely yours,
S. N. BHUTTO

[1]Dewan of Junagadh State.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix V. 14

F. 124(8)-GG/11-2

URGENT

JUNAGADH,
19 August 1947

My dear Mr. Liaquatally [Liaquat Ali] Khan,

His Highness the Nawab Sahib Bahadur sent the following telegram to Quaid-i-Azam His Excellency Governor-General, Pakistan, on the 15th August 1947:[1]

> Many thanks for Your Excellency's reassuring letter of August 12.[2] I and my Government have decided to accede to Pakistan and join Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Shortly deputing representatives for negotiating terms of accession or Standstill Agreement.

We are awaiting the formal acceptance of Junagadh's accession to the Pakistan Dominion[3] and I should be glad if you would kindly arrange to convey it as soon as possible. It is not clear whether Junagadh will be entitled to a seat in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The State has attached to it several units which still support it even after the lapse of paramountcy. The total population of the group thus

formed is over 8 lakh. According to the Cabinet Mission Plan,[4] which has also been adhered to in later scheme, a unit having a population of three fourth of a million and over is entitled to separate representation in the Constituent Assembly. I should be grateful if you would kindly explain the position and also suggest further procedure we should adopt for accession purposes.

It is understood that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has already set up a negotiating committee.[5] The corresponding negotiating committee of the Indian States[6] will, I presume, provide for adequate representation from Junagadh. If the Pakistan Government has already drafted an Instrument of Accession[7] and a Standstill Agreement[8] for States joining the Pakistan Dominion, I should be glad to have drafts of these agreements as early as possible. On hearing from you, the Junagadh Government will arrange to send its representatives to carry on further negotiations.

I enclose a copy of the press communique released on August 15,[9] announcing the decision of Junagadh to accede to Pakistan.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,
S. N. BHUTTO

[1]Appendix V. 7.
[2]No. 231, Vol. IV, 341.
[3]The Instrument of Accession was signed by Junagadh on 14 September and accepted by Govt. of Pakistan on 15 September 1947.
[4]Appendix III, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.
[5]See Appendix IX. 2, item 9, Vol. IV, 541.
[6]See Appendix VII. 19, Vol. III, 997.
[7]Appendix VII. 9, Vol. IV, 497-9.
[8]Annex II to Appendix VII. 9, ibid., 501-2.
[9]Annexure.

Annexure to Appendix V. 14

F. 124(8)-GG/13

JUNAGADH,
15 August 1947

PRESS COMMUNIQUE[1]

The Government of Junagadh has during the last few weeks been faced with the problem of making its choice between accession to the Dominion of India and accession to the Dominion of Pakistan. It has had to take into very careful consideration every aspect of this problem.

Its main preoccupation has been to adopt a course that would in the long run make the largest contribution towards the permanent welfare and prosperity of the people of Junagadh and help to preserve the integrity of the State and to safeguard its independence and autonomy over the largest possible field. After anxious consideration and a careful balancing of all factors the Government of the State has decided to accede to Pakistan and hereby announces its decision to that effect. The State is confident that its decision will be welcomed by all loyal subjects of the State who have its real welfare and prosperity at heart.

Now that the Dominions of India and Pakistan have been admitted into the fellowship of independent sovereign States on an equal footing, it is to be hoped that vast avenues of progress will be thrown open to the peoples of both Dominions in every walk of life, that the peoples of both Dominions will combine to derive the fullest benefit from the opportunities which will now be made available to them in peace and cooperation with each other. The Government of Junagadh will continue to make every endeavour to secure for all classes of the people of Junagadh without distinction in fullest measure the blessings of security, peace and prosperity and is confident that in the furtherance of this object, it will receive the fullest cooperation from all classes and sections of the subjects of His Highness the Nawab Sahib Bahadur.

S. N. BHUTTO

[1]Published in the *Dastural Amal*, Junagadh on 16 August 1947.

V. 15

Ruler of Las Bela to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20-GG/4

ARMA BAIL HOUSE,
GARDEN EAST, KARACHI,
20 August 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

In view of the important impending changes in the political status of the nation as well as of the native states and their rulers and particularly considering the recent declaration[1] of H. H. the Khan of Kalat and his Standstill Agreement with the Pakistan Government,[2] I am constrained to feel vitally concerned regarding my own political position as a ruler [of] virtually independent state "Las Bela State" in Baluchistan.

I therefore would be very grateful if your honour very kindly fix time to see you [*sic*] and explain all the matters connected with my State and elucidate any controversial points. I again request your honour to consider this very urgent and fix early date which is convenient to your honour, as time does not permit me to stay any longer.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Annex to No. 201, Vol. IV, 310-1.

V. 16

M. Ikramullah to Janak Singh

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

IMMEDIATE
No. 63

KARACHI,
20 August 1947

Your telegram B/50[1] of 15th addressed [to] Minister Communications regarding hoisting flags received on the 19th. No instructions were issued regarding hoisting flags on post offices in Kashmir State. Seems some misunderstanding. Understand flags have already been removed.

2. With regard Standstill Agreement please refer to Foreign telegram No. 32 dated 15th August 1947 repeated below:

[*See Appendix V. 4*]

3. High Commissioner India at Karachi informed us on the 18th that you sent following telegram to India Government about P & T arrangements.

[*See Appendix V. 9*]

In view of the existence of Standstill Agreement between Kashmir State and Pakistan Government this telegram to India is not understood particularly as Kashmir State posts and telegraphs must pass through West Punjab.

4. In future please address communication on all subjects to Foreign Karachi.

[1]Appendix V. 5.

V. 17

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Las Bela

F. 20-GG/2

21 August 1947

My dear Jam Sahib,

Many thanks for your good wishes and greetings[1] on the auspicious and this time a very happy *'Id*.

Thank you for your assurance of building Pakistan.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you at Delhi,[2] I told you that I would study the question of relationship between you and Kalat and also consider your proposal of joining Pakistan, but I have not yet been able to study the actual relationship and the status of Las Bela *vis-a-vis* Kalat. I hope you do appreciate that these are very important questions, and they require a thorough examination before one can express any opinion. But you may rest assured that given reasonable time we will grapple with the question as early as possible.

I quite understand your desire to meet me very soon, but I must first examine and study the proposition before I can fully discuss the matter with you. I am sure that the Pakistan Government will take this matter as soon as possible.

Further, I have to inform you that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan have appointed a Negotiating Committee[3] and they will soon tackle the question of Indian States and other cognate matters relating to the various problems that we have to solve.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Ruler of Las Bela State,
Bela, Baluchistan

[1]See Appendix V. 11.

[2]The meeting took place on 22 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 87.

[3]On 11 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed a resolution authorising the President to set up a Committee for negotiating with the representatives of the States regarding their participation and representation in that Assembly. See Appendix IX. 2, Vol. IV, item 9, 541.

V. 18

Ruler of Kharan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 124 (5)-GG/1

NUSHKI,
21 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

British transferred power to Pakistan on 15th August 1947. I recently interview[ed] Quaid-i-Azam in Delhi[1] regarding Kharan State's future. Called a conference today the 19th of August 1947 of all the leaders and *mo'tabars* of Kharan State people to take their advice for the future of Kharan State. The leaders and *mo'tabars* and all the public of Kharan State gave their written decision in final as follows: I announce on behalf of myself and my subjects [that] Kharan State recognises itself as an independent state as usual and joins Pakistan Dominion as it suzirian [*sic*] and promises to serve Pakistan up to its extent. Request Pakistan help and cooperation for Kharan State.

[MIR MOHAMMAD HABIBULLAH KHAN]

[1]See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors*, 87.

V. 19

Hamidullah Khan[1] to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

SRINAGAR,
22 August 1947

Six posts for Kashmir State's Department sanctioned for six months. Only one Muslim retained as Customs official at an out-post. Rest all Hindus at headquarters. Present State Department officer detrimental [to] Pakistan interests. Kindly depute a Muslim officer or the officer may be instructed to select Muslim accountant [a] number of whom are available from the late Residency and Gilgit Agency staff[2] now at Srinagar. Immediate action solicited.

HAMIDULLAH KHAN

[1]Leader of Muslim Conference Group in Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly.
[2]See Annex.

Annex to Appendix V. 19
Hamidullah Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, SA(4)-6/2

PERSONAL/SECRET SRINAGAR,
23 August 1947

Will you kindly refer to my telegram of the 22nd August 1947[1] on the subject of Indian States Department set up in Kashmir.

2. As you know with the lapse of paramountcy on the 15th August 1947, the Kashmir Residency representing the Political Department of the late Crown Representative ceased to exist in Kashmir, as in all other States. A corollary of this change was the abolition of the Political Agency, Gilgit, which was a subordinate Agency of the Kashmir Residency.

3. Since this change took place a number of allegations have been brought to my notice by certain members of public, which I have thoroughly scrutinised and take the opportunity of laying before you, as they might eventually jeopardise the interests of Pakistan State, the building of which is going to be an uphill task.

KASHMIR RESIDENCY

4. On the abolition of the Kashmir Residency the States Department of the Government of India have opened a small office in Kashmir by retaining a few office Assistants from the late Residency Office until the Kashmir State is able to decide its course for action.

5. A retired Under Secretary of the External Affairs Department of the Government of India Mr. I. S. Gonsalves has been appointed as Officer-in-Charge of this Department. The Department is known as the Indian States Department, Kashmir, and the designation of the Officer-in-Charge is States Department Officer, Kashmir.

6. In the beginning we were under the impression that this Department was to represent both the Dominion Governments until the Kashmir State decided with whom she was going to line up, but we in Kashmir were greatly surprised when the staff retained for this new Department from the late Residency staff was carefully selected from Hindu officials, with only one Muslim who has been deputed on a junior out-post job about 100 miles away from the Headquarters. There was more than a dozen experienced and senior officials available from the late Residency and Gilgit Agency staffs but their right and claims were totally ignored. Our surprise and doubts had no bounds when on the 22nd August 1947 the officials retained in this Department were made to swear an oath of allegiance to the Dominion of India. This we

are at a loss to understand. How could members of a *Joint* Department of the two Dominion functioning in Kashmir swear their allegiance to a particular Dominion when the decision of the Kashmir State itself is in a melting pot.

7. The Indian States Department is doing its utmost to devise ways and means so that the Kashmir State may be made to join the Union of India. Mr. I. S. Gonsalves, the States Department Officer, has been in Kashmir for more than *ten years* in the Kashmir Residency in the past, and is hand in glove with the Dogra and Pandit high officials of the State. Until May 1947 he was in the External Affairs Department at Delhi and it is reliably understood that Pandit J. L. Nehru deputed him to Kashmir after setting all these details with him and he holds promise for a high Secretariat job in Delhi when his mission in Kashmir is fulfilled.

8. The Kashmir Residency left behind valuable property worth more than a lakh in Srinagar and Gulmarg. This includes a large number of good typewriters, duplicators, cycles, fire-proof almirahs and safes, stationery, furniture and silver and other cutlery and superior China crockery. A large number of these articles is being misappropriated by the Head of the Department with the connivance of his Hindu officials, and the remaining articles are being disposed of among friends and relatives. A few articles will, however, be sold by auction to serve as an eyewash. Most of the articles thus misappropriated would have been an asset for the Pakistan Government which must be short of such things [words missing] duplicators and cycles, etc.

9. Those of the officials of the Residency who have opted to serve in Pakistan are being victimised by the Indian States Department Officer and his staff. Proposals about their future are being made without even consulting them and a large number of the 4th grade Muslim Government servants who had elected to serve in Pakistan and were prepared to serve anywhere in Pakistan have been served with notices for termination of their services against their will. This is entirely against the rules said to have been made by the Governor-General in Council in July last. Why should permanent Muslim officials who have opted for Pakistan be forcibly retired unless Pakistan Government refuses to employ them?

10. Another feature of the last day of the Kashmir Residency has been that temporary Muslim officials holding appointments against permanent vacancies were turned out on the last day and junior Hindu officials holding purely temporary jobs were made permanent in the vacancies thus made. This has greatly hit a number of Muslim officials. Adverse remarks were intentionally made against their names at

the eleventh hour to justify the wrong action.

GILGIT AGENCY

11. In Gilgit Agency the position has been still worse. One absolutely new and three other working wireless transmitting plants have been handed over to the Kashmir Government free of all charges or on very nominal price. These sets should have been taken into account in the division of assets.

12. The Gilgit Agency *Toshakhana* was well-known for a very large number of fine carpets that it possessed. There were also about fifty good typewriters at Gilgit. Most of these articles have been handed over to the Kashmir State without any price. A large number of carpets has been misappropriated by the British officers who were in charge of the show at Gilgit and they have despatched them to their shippers. A few Muslim officials who tried to check them from this loot have been victimised in various ways and adverse remarks made in their service records.

13. You will therefore find that the Britishers who are in league with the Congress have played their last trick in Kashmir and are trying to please the Kashmir State in many ways.

My humble suggestions in this respect are:

(1) If the new Indian States Department set up in Kashmir represents both the Dominion Governments then a complete change in the personnel employed should be effected immediately. The Officer-in-Charge must be a Muslim with at least two senior Muslim officials.

(2) If the Department in question represents the Dominion of India only then the Pakistan Dominion should also at once set up a rival office in Kashmir.

(3) Pakistan Government should at once depute an officer to report on the property which is being misused and misappropriated.

(4) Officials of the late Residency and Gilgit Agency who have opted to serve in Pakistan should not be served with notices for termination of their services unless they are not actually required by Pakistan Government.

(5) The adverse remarks made against Muslim officials of these Departments *after they had declared to serve in Pakistan* should be ignored as they were made out of vengeance with the connivance of Hindu officials.

14. As the questions involved were of considerable importance I have ventured to bother you with this rather long letter and hope to be excused.

15. The Muslims of Kashmir wish all success to Pakistan and pray for the long life of their Quaid-i-Azam and his worthy Deputy.

[HAMIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]Appendix V. 19.

V. 20

Thakkar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 124(8)-GG/14

BHAVNAGAR,
22 August 1947

Bhavnagar public protest against Junagadh decision join Pakistan. Junagadh people against joining Pakistan. Kindly refuse State authorities decision join Pakistan applying same principle of self-determination by people as was applied in case of British provinces recently.

DR. THAKKAR
President, Public Meeting

V. 21

Janak Singh to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

SRINAGAR,
22 August 1947

Reference your telegram of 16th August[1] accepting Standstill Agreement. Kindly inform all oil companies concerned and local authority that arrangements, for sending kerosine and petrol under bond to Jammu and Kashmir under former agreement with British India [which still] holds good so that there may be no hold up in petrol and kerosine supplies to Jammu and Kashmir which would cause serious complications, are confirmed will be appreciated [*sic*].

[1]Appendix V. 4. The date given here probably refers to that of the receipt of the telegram sent on 15 August.

V. 22

Hasan Ali Khan[1] *to Abdur Rab Nishtar*

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

GARHI HABIBULLAH,
23 August 1947

Reliable information Sheikh Abdullah [to be] release[d][2] on Pandit Nehru's visit Kashmir. He will suggest joining Indian Union either through referendum or otherwise. Both courses dangerous to Muslim interests. Franchise standard very high, excludes mostly Muslim population. Muslim Conference solicits League's help.

HASAN ALI KHAN

[1]A Muslim League member of NWFP Legislative Assembly.
[2]He was eventually released from imprisonment on 29 September. See *Pakistan Times*, 30 September 1947. Prior to his release, Abdullah had tendered a "qualified apology" to the Maharaja on 26 September pleading that the "regrettable happenings of the past" had "been created by interested people in order to achieve their own ends". See Karan Singh, *Heir Apparent: An Autobiography*, Delhi, 1982, 81-2.

V. 23

Publicity Secretary,[1] *Muslim Conference, Kashmir, to Liaquat Ali Khan*

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

SRINAGAR,
23 August 1947

Local Congress newspaper *Nawayug* today's issue forecasts Kashmir definitely joining Indian Union. Writes that since new Premier[2] assumed office Government never doubted advisability joining Union but owing [to] various reasons especially decision [of] Punjab Boundary Commission made no announcement. Now that Gurdaspur divided and Pathankot gone to India, Kashmir Government's worries over. Paper quotes his New Delhi Correspondent that Indian Union intends constructing railway line between Kathua and Pathankot and Kashmir Government constructing new road between Srinagar and Jammu for which survey already made.

[1]G. Mohamed. Also see Appendix V. 26.
[2]Janak Singh.

V. 24

R. E. B. Bower to George Marshall
[Extract]

U.S. National Archives, 845.00/8-2347

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL, MADRAS,
23 August 1947

Subject: Non-Accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union
Sir,

[Paras 1 to 8 omitted[1]*]*

[9]. The Nizam on August 15 issued a *firman* continuing the *status quo* of Berar, i.e., its continued administration as a unit with the Central Provinces, and announced that he was negotiating with the Dominion of India for other permanent arrangements. There seems little else that he could do.

[10]. "The Nizam's "freedom from discord" did not entirely materialize in Hyderabad State on the occasion of Independence Day and the days following. Reports of disturbances, shootings, and arrests throughout the state have slowly been published and it now appears that approximately a dozen people were killed and at least a hundred injured. Even before the 15th attempt of the State Congress to hold meetings in defiance of the Public Meetings Regulation resulted in police action and arrests. In one case, the police solved the problem by cordoning off the area in which the meeting was to be held and directing traffic by other roads.

[11]. There were celebrations in Hyderabad State on the 15th, as in the rest of India. However, these were for the emergence of the Nizam's Dominions as a sovereign state. By Government edict, the only places on which the Indian Union flag could be flown were those institutions still under the control of the Government of India, such as the Post and Telegraph offices. Even in these instances it was required that the Nizam's flag be flown side by side with that of India. Many of the disorders were caused by attempts of Congress in defiance of this regulation. The State Congress President, Swami Ramanand Tirth and others were arrested in Hyderabad city for such attempts. There were several reported desecrations of Indian flags by Muslims and even by the police. This was officially denied by the Nizam's Government, but has been widely publicized by Congress leaders, made the subject of protest telegrams to Nehru and Sardar Patel, and raised in the Constituent

Assembly in Delhi. Telegrams protesting the partisan spirit of a unit of the Nizam's military forces, who were reported to have passed through Hyderabad city in lorries shouting *Pakistan Zindabad, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad* and *Congress Murdabad* (Long live Pakistan, Long live Jinnah, Down with Congress), were sent by H. C. Hedda, a prominent Congress leader, to Sardar Patel and to the Nizam himself.

[12]. Disorders and arrests have occured in at least a dozen places throughout the State, but as far as is known to date the worst disturbances occurred in Secunderabad, where communal tension was high. On several occasions the police opened fire to disperse mobs, with a total of ten reported killed in the city. A 24-hour curfew was imposed on the city and by the 20th the city was again quiet, although bearing the appearance of a deserted town according to the press accounts. It was announced that the curfew would continue until the 24th.

[13]. On the 21st, the Nizam issued a *firman* announcing that he intended to "associate my people of all classes and creeds with my Government". With this in view, reforms are to be introduced by October 1947, "whereby the number of public members in the Executive Council will be increased and the Legislative Assembly will be invested with further powers". That such reforms are needed is obvious, but they will probably not be sufficiently far-reaching to satisfy anyone.

[14]. A late news item of the 21st, appearing in yesterday's *Hindu*, reports that the *Ittehadul-Muslimin*,[2] the Muslim party organization, has passed a resolution expressing lack of confidence in the Nawab of Chhatari, the Prime Minister, and demanding the resignation of Nawab Ali Yar Jung Bahadur,[3] Minister for Constitutional Affairs, and Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Government. Under the present regime, if the Congress is right in its estimate of the power of the Muslim organization, this would mean that the ministers will be replaced. That Congress is right is evidenced by reports in today's Madras morning papers that all three ministers have resigned. It was not an official announcement and no mention was made of possible successors.

[15]. There can be no conclusion to these events, unless it is agreement with the Congress Party's assertion that it finally wrested India from the British and can take care of the Nizam by the same methods. The Nizam's Dominions will probably remain a troubled spot, in or out of the Dominion of India. Its people no doubt feel as a native of Travancore expressed himself in the Consulate General recently: "We're not interested in whether or not the State joins the Dominion. Give us

representative Government and we will decide such things for ourselves".

Respectfully yours,
ROY E. B. BOWER
American Consul

[1]These relate to events described in Annex II to No. 90, Vol. IV, 159-6, and Appendix VII. 13, VII. 14 & VII. 16, ibid., 510, 511 & 518.
[2]Also see Appendix VII. 10, ibid., 504.
[3]He resigned on 22 August. See *Pakistan Times*, 24 August 1947.

V. 25

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30-GG/310

OOTACAMUND,
24 August 1947

I am recovering from the effects of attack[1] made on me hence delay in sending you my sincerest congratulations and my very best wishes on your assumption of office as Governor-General.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER
[*Prime Minister of Travancore*]

[1]See No. 2, Vol. IV, 2.

V. 26

G. Mohamed to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, SA(4)-6/2

GULAM MOHIDIN & SON,
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
25 August 1947

Dear Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan,

You will be pleased to remember when you visited Srinagar in 1944 I had the privilege of arranging transport etc. for your family under the instruction of Quaid-i-Azam. After that I had a chance to meet you for [a] few minutes last year in the house of Khan Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot at Lahore. I flew to New Delhi only last month on the 17th to

offer personally my humble felicitations to Quaid-i-Azam. I also attempted to meet your goodself for the same purpose but I was told by your Asst. Secretary Mr. Wazir Ali and your P. A. Mr. Sufi that you were extremely busy and that there was very little chance of my being able to get an interview with you. Still I had the good fortune to meet you at Quaid-i-Azam's house when I was coming out of his room after meeting him.[1] I met there Hon'ble Ghulam Mohammed also who knows me and my father very well.

I have been off and on keeping Quaid-i-Azam informed about the political developments in this place and now that he must be extremely busy and as you are now directly concerned with such affairs I have taken the liberty of writing to you direct and beg to enclose herewith a report[2] to which, in spite of your multifarious duties, I have no doubt you will be good enough to give your personal consideration. I have before this also conveyed to you telegraphically a newspaper report[3] suggesting that Kashmir is joining Hindustan. I sent this telegram under the name of Publicity Secretary Muslim Conference.

I have assured Quaid-i-Azam of my humble services in whatever form these can be used by Government. If, therefore, you approve I shall deem it a privilege to keep you informed from time to time about political conditions in this place as I consider that Kashmir is an important *item*[4] from all points of view.[5]

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. MOHAMED

[1]G. Mohamed met Jinnah on 18 July 1947. See Ahmad Saeed, *Visitors to the Quaid-i-Azam, 1942-47*, Lahore, 1989, 85.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]Appendix V. 23.
[4]In capital letters in the original.
[5]On 25 August Hamidullah Khan and Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf in a joint statement warned that in case the Kashmir Government "decides to join India Union the State Muslims will be compelled to resist the move". See *Pakistan Times*, 26 August 1947.

Enclosure to Appendix V. 26
Note by All-Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

FOA, SA(4)-6/2
[*Extracts*]

[*25 August 1947*]

RETIREMENT OF RAM CHANDRA KAK

The retirement of P[andi]t Ram Chandra Kak came suddenly though

not surprisingly.[1] It was expected as the rumours were afloat even about two months before this that there were serious differences between the Maharaja and Kak on the issue of joining this or that Dominion and it is believed that Kak favoured Maharaja to declare independence and if it was inevitable to join either of the Dominions, he (the Maharaja) would join Pakistan. The Maharaja on the other hand is believed to have been favouring joining Hindustan. Kak, it is said, was realistic and he fully realised the implications and difficulties of joining Hindustan. However, many who did not like Kak, believed that he was doing this in order to save his skin as in case the Maharaja joined Hindustan he had to release Sheikh Abdullah and bring him and his party to power which naturally meant the end of Kak. Anyhow, whatever the motive of Kak it is agreed that he was standing in the way of the Maharaja to federate this State with the Hindustan Union. The crisis seemed to have come on this issue resulting in the discharge of Kak. Other factors responsible for this are also believed to have been the strong hostility of Dogras against this Kashmiri Pandit and they intrigued and manoeuvred and brought about his exit. In this, it is said, the *guru* of the Maharaja, a *swami* who weilds immense influence on the Maharaja and who is rightly described as Rasputin, has taken the largest part.

AFTER THE RETIREMENT OF KAK

As soon as Kak retired, the whole policy went through a drastic change. The National Conferencites who till then had been kept under check were given free license and they started their *goondaism*. Their detenus started coming out of the jails and the Government started negotiations with them. It is believed, and it is a fact, that they have approached Sh. Abdullah and are negotiating with him. They have cancelled the warrants that were pending against such persons who were for all these sixteen months since the Quit Kashmir agitation of Sh. Abdullah started, working outside Kashmir. They are now in Srinagar and taking part in these negotiations. Bak[h]shi G[h]ulam Mohamed, the Acting President of the National Conference, who was also running after the Congress leaders for all these months, has been called and it is believed that he has been called with the set purpose of bringing influence on Sh. Abdullah to declare unconditionally for Hindustan. In short, the Government and the National Conference are intriguing and any time an announcement is expected declaring Kashmir joining Hindustan. The Government has started harassing such elements as are against the National Conference. They have placed pre-censorship on Daily *Hamdard*, a local Urdu paper, widely circulated

and owned by Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz who is pursuing generally pro-League and anti-Congress policy. He himself is radical democrat. Another English weekly the *Kashmir Times*, which is also a staunch critic of the National Conference, has received ■ warning. It will be interesting to note that both these papers wrote nothing against the Government or published any such matter which could be considered least objectionable. That in short shows the present policy of appeasing the National Conference who only months back wanted the Maharaja to quit. The National Conference has also undergone a radical change in their policy and they now themselves openly in their own paper repudiate the Quit Kashmir slogan and interpret it to mean only "Quit Autocracy". At one place, their workers went so far as to lodge a complaint with the police against some Muslim Conferencites that they had raised "seditious" slogans as *Dogra Raj Murdabad*. This reciprocal trend is a point to what the Kashmir Government intend to do and how they want to use Sh. Abdullah and his followers to stab the Musalmans in the back.

KASHMIR GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAKISTAN

As to what the Kashmir Government thinks of Pakistan and what their intentions are with regard to their future policy—either to join Pakistan or Hindustan—will be explained by the following few facts:

HOISTING OF PAKISTAN FLAG ON POST OFFICES

The local superintendent of the Post Offices had received orders from the Postmaster General (PMG) that on the 15th of August he should hoist Pakistan Flag on all the post office buildings. When the Kashmir Govt. learnt about this, they sent their Inspector General Police (IGP) and other police officers and bullied and intimidated the Superintendent of Post Offices and he was compelled to refer the matter to his PMG. The Kashmir Government also approached the Pakistan Govt. requesting them not to hoist the flag.[2] The Sup[erinten]d[en]t, however, received instructions from the PMG to hoist the flag which he did on the 15th at about 10.30 in the morning. The Prime Minister himself had approached the Superintendent and written him a letter to desist from hoisting the flag. When the flag was hoisted, the Kashmir Government sent alarming telegrams to the Pakistan Government that there was danger of demonstrations etc. and "the situation may get out of control" if the flags were not removed at once. This was so mischievous and false that it is difficult to expect any civilised Govt. to stoop to such meanness unless they are maddened and blinded by prejudices [as] our Government is. What actually hap-

pened was that as soon as the Musalmans heard of the flag having been hoisted they came in thousands and saluted the flag and nowhere there was any untoward incident.[3] But the PMG sitting as he did about 400 miles far from this place must have been upset and he ordered the Superintendent to remove the flag which was done the next day i.e. 16th August at about noon. The Government was so keen to give maximum publicity to this news that the flag had been removed, that the Prime Minister approached through his Publicity Officer every newspaper and asked them to give this news in their papers which was done by them. The Superintendent Post Offices must have sent a full report to his P.M.G.

NEWS BROADCAST FROM PAKISTAN BROADCASTING SERVICE

In Anantnag, the second largest town after Srinagar, the local authorities have ordered that on all radios belonging to Town Area Committee and *Panchayat* news must not be relayed which come from Pakistan Broadcasting Service.

HARASSMENT OF MUSLIM LEAGUERS AND MUSLIM VISITORS

Those who hoisted Pakistan flags on the 15th are threatened and wherever National Conferencites interfered (fortunately they interfered very little) no police protection was given to the aggrieved party and on the contrary they were threatened.

There has been this year a great influx of Muslim visitors in this place. They are mostly from the Frontier and the Punjab. Their presence in this place has greatly upset the Hindu Government and they cannot see so many Muslims going about and their cars with either Pakistan or Muslim League flags running. On the 15th August, a grand Pakistan dinner was arranged in Srinagar where most of the prominent Muslim visitors were present. This Muslim fraternization on this day was too much for the bigoted Government and like this too wherever these Muslim visitors move they carry with them Muslim League ideas. That is natural and beyond this they take absolutely no part in local politics. But our Government could not keep quiet. They issued a communique warning (though the warning was mild and clever) the visitors not to take part in the local politics. This naturally was directed against these Muslim visitors and none else, for when Jai Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Kripalani, Nehru and last of all Gandhi came, their actual and factual interference was not interference but something else, only because they were Hindus.

GOVERNMENT SPONSORED NEWS AND VIEWS FAVOURING KASHMIR JOINING HINDUSTAN

The Kashmir Government has also started this tactic. In a local

Hindu paper which is believed to be expressing this time the official views a front page news was flashed that the Kashmir Government had decided to join Hindustan.[4] In this, the paper quoted its New Delhi Correspondent saying that India[n] Govt. were contemplating the construction of a railway line between Kathua (in Jammu Province) and Pathankot which has now gone to India after the partition of Gurdaspur. A substance of this news item was telegraphed to the Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan on the same day the paper was issued. Similarly the other papers which favour the present Government have started a subtle propaganda of analysing the advantages of joining Hindustan and disadvantages of joining Pakistan. There is no doubt that all these are sponsored by the Government. The Hindu members of the National Conference are busy going about and propagating the idea of Kashmir joining Hindustan.

SH. ABDULLAH AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAKISTAN OR HINDUSTAN

There are divergent views about Sh. Abdullah's attitude towards Kashmir joining Hindustan or Pakistan. Sh. Abdullah is still in prison and as stated above the Government have approached him and negotiations are going on with him. It is believed that his release is a matter of days.

Some believed that Sh. Abdullah is over-burdened with Congress favours and the personal interest shown in him by P[andi]t Nehru and to the extent that he (Nehru) went to help him will leave no choice for him but to do whatever he is asked to do. It is believed that he would, therefore, unconditionally favour Kashmir joining Hindustan. To bring about a dramatic and safest means for this, there are again many views. It is said that as soon as he will be released he will be taken to New Delhi and from there he will come with some concessions. It is also said that his release will synchronise with the visit of P[andi]t Nehru. It is also said that he will be released and simultaneously the Government will declare its accession to Hindustan and will also declare some reforms bringing Sh. Abdullah and his party in power. Sh. Abdullah will thus engage the people with the working of the reforms and would support the Hindustan idea. Some again believe that he will ask the Government to declare its accession to Hindustan and then release him so that he can tell the people that he is not responsible for it as he was in the jail and that the Maharaja has done it.

The other view about Sh. Abdullah's attitude is that he has refused to commit and he has told them that he would consult his colleagues and study the outside atmosphere. This, it is believed, is because the

Shaikh fully realises that the public opinion has tremendously changed and that if he takes a wrong decision it might mean his own doom. He is more particular to safeguard his own leadership. There is no doubt that in his own party there is a great difference of opinion on the issue of Pakistan and if Sh. Abdullah were to face this issue he would encounter a lot of opposition. As such [it] is believed that Sh. Abdullah will think hundred times before deciding to support the idea of Kashmir joining Hindustan.

The third view is that as a via media Sh. Abdullah might decide for Kashmir remaining independent.

So far [as] the Kashmir Government view is concerned, they desire from their heart to join Hindustan and all the facts given above go to show clearly their intentions, but they too are faced with certain difficulties. They apprehend trouble if not so much in the Kashmir Province but some in the Jammu Province (there is already trouble in Poonch where some arrests have been made and civil disobedience has been started by the Muslim Conference). There may be other factors of administration, communication etc. which form difficult problems to solve. So, the Government is also faced with a dilemma. If they declare independence, they are thus making no contribution and then the policy of the ex-Premier Kak is upheld. In short, the position at present is most uncertain and highest secrecy is being maintained and though the indications of the intentions of the Government are clear beyond doubt yet nothing can definitely be said.

PAKISTAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

Whereas the Kashmir Government has acted with such prejudice and meanness, as is clear from the Pakistan flag hoisting affair on the post offices and other facts given above, the attitude of the Pakistan Government is most appeasing and conciliatory. The Kashmir Government asked for removing the Pakistan flag from the post offices and the Pakistan Government at once agreed. The Punjab police at one point had entered in [*sic* for from] Jhelum District in [to] the State territories to safeguard something there and as soon as the Kashmir Govt. brought this into the notice of the Punjab Government the latter at once regretted and undertook to remove the force. The Kashmir Government asked the Punjab Government to protect their properties in Lahore and other places in Pakistan territories and they were at once assured of this. There may be several other instances of co-operation and appeasement of the Kashmir Government by the Pakistan Govt. The Pakistan Govt. has also on the request of Kashmir Government kept in abeyance the order of transfer of some Kashmiri Hindu

employees of the post offices who had elected to serve in Hindustan. It may be noted that out of 800 employees of the post offices in Kashmir Circle only about 200 have elected service in Hindustan. The rest have elected to serve in Pakistan. How far this appeasement and lenient policy of the Pakistan Government is correct, in view of the hostile policy of the Kashmir Government to do whatever they like? The Pakistan Govt. is showing magnanimity and real statesmanship but on the other hand the Govt. they are to deal with are hardly reciprocal and in fact not fully advanced and civilised to appreciate this high standard of a civilised Government and to reciprocate this most friendly gesture. They, on the contrary, seem to take undue advantage of this gesture.

ATTITUDE OF QUAID-I-AZAM, MUSLIM LEAGUE AND PAKISTAN PAST AND PRESENT TOWARDS MUSALMANS OF KASHMIR IN CONTRAST WITH THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

Quaid-i-Azam has declared his policy towards the States a number of times—that they can join this or that Dominion or remain independent.[5] He has not even mentioned geographical contiguity, which a State should *at least*[6] consider when joining this or that Dominion. It follows, therefore, that Kashmir can join Hindustan and Quaid-i-Azam cannot have any objection to it, though geographically Kashmir may be contiguous to Pakistan. Not only that but even though Kashmir is a nerve centre of defence of Pakistan.

The policy of the Muslim League has all along been that of absolute non-intervention in the affairs of the States.

In contrast to this policy of Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League, the Congress has directly intervened in the affairs of the States, particularly that of Kashmir. Sh. Abdullah started his "Quit Kashmir" agitation last year and if left to his and that of his party's strength the movement would have died in weeks, not even in months. Sh. Abdullah now counts only in the Kashmir Province and that also from Baramulla to Anantnag, an area of 60 miles, but of course the most important and the most thickly populated area in the whole valley. The goondaism and fascist methods of his followers had very much brought him down in the public and he had lost a great deal of his influence. In actual fact the trouble in the whole valley was also confined, after the arrest of Sh. Abdullah to a few *mohallas* of the city in Srinagar and a little trouble in Anantnag. So, within a few days of the start of the movement, it fizzled out. But who kept it alive? Nehru and the Congress. Nehru came twice, first time he staged a drama on the Kohala

bridge when he diverted the attention of the whole world towards Kashmir and second time he marched into the city triumphantly and conducted himself the defence of Sh. Abdullah. After him, he sent Jai Prakash Narayan, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, Congress President Mr. Kripalani and last of all the last weapon in the Congress armoury the Mahatma[7] himself. Besides, money flowed regularly for all these months and the movement was kept going and finally brought to a very successful end. The success has been brought not by the local strength of Sh. Abdullah but by the vast resources of Congress and by their direct intervention in the affairs of the State.

The Muslim League on the other hand has remained absolutely disinterested and quiet, excepting for an occasional editorial note in *Dawn* or *Pakistan Times* and sometime a statement by Quaid-i-Azam. Incidentally, the Muslim Conference, the counterpart of the Muslim League in the State, also suffered and its leaders were also kept in detention without trial for nine months (they are still in detention) for a very minor and technical offence but not a single leader of the Muslim League, even from provinces, not to talk of any top-ranking leader came to ask their welfare. With the result, the Muslim Conference morale went very low and it went into disruption and what it had gained before the "Quit Kashmir" agitation due to Muslim League successes in the Punjab and elsewhere were all lost to it and it became a completely dead and third rate political party. But what the position is now? Fortunately the establishment of Pakistan has again changed the hearts of the people and with all its shortcomings the Muslim Conference can succeed to rally the people round itself if only they have some outside support. That too, however, is not the immediate issue now. To organise the Muslim Conference and to plan for it is [a] matter of long drawn policy. We are at this time faced with a most important and critical situation and *the only* issue that counts this time is as to where our State is going. The National Conference Musalmans are triumphant and they now talk in the terms of a party which is victorious after a "war" and dictates its own terms. They are going so far as to suggest that Quaid-i-Azam should mend his previous attitude and should issue a statement upholding the "Quit Kashmir" slogan and placing the same interpretation on the Treaty of Amritsar as Gandhiji has done. Then, they say, they will consider helping Muslim Conference to persuade Maharaja to join Pakistan. This is all tall talk but this shows their trend of mind. If an attempt is made to convert them they put forward the argument as to what the Muslim League has done for them—at least for the Muslim Conference people

who were their own followers. They argue that the Muslim League stands for the sovereignty of the rulers whereas the Congress stands for the sovereignty of the people.

As far as the Muslim Conference followers are concerned though much they resisted to believe that the Muslim League was disinterested in them, yet they are now openly giving expression to their feelings of disgust. They feel as if they are left in the lurch and that the Pakistan Government has absolutely no interest in them—at least now for her own sake, when such an important issue is there as to whether Kashmir should join Pakistan or Hindustan. In the latter case they clearly see that the defences of Pakistan will be jeopardised and it will be pocketed in between and encircled from all its strategical frontiers. At this important time, the absolute silence of the Pakistan Government or her leaders has terribly demoralised the Pakistan Musalmans here and there is now hardly any person on whose lips there is not this note of disaffection.

INTERNAL COMMUNAL SITUATION

The communal situation is so far satisfactory but [a] large number of Sikh and Hindu refugees are pouring into the State with the connivance of the Kashmir Govt. They are becoming a menace to Muslims here whom they threaten with dire consequences. In face of these bloodthirsty Sikhs, the savage Dogra Army, the hostile Government, and last of all our own dissension, the Muslims are feeling very insecure and frustrated.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the situation as at present demands most immediate attention of the Pakistan Government and her leaders to allay the fears of Musalmans of Kashmir and assure them that they are not forlorn and forgotten. The Muslim Conference is faced with a grim situation and they want to act before the Maharaja decides to join Hindustan as, if he once decides, nothing can be done. But what will be the attitude of the Pakistan Government and her leaders? That is not certain. If the Musalmans of Jammu and Kashmir fight a battle they will be fighting in fact the battle of Pakistan and it is essential that Pakistan should help them in their struggle. It is also most important that the Pakistan Government must send some top-ranking leader here so that the Musalmans here feel encouraged that they have some body at their back. If, God forbid, the Pakistan Government or the Muslim League does not act, Kashmir might be lost to them and the responsibility for this

would be theirs.

[1]Also see Appendix VII. 15, Vol. IV, 511-7.
[2]See Appendix V. 2 & V. 5.
[3]In a subsequent incident, the State troops opened fire on a mass gathering at Bagh on 26 August which had collected to participate in a flag-hoisting ceremony. See *Pakistan Times*, 31 August 1947. Also see Appendix V. 28.
[4]Appendix V. 23.
[5]See No. 108, Vol. III, 298-9.
[6]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[7]Also see Annex to Appendix VII. 8, Vol. IV, 495-7.

V. 27

M. Ikramullah to Janak Singh

Telegram, FOA, SA(4)-6/2

No. 73

KARACHI,
26 August 1947

Reference your telegram August 19th.[1] Instructions issued to all concerned to continue supply of kerosine and petrol under bond to Kashmir.

[1]See Appendix V. 21. The date of issue shown therein appears to be that of receipt.

V. 28

Muslims of Poonch to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 560/69

MURREE,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Helpless Muslims of Poonch State (Kashmir) being ruthlessly slaughtered by State military. Kindly interfere at once and save their lives.

MUSLIMS OF POONCH[1]

[1]Telegrams relating to political situation in Poonch were subject to censorship by State authorities at that time. See Annex.

Annex to Appendix V. 28
Postmaster General, Lahore, to Director General Posts & Telegraphs, Pakistan, Karachi

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

LAHORE,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Following from SP Jhelum. *Begins.* Wazir (District Magistrate) orders 28 August (in view of circumstances prevailing Poonch *ilaqa*) notification under Jammu and Kashmir Defence Rules to submit to him for censor any telegram/telegraphic message concerning political situation *ilaqa* received by Poonch to Jhelum area for transmission or transmitted or delivered. Further desires disclosures forthwith such messages transmitted since 16th August. *Ends.* Previously such censorship was being referred to Resident, Kashmir. Presume the Hon'ble Minister for States Relations Dept. is authority concerned. Wire orders.

V. 29

Muslims of Bagh Mallot to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, S. 4(9)

KOHALA,
29 August 1947

Quaid-i-Azam His Excellency Governor General Pakistan Karachi at Lahore

Fire opened by Kashmir Gov[ernmen]t since 9th and 10th *Bhadon* on Muslim public. Loss estimated five hundred lives. Kindly intervene immediately.

MUSLIMS OF BAGH MALLOT, POONCH STATE

V. 30

Ruler of Junagadh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124(8)-GG/15

THE PALACE,
JUNAGADH,
31 August 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

The reports in the press must have given you an idea that Junagadh is showered with criticism all over. Thanks to Almighty we are firm. We expect an early announcement of the Pakistan Government regarding Junagadh's accession to it.[1]

I am sending Tazimi Sardar Ismail H. M. Abrahani, my Private Secretary, to meet the authorities of Pakistan Government and settle the terms of the Standstill Agreement. I authorise him to sign the Agreement on behalf of my State Government.

With very kind regards and prayers for your health, happiness and long life,

Yours sincerely,
MAHABAT KHAN

[1]See Appendix V. 7. Also see Appendix V. 46.

V. 31

Nasira Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

FOA, S. 4(9)
[*Original in Urdu*]

14 LAKEVIEW HOTEL,
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
Undated [*August 1947*]

Most respected and revered Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Sahib
May your fortune prosper!
Assalaamo 'Alaikum,

I beg to encroach upon your precious time because of certain important political matters. Before stating why I am bothering you, let me

introduce myself. *Your humble servant, as member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League, has, during a short period of seven years, in connection with the political struggle, by God's grace and under your leadership, performed relief work in the disturbances in Bihar, Sind, and especially Punjab.*[1] Besides, I have had the distinction of outdoing all my sisters by staying in the Frontier[2] for three weeks each time, to take part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Referendum.

Regarding it as my duty, I came to the Kashmir Valley, with the consent of my local leader, to do a bit of work for the Kashmiri Muslims[3] in collaboration with the Muslim Conference. I met many members and workers of the Conference and ascertained the situation. Unfortunately, as you might know, there are two factions of the Muslim Conference, each claims to be the Muslim Conference. Having seen both sides of the coin, I tell you what I found. Mir Waiz Maulvi Yusuf leads one faction which has a few Working Committee men. Maulvi Yusuf is a reserved and quiet gentleman, unfamiliar with political manipulation, though, being a religious scholar, he has considerable influence over people who trust him and not only listen intently to his speeches but also act accordingly, albeit only in so far as religion is concerned. He is not regarded as a political leader; *the Muslim Conference followers ardently desire a political leader who can match up to Sheikh Abdullah and, like him, can resort to hooliganism, if need be.* Maulvi Yusuf's party does do some work and have an office, if not a proper one. The other party includes men who are not members of Working Committee except, perhaps, for one or two. They are gossip-mongers with an axe to grind. No one trusts them; they have no office, no programme, no propaganda apparatus. Their leader is Ch. Hamid[ullah] whom his own party does not trust. He is given to issuing statements, not seldom contradictory, rather indiscriminately. A few persons, not members of the Working Committee, get together and hold meetings. I could not find more than a few sincere workers. This is the state of affairs in the Muslim Conference which failed to capitalize on the opportunity, provided by the incarceration of the National Conference leadership, of strengthening itself. *Given the state of public awareness here, not much effort is required to make the Muslim Conference a strong party. The people generally are more educated here than those in the NWFP; most are staunch Pakistanis but are dispirited because of bad leadership. The National Conference, however, is a well-organized party. There are many in it who support Pakistan but are not prepared to turn their backs on Sheikh Abdullah, even if they have to go to hell for him, because the Muslim Conference is doing precious little work.*

There is bit of change in atmosphere due to Prime Minister Kak's

resignation. Rumour in the Muslim Conference circles has it that the Maharajah has telegraphed India as well as Pakistan that Kashmir would stay neutral, but it is believed that this is mere eyewash and that it has been decided to accede to India. The Maharaja's joining the Indian Constituent Assembly will portend disaster.

It is now imperative that the Muslim Conference begins to work in real earnest, or else all Muslims will be doomed to a sell-out at the hands of a few selfish people. *It has become quite clear that without an improved leadership, the Muslim Conference cannot deliver. First of all, both factions of the party should be unified in order to remove the existing obstacles to its work.* Thereafter, it should seek to collaborate with the National Conference in the changed situation. Nationalists have almost been eliminated elsewhere and it is now imperative that the National Conference, if it really desires the liberation of Kashmir, must abandon its present course.

I have initiated efforts to unify the two factions by calling small meetings. These efforts will be continued. In my humble view, however, the situation is such that this monumental task is beyond me. It requires an eminent personality who can come to the rescue of the people of Kashmir by beefing up their political organization through helping to install some able leader. For instance, you may kindly depute Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman or Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. This is a pressing need. People complain bitterly why, even though they are staunch Muslim Leaguers as well as Muslims, the League High Command does not guide and help them, as it ought to, even as the Congress helps the National Conference financially, physically, and through press publicity. Congress leaders also keep visiting here. The League is stinted for funds but it can help by extending us encouragement and sympathy through the press. Why are we being ignored? We fully count on you; Kashmiris are ready to lay down their lives for you.

The people here had requested the Punjab to help out with four or five thousand rupees but there has been no response since there are no sincere workers. In fact, I have advised the people here to raise funds locally. Many a tourist has come to Kashmir and there are several affluent persons here as well. I have started to organize students and women through the Muslim Students Federation and the Muslim Conference Women Committee, respectively. Women are more enthusiastic and it will not take long to organize them. That is all I could do. I beg you once again to send Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman or Raja Sahib. I beg your pardon for taking the liberty to write at length and intrude

on your precious time. Kindly do reply even if it is in a few words.

Deep respects for Miss Jinnah.

Your most obedient servant,
NASIRA SIDDIQUI

[PS.] I gather that Sheikh Abdullah is being released from detention on 15 or 16 August.

[1]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]See Appendix VIII. 61 & VIII. 78, Vol. I, Part II, 371 & 382.
[3]See Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol. II (1947-1978), 1979, Lahore, 789-90 & 862.

V. 32

Note by Anonym

FOA, SA(4)-6/2

Undated [August 1947]

REPORT ABOUT KASHMIR

About 600 out of total 800 employees from Kashmir Postal Circle have elected to serve in Pakistan. As such before the 15th of August the DGP [Director General Posts] New Delhi had asked the Sup[erintenden]t Post Offices Kashmir to relieve a certain number of postal employees who had elected to serve India in exchange of the same number that were to come from India. The Sup[erintenden]t passed orders and those who were involved went into a deputation to the Prime Minister Kashmir and persuaded him to request the DGP New Delhi to keep these orders of transfer in abeyance.

The DGP sent a telegram to the Sup[erintenden]t Post Offices Kashmir on the 12th August asking him to keep the orders of transfer in abeyance. He also informed, about this, the Kashmir Prime Minister and also enquired from him whether the Kashmir State would like to be served by Pakistan Postal Services or that of India.

On the 15th August the Kashmir Government wired to DGP New Delhi that they would like to be served by Indian Government.

The High Commissioner for India in Pakistan seems to have communicated this desire of the Kashmir Government to the Pakistan Government[1] and it appears that the Pakistan Government have declined[2] to accept this position on the plea that the Kashmir Government has requested the Pakistan Government for continuance of the present arrangements.

The DGP New Delhi has thus informed the Kashmir Government

about this reply of the Pakistan Government and has made a further suggestion to the Kashmir Government that they should clearly inform the Pakistan Government that they (the Kashmir Government) want to be served by India Government.

The United Press of India has sent a news today from Srinagar that the Kashmir Government is sending its representatives to New Delhi for signing the Instrument of Accession.

Latest news suggests that the Kashmir Government has definitely decided to accede to the Hindustan Union.[3]

[1]See Appendix V. 9.
[2]Appendix V. 16.
[3]See Appendix V. 22.

V. 33

Ruler of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram,[1] *F. 7-GG/11*

SHERGARH, P.O. OGHI,
HAZARA DISTRICT, NWFP,
1 September 1947

Amb State was first amongst NWFP's States to agree to Standstill Agreement with and subsequent accession and allegiance to Pakistan. Unreservedly placed all personal and State resources at disposal of Pakistan Government in my telegram dated eleventh July[2] addressed to Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi. Pakistan Radio Service inadvertently omitted Amb State while announcing accession of Frontier States of Dir, Chitral and Swat. Pray announce Amb State's previous decision to rectify radio omission.

M. FARID KHAN

[1]It is a post copy of telegram.
[2]Not traceable. However, see No. 101, Vol. III, 281-2.

V. 34

S. N. Bhutto to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124(8)-GG/16-8

PERSONAL JUNAGADH,
4 September 1947

Your Excellency,

I am extremely sorry to trouble you again with a personal appeal for assistance to Junagadh in its plight. For an astute leader and man of affairs like you it is not necessary to relate the full story of recent reactions to Junagadh's declaration of accession to Pakistan. When we met[1] at Delhi we had discussed all possible sides of the question and you were then pleased to assure that Pakistan shall never allow Junagadh or for that matter any Muslim State to be stormed and tyrannised by its enemies.[2]

The events of the last few weeks seem to show that the beginning of the tyranny is already being felt. Most venomous propaganda has been started by the Congress folk; senior officers have been sent by the States Department of the Indian Government to Kathiawar and these with the help of the Police and other machinery still left of the old Residency have bullied into submission most of the States and Estates. The press and people's organizations are being employed to insinuate and spread fantastic stories resulting from accession. People are being told that 20,000 soldiers have been stationed by Pakistan in Junagadh, and these will shortly be raised to 100,000 with a view to help[ing] the Nizam, when necessary, and, eventually, to conquer Kathiawar, Rajputana and even Bombay Presidency. We have been refused by the Government of India usual quota of food and other supplies. A telegram received from the Coal Controller only two days ago bans all coal supplies trying to paralyse our Railway communication.

Your Excellency may well imagine the effect of such attacks on the economic and propaganda fronts on the non-Muslim subjects of the State, to whom the bogey of danger to Hindu religion, shrines and institutions is also raised in many subtle ways—perhaps forgetting that Muslims in dividing the country have left behind in India under Hindu protection many of their most sacred places, shrines and centres of culture including Aligarh. Both the Dominions are committed to restore peace and order in this sub-continent at all costs. In Junagadh, complete peace and harmony prevails. His Highness's Government makes no distinction between all castes and creeds. Congress activities,

with the support of the Indian Dominion, may result in orgy of destruction of life and property of innocent people. Exactly what has happened and is happening in the Punjab may take place also in Kathiawar and extend even to the whole of Western India.

Strangely enough, we have to contend with fifth columnists like Khan Bahadur Nabi Buksh, who was our Constitutional Adviser for a few months and whose services have been terminated by His Highness's Government. The past history of this gentleman must be well-known to Your Excellency. He, of all Muslims numbering ten crore, found himself a solitary figure to serve on the Sapru Committee and supported its reactionary recommendations to the Muslim cause. Today, he appears to play into the hands of His Highness the Jam Sahib enjoying his splendid hospitality at one of the palaces at Jamnagar.

I submit that it is time for Pakistan to lodge a strong protest with the Indian Government to end such mischievous activities as the Pakistan itself has deliberately refrained from pursuing them on grounds of broad policy. Pakistan's Standstill Agreement with the Indian Union must entitle Junagadh to all existing facilities provided for the neighbouring country. Some of our present troubles could possibly have been saved if the previous administration had taken timely measures to safeguard the State's essential interests including procurement of arms to which Junagadh was entitled in peace-time.

It is, therefore, important that Your Excellency should kindly extend your powerful protection to this premier State of Kathiawar which forms almost one fourth of the Peninsula. His Highness's present health does not allow him to stand the strain of heavy worries; an open avowal or support from your end will enliven him and the lakhs of Muslims of Kathiawar who are watching the developments here with great concern and anxiety. I, myself, am prepared to meet any situation that may arise, but my effort would count little in this sea of turmoil. Your Excellency's strong hand which has organised and built the greatest Muslim State in the world, will, I am sure, not abandon Junagadh and its people to be devoured by the wolves. Your Excellency's encouraging words at Delhi that "Pakistan will not allow Junagadh to be stormed and tyrannised and Veraval is not far from Karachi" still ring in my ear.

I remain,
Yours Excellency's sincerely,
S. N. BHUTTO

[1]16 July 1947. See No. 219, Vol. IV, 330-1.
[2]Also see Appendix V. 52.

V. 35

Ruler of Las Bela to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20-GG/5-6

ARMA BAIL HOUSE,
GARDEN EAST, KARACHI,
5 September 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I received your letter of 21st August 1947;[1] the question of my State relationship with Kalat cropped up and you promised to examine it later.

Since receipt of this letter much water has flown under the bridge. The State of Khan of Kalat[2] has declared to be an independent sovereign State.

The Khan of Kalat now arrogates to himself the position of paramount power, i.e. the British Government, [and] already the threat is held out to us that Las Bela State has no right of self-determination, nay, more we are told that we must bend knees before the Khan of Kalat or our people—men, women and children—shall die of hunger and remain naked. We are deprived of rights of drawing our supplies direct, and are compelled to apply to the *Wazir-i-Azam* of Kalat for our means of supply.

I have recently written to Prime Minister, Pakistan Government, offering accession of Las Bela State to Pakistan Dominion, and have also agreed to sign Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement, when called upon to do so. As well I have applied for issue of food and cloth for my people who are living in famine condition and are yet determined not to accept Kalat's subordination. Further, I most earnestly pray Your Excellency in the name of humanity, to save my people from starvation and kindly direct[3] Sind Supply Department that supplies may be given to us direct. I know that Your Excellency is very busy, but considering that I have been away from my State for a long time where my presence is urgently required, therefore, I request Your Excellency to grant me an interview within two or three days. If Your Excellency is unable to do so, I would like to proceed to Bela where Your Excellency can telegraphically communicate to me date and time of interview which Your Excellency [may] fix.

Apologizing for the encroachment on your precious time,

Yours sincerely,
MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN

[1]Appendix V. 17.
[2]In response to Jinnah's wish Qazi Isa informed S. M. Yusuf that the Khan of Kalat was willing to come to Karachi along with him on 5 October. Qazi Isa was informed of Jinnah's desire to put up Khan of Kalat in Government House. See F. 14-GG/21. Not printed.
[3]Also see Appendix V. 58.

V. 36

M. L. Qureshi to Abdul Hamid

F. 216(6)-GG/1

5 September 1947

Dear Khan Sahib,

With reference to our conversation over the telephone I enclose a letter[1] (air mail express delivery letter) addressed to the Deputy Prime Minister, Kashmir State, Srinagar, and shall be grateful if you will kindly see that it is despatched to Srinagar and reaches its destination with the least possible delay by air mail.

Thank you in advance,

Yours sincerely,
M. LATIF QURESHI

Khan Sahib Abdul Hamid,
Postmaster,
Karachi

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix V. 36
E. St. J. Birnie to R. L. Batra

F. 216(6)-GG/2

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
5 September 1947

My dear Mr. Batra,

I have conveyed to Quaid-i-Azam His Highness' very kind message and he is very grateful for the expressions of goodwill communicated to him through you.

Quaid-i-Azam perfectly understands the apprehensions felt by His Highness in view of the present situation and its possible repercussions in Kashmir State. He has, however, asked me to say that a visit to Kashmir later in the year would not be suitable owing to weather conditions and he would prefer to come up on or about the 15th September staying for a fortnight. As you know Quaid-i-Azam's visit is entirely for the purpose of rest and he does not even wish it to be announced and would in fact arrive privately and would like to be taken immediately to any residence which you might very kindly select for him and Miss Fatima Jinnah. The more private the residence the better pleased he would be as he has had a very strenuous time as I am sure you realise and is in need of quiet and rest away from all the arduous duties of the Dominion.

I feel sure that His Highness will wish to help him and I would be most grateful if you would convey the contents of this letter to His Highness and let me know as soon as possible.

As even air mail takes some time perhaps you would very kindly send me a signal.

Thank you very much for your kindness to me in Srinagar and I hope very much that I may have the opportunity of meeting you again.

Yours very sincerely,
E. St. J. BIRNIE

The Deputy Prime Minister,
Srinagar

V. 37

G. Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

FOA, S.4(9)

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
6 September 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to our conversation the other day on Kashmir, I have the honour to submit the following names:

1. Mian Mumtaz Daultana (Punjab)
2. Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar [NWFP]
3. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (NWFP)
4. Mian Ameerudin (Lahore)

5. Mian Iftikharudin (Lahore)
6. Malik Firoz Khan Noon (Lahore)

I am meeting Hon'ble Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar today at 10.30 a.m. and hope to meet also Hon[oura]ble Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan before I leave this place for Kashmir on Monday the 8th.

Allow me to thank you for the honour you have done me by granting an interview and giving me a patient and sympathetic hearing to my submissions.

I hope and trust that as in the past you will be pleased to continue your interest and patronage in the welfare and aspirations of the Muslims of Kashmir.

In the end if I am allowed to make a humble suggestion, that Your Excellency might need rest after strenuous hard labour and therefore nothing could be more appropriate, than to take a short holiday in Kashmir[1] and thereby afford an opportunity to the Musalmans of Kashmir to pay a great homage to their beloved Quaid.[2]

May you live long to guide us,

Respectfully yours,
G. AHMED OF KASHMIR

[1]Also see Enclosure to Appendix V. 36.
[2]This document was sent by F. Amin to the Foreign Secretary on 28 September. See *FOA*, S. 4(9). Not printed.

V. 38

F. Amin to S. M. Yusuf

F. 124(8)-GG/19

KARACHI,
8 September 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

Will you please see the enclosed letter[1] from Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto to the Private Secretary to the Nawab of Junagadh, which was handed over to me this morning by the latter for Quaid-i-Azam's information.[2]

The Quaid-i-Azam has seen this and has directed me to pass it on to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]See Appendix V. 52.

Enclosure 1 to Appendix V. 38
Shah Nawaz Bhutto to I. H. M. Abrahani

F. 124(8)-GG/20

CONFIDENTIAL AMAN MAHEL, JUNAGADH,
6 September 1947

My dear Ismail,

I enclose a Police report[1] which clearly indicates what the Congress people are aiming at. I would like you to explain the situation to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and if necessary the Quaid-i-Azam himself, pressing them for immediate action regarding the kind of help we need from Pakistan. Any open pronouncement of support by Pakistan would have immediate effect on the Indian States Department. It is not necessary for me to explain to our Pakistan friends what steps should be necessary to meet the inroads by our opponents.

These have been trying their best to get hold of the few Muslim Units still clinging to us—Manavadar, Sardargadh, Bantwa, Chhota Majmu etc. Kamadhia Taluka, once attached to Baroda has now joined us. So far, these have declined the tempting offers or allowed themselves to be bullied by the Indian States Department. But our hands could only be strengthened if the Pakistan Dominion makes the India Union understand that they cannot trifle with us in the face of the support we possess from Pakistan. There should be no further delay in open avowal of support and agreements, and it is this delay that has led to many surmises in Congress circles encouraging them to proceed on the lines indicated in the Police report.

I am anxiously awaiting a full report of your progress in Karachi. I trust you have contacted Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan and pushing on the Standstill Agreement.

Sheikh Sahib of Mangrol is being put under great pressure to go over to them. The Chief of Manavadar has just left me after his visit to Rajkot where he was threatened and frightened out of his life by the Special Officer of the States Department. They have brought additional forces of Gurkhas and Sikhs and more are to follow. Banesinhji threatened Manavadar that Hindustan was very strong; it can make and unmake laws; might is right in these days. A State like Hyderabad dared not keep out. What is Junagadh? Hindustan would never permit Pakistan to have a base in Junagadh. Hindustan forces must and will go to help their Hindu brethren in Junagadh which will be attacked from both inside and outside. You can well imagine more than what I can express in words how these activities of our opponents are

calculated to create trouble. The Post and Telegraph Department cannot be trusted and on this account I am sending this important communication by a special messenger.

The Special Officer at Rajkot is reported to have told Manavadar that Pakistan Government has neither Legislature nor a Negotiating Committee. They cannot accept Junagadh. Banesinhji is proceeding to Delhi on the 17th instant for final orders and thereafter people would see what would happen. The States Department would bring everybody to their knees and many such other things; those few Muslims who have resisted so far need food, arms and rest of the commodities they received when India was undivided.

I have also received a letter from Baroda's Dewan[2] who says he is moving his armed forces to Baroda, Kathiawar territory to allay panic among Baroda subjects caused by the armed activities of Junagadh. You will very well understand the motive behind this move. You can explain it to our Pakistan friends.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. N. BHUTTO

Tazimi Sardar I. H. M. Abrahani, B. A.,
Private Secy. to H. H. the Nawab Sahib Bahadur of Junagadh,
Bristol Hotel, Karachi

[1]Enclosure 2.
[2]Brojendra Lal Mitter.

Enclosure 2 to Appendix V. 38

F. 124(8)-GG/21

SECRET *5 September 1947*

TRANSLATION OF REPORT NO. 63

Dhebarbhai, Darbar Gopaldas, Rasikbhai Parikh all have come over there in Rajkot. It is decided to wage a war against Junagadh according to the instructions of Sardar Patel. It is also decided to send 5,000 Gurkhas from Delhi, for this purpose. Gurkha platoons are coming since [*sic*] the last two days and camping in the Headquarters. They are not allowed to stir out at present. Machine-guns and tanks will also be received. The object is to take possession of Babariawad and place ■ *Thana* there. They will also guard the frontier according to the decision of Sangram Samiti. Suragbhai of Babariawad and others have given their signatures to join Hindustan Union and they will be taken up by the Hindustan Union in a day or two. They are only waiting for

Banesinhji's arrival. The supply of petrol, sugar, kerosene, etc., to Junagadh has been stopped. Dwarkadas had stated that to watch the movements of Suragbhai, Buddhoo Khokhar has been deputed to Rajkot but we will not allow him to succeed in his mission. Farid Khokhar has gone to Rajula. It is further decided that a *Thana* should be placed at Jetpur and Bilkha and no sooner trouble starts [than] Junagadh should be attacked from all sides. Dwarkadas has invited his family to Rajkot. I had come but you were not present. I shall always be loyal to you. Banesinhji had asked me to join service but I did not accept the offer. I would seek your advice how to write letters from outside or adopt another method of correspondence. According to press report they will start their action within a week with the intention to place all the villages of Babariawad under the management of Dedan Thana.

V. 39

M. A. Jinnah to S. N. Bhutto

F. 124(8)-GG/22

8 September 1947

Dear Sir Shah Nawaz,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of September,[1] and your representative has discussed various matters concerning Junagadh with the Prime Minister and our Foreign Secretary. You will get a report with regard to the arrangements that have been arrived at so far between Junagadh, through your representative, and the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Pakistan.

Tomorrow there is going to be a Cabinet meeting[2] when the matter will be further discussed and a definite policy will be laid down.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto

[1]Appendix V. 34.
[2]See Appendix V. 43, note 9, & V. 52.

V. 40

E. St. J. Birnie to R. L. Batra

Telegram, F. 216(VII)-GG/3

MOST IMMEDIATE GOVERNMENT HOUSE, [KARACHI,]
11 September 1947

Batra, Deputy Prime Minister Kashmir, Palace Grounds, Srinagar. Request urgent telegraphic reply my letter of fifth September.[1]

E. St. J. BIRNIE

[1]Enclosure to Appendix V. 36.

V. 41

Janak Singh to E. St. J. Birnie

Telegram, F. 216(VII)-GG/4

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
11 September 1947

Col. Birnie, Mil[itar]y Secretary, Govt. House, Karachi
Y[ou]r telegram.[1] Regret no letter rec[eive]d here so far.

[JANAK SINGH]
Premier, Kashmir

[1]Appendix V. 40.

V. 42

E. St. J. Birnie to R. L. Batra

F. 216(VII)-GG/5

11 September 1947

My dear

I am sending this by hand of Air Commodore Whitley,[1] together with ■ copy (attached) of my letter of the 5th September,[2] in case with the posts so bad these days my original letter has not yet reached you.

I would be most grateful if a telegraphic communication could be sent as soon as possible giving His Highness' answer to Quaid-i-Azam's

request as time is now so short.

I hope you are well.

E. St. J. BIRNIE

Mr. [R.L.] Batra,
Deputy Prime Minister, Kashmir State,
Palace Grounds,
Srinagar

[1]Not identified.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix V. 36.

V. 43

Memorandum by the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations

PRO, FO 371/F.12773

SECRET
I.B. (47)165

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE,
KING CHARLES STREET, LONDON S.W.1,
12 September 1947

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee

ACCESSION OF INDIAN STATES TO THE DOMINIONS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The India and Burma Committee may like to have the following summary of information about the progress of negotiations for the association of the Indian States with the Dominions of India or Pakistan. It is derived partly from Lord Mountbatten's reports[1] up to 15th August and partly from what the U.K. High Commissioners in India and Pakistan have since reported.

A. DOMINION OF INDIA

2. All salute States (that is to say all but the petty States) within the orbit of the Dominion of India have been invited to accede and, except Hyderabad and Junagadh, have acceded to the Dominion of India for the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. The numerous matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may consequently make laws for these States are detailed in the Schedule to the Instrument of Accession (Annexure 1).[2] This Instrument, devised by the Government of India, States Department, closely resembles in form the Instrument proposed by Lord Linlithgow for accession to Federation under the 1935 Act. All the above States, except,

we gather, Hyderabad and Junagadh, have also entered into "Standstill" Agreements with that Dominion whereby, until new agreements have been made between the parties, all agreements and arrangements on matters of common concern existing before 15th August between the Crown and each State remain in force, so far as appropriate, between the Dominion of India and the State. A copy of this Agreement is annexed (Annexure 2).[3] The matters, mainly of an economic character, to which it particularly applies, are detailed in the Schedule referred to in the Agreement. The terms and form of the Standstill Agreement were suggested to the Government of India by the Political Department of the Crown Representative before his functions ceased.

3. The Nizam of Hyderabad would have been ready to accede to a United India; but the division of India on a communal basis has put him in a dilemma. If he accedes to the Dominion of India he will have trouble with the Muslims in his State which, although only 13% of the population, are regarded as the most forceful element in the State. If he accedes to Pakistan, he would be going counter to the compulsions of geography, the Hindu majority in the State would be stimulated by the Congress Party into rebellion, and the State would probably be subjected to considerable economic pressure from the Dominion of India. The Hyderabad Government, therefore, wants to enter into a treaty, rather than federate, with the Dominion of India. In particular, it is anxious to be free of any obligation to participate on the side of India in the event of war between India and Pakistan, and claims the right to secede from the Dominion of India in the event of that Dominion leaving the Commonwealth. Hyderabad stands in a separate category from any other Indian State, being larger and more populous than several of the Provinces of the Dominions and probably more wealthy. Negotiations between the State and the Dominion of India are in progress and Lord Mountbatten has agreed to continue to represent the Dominion in the negotiations. Hitherto, the Dominion of India have declined to consider any settlement short of Hyderabad's accession for Defence, External Affairs and Communications. There are press reports that the Nizam declared[4] on 21st August that he had assumed independent sovereign status on 15th August and that he had taken the title of "King".

4. Junagadh is a State situated on the sea coast of Kathiawar, with a Muslim Ruler and a population, mostly Hindu, of about 600,000. The Ruler has announced his intention[5] of joining Pakistan. The State can maintain sea communications with Karachi through its ports, but in other respects, is economically linked to neighbouring States which

have joined India.

5. There are many petty States in Kathiawar and Gujerat which enjoy very limited, or no jurisdictional powers. Four years ago, some 327 of these States were, by our mediation, attached for administrative purposes to large neighbouring States such as Baroda and Nawanagar, with which they have economic and in some cases dynastic associations. The effect of Section 7(1)(b) of the Indian Independence Act was to remove from these small States, the limitations on their internal authority imposed by the British authorities and continued by the "attaching" States. It was expected that in practice the "attaching" States would retain their influence over them. The Dominion of India have however decided to assume the jurisdiction exercised by the Crown Representative in these petty States before their attachment, and they claim in this to be acting with the general agreement of the Chiefs and *Talukadars* concerned. They have offered to allow these "Rulers" to sign Instruments of Accession, conceding this jurisdiction. The object of the Government of India in assuming this jurisdiction is said to be mainly to obtain a vantage ground from which to observe the activities of the Maritime States of Western India whose sea-borne trade with the interior might escape Indian customs duties.

6. The U.K. High Commissioner in India has also reported information from confidential sources indicating that certain other States besides the petty attached States in Western India are in the process of accepting the paramountcy of the Dominion of India. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore is stated to have sought the Government of India's recognition as his heir, of the son of his present American wife, which has been refused, but to have accepted advice to dismiss his Prime Minister, a retired British Police Officer, who had not been in favour of Indore's accession to India.[6] Balasinore, a small State in Gujerat, appealed to the Government of India and neighbour States about the time of the transfer of power for help on account of internal troubles. An officer of the Bombay Government with provincial police has restored order there. A new *Dewan* has also been appointed on the advice of the Government of India. The present Ruler of Rewa has also appealed to the Government of India for help against the intrigues of his father, the late Ruler, who was excluded from the State some years ago by the Crown Representative under suspicion of grave charges but has now re-entered Rewa. Sir Terence Shone suggests that these instances go to show that after 100 years and more of paramountcy by the British Crown, some States, for all that they may say about their independence, are by their own actions and the force of past habit straightaway recognising a new paramouncty of the States Department of

the Government of India. The High Commissioner further suggests that if elected representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly decide that the States should extend their accession to the Indian Union to all Central subjects under the new Indian Constitution it may be difficult for the Rulers to resist such pressure. It appears that the Congress organisations in the States are now hinting that within 12 months every Ruler will have to give his people self-government. The State of Cochin has just given a lead in making this concession.

B. [DOMINION OF] PAKISTAN

7. Pakistan is moving more slowly than the Dominion of India in negotiations with the States in its orbit. Mr. Jinnah appears to have made attempts to attract States in the orbit of the Dominion of India away from accession to that Dominion by offering, on behalf of Pakistan, to accept a treaty rather than a federal association with them, and it was only under strong personal persuasion from Lord Mountbatten that the Maharaja of Jodhpur, a State adjoining Pakistan, (whose example it was thought would have been followed by other States of Rajputana) was induced to accede to the Dominion of India and to refuse Mr. Jinnah's offer.[7] The Pakistan Government have set up a Negotiating Committee[8] to deal with each State separately. So far, no States appear to have concluded an arrangement with Pakistan, but besides Junagadh, Bahawalpur, Khairpur and Chitral, the principal States adjoining the Dominion, have declared their intention to become associated with it. Bahawalpur has also concluded a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan.

8. Kashmir has concluded Standstill Agreements with both Pakistan[9] and the Dominion of India. The main economic interest of the State is to preserve a treaty right under paramountcy to import goods from abroad free of customs duty. The Maharaja is a Hindu, while the population is mainly Muslim, although there is an influential Brahmin ruling class. The State is dependent on Pakistan for its communications with the outside world, although it has a common frontier also, though in difficult country, with the Dominion of India. The Maharaja has not disclosed his hand but has spoken of holding a referendum.

9. Pakistan has entered into negotiations with Kalat on the basis of recognising the State's claim to independence and of treating the previous agreements between the Crown and Kalat providing for the lease of Quetta and other areas, which would otherwise lapse under Section 7 (1)(b) of the Indian Independence Act, as international agreements untouched by the termination of paramountcy. The Khan of Kalat whose territory marches with Persia is of course in no position to undertake the international responsibilities of an independent State, and Lord Mountbatten, who before the transfer of power, was warned

of the dangers of such a development doubtless passed on this warning to the Pakistan Government. The United Kingdom High Commissioner in Pakistan is being informed of the position and asked to do what he can to guide the Pakistan Government away from making any agreement with Kalat which would involve recognition of the State as a separate international entity.[10] One consequence might well be that the Pakistan Government would be obliged to concede to Kashmir a similar recognition, although Kashmir has certainly never been independent, having been created by the British for the present dynasty on the conclusion of the Sikh wars,[11] and is hardly equipped to maintain the international responsibilities of an independent state *vis-a-vis* its neighbours Russia and China.

A[RTHUR] H[ENDERSON]
[*Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations*]

[1]See Appendix VI. 2, Vol. III, paras 26, 32 & 34, 943-9; VI.4, ibid., paras 15-26, 955-60 and VI. 1 paras 41-3, 47-9 & 51. Also see No. 302, *TP*, XII, paras 25-33, 449-50; 41-53, 452-5 & postscript, 456 and No. 385, ibid., paras 2-19, 591-4; para 30, 596 and para 58, 603.
[2]Not printed. See Appendix VII.9, Vol. IV, 497-9.
[3]Not printed. See Annex II to Appendix VII. 9, ibid., 501-2.
[4]The *Firman* was issued by the Nizam declaring himself as having "assumed independent sovereign status". See *Pakistan Times*, 23 August 1947. Also see Annex I & II to No. 90, Vol. IV, 154-61.
[5]The Governments of Pakistan and Junagadh State had signed a formal Standstill Agreement on 9 September. See *Pakistan Times*, 12 September 1947. Also see Appendix V. 46.
[6]Also see No. 199, Vol. IV, 307.
[7]Also see Appendix VI.2, Vol. IV, paras 58-60, 482 and Appendix VI, paras 41-3.
[8]On 9 September 1947 the Pakistan Cabinet discussed terms for accepting accession of States. See *Pakistan Times*, 11 September 1947.
[9]See Appendix V. 4, note 3.
[10]See Annex to No. 201, Vol. IV, 309-11.
[11]The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought in 1845-6, and the Second in 1849.

V. 44

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, FOA, I(1) 18/5/53

NEW DELHI,
12 September [1947]

We have just seen reported in the press a communique issued by the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs that a Standstill Agreement between Pakistan and the Junagadh State was signed on September 9.

We have also seen a report[1] that the terms of the Instrument of Accession for States wishing to join the Dominion of Pakistan were

settled by the Pakistan Government at their meeting on 9th September.

2. On 21st August our Ministry of States addressed a letter[2] to the High Commissioner for Pakistan in Delhi asking for indication of policy in respect of accession of the Junagadh State. The High Commissioner was subsequently reminded on 6th September. No reply has been received so far.

3. It has all along been understood that a State is free to accede to either of the two Dominions; but the choice of a State in regard to accession must, in our opinion, necessarily be made with due regard to its geographical contiguity. Junagadh is nowhere contiguous to the Pakistan Dominion . It is surrounded on all sides by the States which form part of the Indian Dominion except where it is flanked by sea. Further there is, within the State boundaries, considerable territory which forms part of States which have acceded to the Indian Dominion. There are likewise pockets of the Junagadh territory within States which have acceded to the Dominion of India.

4. The population of Junagadh according to the 1941 Census is 6. 71 lakh of which no less than 5. 43 lakh (or eighty per cent) are Hindu[s]. This large majority of the population of the State has made it clear to the Ruler of Junagadh in no uncertain terms that they are opposed to Junagadh acceding to the Dominion of Pakistan and that they wish that the State should accede to the Dominion of India. Even the Junagadh State itself issued notifications from time to time stating that it stands for the unity and solidarity[3] of Kathiawar (vide notifications dated April 11 and April 22, 1947).[4] All the Kathiawar States, barring three small ones, have now joined the Indian Dominion.

5. The Dominion of India would be prepared to accept any democratic test in respect of the accession of the Junagadh State to either of the two Dominions. They would accordingly be willing to abide by a verdict of its people in this matter ascertained under joint supervision of Dominion of India and Junagadh. If, however, the Ruler of Junagadh is not prepared to submit this issue to ■ referendum and if the Dominion of Pakistan in utter disregard of the wishes of the people and principles governing the matter enter into an arrangement by which Junagadh is to become a part of the Federation of Pakistan, the Government of India cannot be expected to acquiesce to such an arrangement.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]
Prime Minister of India

[1]See *Pakistan Times*, 11 September 1947.
[2,3&4]Not traceable.

V. 45

All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, S. 4(9)

MURREE,
13 September 1947

Atrocious military oppression in Poonch. Public being looted and shooted [*sic*] at random. Kindly intervene.

MUSLIM CONFERENCE

V. 46

Instrument of Accession—Junagadh State[1]

[*15 September 1947*]

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947,[2] provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as Pakistan, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of Pakistan;

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of Pakistan by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof;

Now, therefore, I, Mahabat Khan, Ruler of Junagadh State, in exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State, do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession, and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of Pakistan with the intent that the Governor-General of Pakistan, the Dominion Legislature, the Supreme Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Junagadh (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of Pakistan on the 15th day of August, 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable

therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of Pakistan on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan.

6. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of Pakistan or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of Pakistan under any such future Constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State of the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this Fourteenth day of September, Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Seven.

MAHABAT KHAN
Ruler of Junagadh

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession.

Dated this Fifteenth day of September, Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Seven.

M. A. JINNAH
Governor-General of Pakistan

SCHEDULE

The matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State

A. *Defence*

1. The Naval, Military and Air Forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by the Dominion; any armed forces, including forces raised or maintained by an Acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.

2. Naval, Military and Air Force works; administration of cantonment areas.

3. Arms; fire-arms; ammunition.

4. Explosives.

B. *External Affairs*

1. External Affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's Dominions outside Pakistan.

2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, Pakistan, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in Pakistan or persons who are not British subjects domiciled in Pakistan or subjects of any Acceding State; pilgrimages to places beyond Pakistan.

3. Naturalisation.

C. *Communications*

1. Posts and telegraphs, including trunk telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.

2. Federal railways; the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; Admiralty jurisdiction.

4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the consititution and powers of Port authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation

and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes.

7. Light-houses, including light-ships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

D. *Ancillary*

1. Elections to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any Order made thereunder.

2. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.

3. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters.

4. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the Acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State.

[1]*Instruments of Accession and Schedules of States Acceding to Pakistan*, Karachi, 1949, 1-3.
[2]No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49.

V. 47

Janak Singh to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

SRINAGAR,
15 September 1947

Railway stopped running from Sialkot to Jammu[1] since two weeks causing extreme dislocation of traffic and business. Shall be grateful if this is restored immediately and orders issued communicated to this office.

[1]See Annex.

Annex to Appendix V. 47
Note by Anonym

FOA, S-6/2

Undated [September 1947]

LIST OF RAIDS FROM THE JAMMU-KASHMIR STATE INTO THE WEST PUNJAB (SIALKOT DISTRICT)

10.9.47—Local armed Dogra gangs, assisted by Dogra [soldiers raided] various villages in Police Stations Sambarial, Phulkian and Chaprar.

11.9.47—Dogra refugees helped by their relatives from Jammu State attacked 2 Muslim villages in Police Station Phulkian. About 60 Muslims were killed, 12 injured and 11 Muslim girls abducted. About 30 of the raiders were shot dead by the Police.

16.9.47—The road to Jammu was blocked in Police Station Sadar by about 3000 residents of Jammu State. These men were dispersed by Police firing.

16.9.47—The Police picket near village Bhanot on the borders of Police Station Chaprar, was attacked by a Hindu Dogra mob from Jammu State territory. The picket opened fire, but caused no casualties. Three Muslims of a village in Police Station Philaura were killed by Hindus from Jammu State territory.

18/20.9.47—Non-Muslims, including Sikhs from across the Ouj[Ujh] Nala and Dogras of Sadr Chak in Jammu State, opened fire on a village of Nawan Pind on the 18th September and raided village Jhujhar on the 20th. Three villagers of Nawan Pind were killed and three seriously wounded in Jhujhar. (This appears to be a joint border raid).[1]

24/25.9.47—Six non-Muslim soldiers from Jammu State waylaid and robbed 3 Muslims of village Dhandar, P.S. Lesar. A Muslim of Panjgirain was also killed by some unknown raiders from Jammu State territory, who took away his body.

[1]On 18 September a correspondent from Jammu reported several Rajput and Sikh bands after having fled from Pakistan to have built up nests on the State side of the frontier. He also reported mysterious infiltration into Kashmir territory of several Indian troops apparently in an attempt "to coerce the State to join the Indian Union." See *Pakistan Times*, 20 September 1947.

V. 48

M. A. Jinnah to Maharaja of Indore

F. 3-GG/6

15 September 1947

Dear Maharaja Sahib,

I have received your letter of the 14th of August[1] but could not

reply to it earlier as I was so pressed with serious developments that were taking place, and especially the carnage of Musalmans in Delhi, the very capital of the Indian Dominion Government and under their very eyes, has been a grave problem to handle.

I thank you for your letter and reciprocate all the friendly sentiments you have expressed in it towards the Dominion of Pakistan and myself. I need not say anything more as you have now cast your die and joined the Dominion of India.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H. H. Yeshwant Rao Holkar,
Maharaja of Indore

[1]See No. 256, Vol. IV, 360-1.

V. 49

S. N. Bhutto to M. W. Abbasi

F. 124(8)-GG/23

JUNAGADH,
16 September 1947

I enclose a copy of the letter[1] which I have addressed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, concerning Junagadh's critical situation. I should be very grateful if you would place it before His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam and urge him on our behalf to take immediate action.[2] It is a life and death struggle for Junagadh, any delay on part of Pakistan authorities may mean our ruin. Some immediate assistance to keep up the morale of our people is absolutely necessary. I should think a warning to the Indian Government leaders would be extremely helpful.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
S. N. BHUTTO

[1]Enclosure.
[2]See Appendix V. 52.

Enclosure to Appendix V. 49
S. N. Bhutto to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 124(8)-GG/24-7

TOP SECRET
MOST URGENT

JUNAGADH,
16 September 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

In my letter of September 14, 1947,[1] sent through Tazimi Sardar Ismail Abrahani, I had warned you of the preparations made by our neighbours to attack Junagadh. The latest reports coming in indicate definite plans of organised attack on all sides, and it is feared that at any moment a fight might begin and Junagadh territory occupied by superior forces equipped with modern arms; while our resistance, supported by a small force, mostly irregulars and policemen, armed with old type crude weapons, would be powerless to stop any invasion of this kind.

The position is this: The Indian Dominion seem to have made out a perfect plan of strangling Junagadh on all fronts, internal and external, with the help of our own feudatories and *girassias* (*jagirdars*) who have been bought over with promises of independence and aggrandisement. About 150 villages held by feudatories and *Mulgirassias* including Mangrol have been incited to accede to Indian Dominion and revolt against Junagadh. Mangrol, a Muslim vassal of Junagadh holding 21 villages, is reported to have entered into a pact with the Indian States Department and acceded to the Indian Dominion. Having entered into an understanding at Rajkot, he [Sheikh of Mangrol] is coming back to his capital where he expects help of 300 Gurkhas from the Indian States Department, should we assert our rights over him.

A contingent of 150 men, mostly Gurkhas, well equipped, are stationed on our Babariawad frontier (in Bhavnagar territory) within $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from our Nageshri outpost. These are intended to help the Babariawad *girassias* who have unconstitutionally acceded to the Indian Union though they are mere *jagirdars* of Junagadh. They are threatening to loot our Junagadh treasury at Bherai or otherwise occupy our local administrative units in Babariawad Mahal.

On our other borders fronting Jamnagar, Gondal, Jetpur and Porbandar about 300 men equally equipped have been posted to enter Junagadh territory at any given moment. Vaghania Darbar, a small estate in our territory, has organised a small force of 200 men with crude weapons to join the main attack when it comes.

The attitude of Manavadar, Sardargadh and Bantwa, jurisdictional

Muslim States, surrounded by our territory, is still uncertain. They are wavering between Pakistan and India awaiting developments, being terribly nervous of the high-handedness of the States Department of the Indian Union.

The enemy strategy will be plain to you. Having set up our feudatories to accede, Indian Union will come to their aid with armed strength, the moment Junagadh interferes and asserts its rights over them.

As I had mentioned in my former letter, our supplies are being cut off. Such supplies including food and petrol consigned to Jamnagar and other ports for onward transmission to Junagadh have been withheld. Communications are being threatened on all sides. Postal and Telegraph services will stop and even otherwise hostility of staff makes unsatisfactory delivery of letters and messages. A bi-weekly air service we had with Karachi has been ordered to be discontinued from Friday, September 19. We have no wireless; neither is there any regular sea communication yet between Veraval and Karachi.

Non-Muslims are leaving Junagadh territory by sheer fright of threatened conflict. Perhaps to disturb our internal economy, *Rabaris* (shepherds) and *Kharwas* (Hindu sailors) are also being induced to leave Veraval and other places. Even defection of our State services is feared.

Meanwhile, Muslim refugees from disturbed parts of upper India are pouring in, relating their harrowing tales of woe and misery. Some were attacked while asleep and those who escaped and caught the trains, were slaughtered on the way by stopping trains in jungle places. These brother Muslims who have come here are also threatened with extinction along with the rest in Junagadh and outside numbering about 7 lakh.

I earnestly appeal to the Pakistan Government for help. First they should lodge a strong protest with the Indian Government to prevent any invasion of any areas included in Junagadh. The disputed rights, if any, may be decided by the two Dominions constitutionally on merits. I submit, Pakistan cannot allow Indian Union to take law in its own hand. In that case the consequences would be grave, not merely to Muslims in Kathiawar but in other parts of the sub-continent. Secondly, our morale has to be raised by actual armed assistance. Immediate landing of a fighter or a bomber with a spare Dakota on our airfields at Keshod would have the desired effect and enable us to keep communications with Pakistan.

It is also necessary that a battalion equipped with modern arms should be sent by sea to Veraval and arrangements should also be made to keep our sea communications steady and free from any inter-

ference. We have no shipping arrangements of our own and we have to depend on you at the moment for contact by sea. And such contact must be direct, as calls on coastal ports outside Junagadh territory will lead to detention of assistance by Indian Union.

We are greatly concerned with the safety of the Royal family and a Dakota will not merely keep the line of communications open but help any emergent [*sic* for emergency] evacuation. If a Dakota cannot be spared on loan we are ready to purchase one from you immediately.

I would emphasise that your action should be prompt and immediate. If Pakistan is unable to come to our rescue at this critical moment, we shall be finished. At least, kindly let us know what help you are giving or what line of action we should follow. His Highness and myself have complete confidence in His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam who will see that Junagadh is not lost to Muslims.

To ensure safe delivery, I am sending this letter by several channels, by air, by sea and by rail. Mr. Asad, our District Superintendent of Police, who flies to Karachi with this letter, will apprise you further of the situation and our urgent defence requirements. Please send wire telling us in code "yes" or "no", details may be conveyed through our emissary who has instructions to come back at once.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
S. N. BHUTTO

[1]Not traceable. However, see Enclosures 1 & 2 to Appendix V. 38.

V. 50

R. L. Batra to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 216(VI)-GG/7

CHERRY GROVE,
SRINAGAR,
17 September 1947

My dear Mr. Birnie,

Thanks for your letter of 11th September[1] which together with a copy of your letter dated 5th September[2] I received this morning through Air Commodore Whitley.

In reply to your telegram on the 11th,[3] I wired back immediately that your letter had not been received up to then.[4] The position is the same even now.

I have submitted your letter now received to His Highness and am desired to say that it is with great regret that His Highness in the best interests of every one has to say that the time is not opportune for a visit by the Quaid-i-Azam even though he may wish to come in his personal and private capacity. In addition to the reasons which were mentioned to you when you came here, the feelings of the people have greatly been perturbed by the almost total annihilation[5] of a party of over 200 State subjects, though being escorted from Rawalpindi, only as recently as 9th September. In addition, the continued occurrence of deplorable events in the neighbouring Dominions is keeping the people excited. His Highness has, therefore, no alternative but to strongly urge[6] that the visit should not take place this year.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. L. BATRA
Deputy Prime Minister, Kashmir

[1]Appendix V. 42.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix V. 36.
[3]Appendix V. 40.
[4]Appendix V. 41.
[5]According to a report by the local authorities the number of persons killed did not exceed six. Subsequently stern measures were taken to "round up all suspicious elements", and 25 bad characters were arrested. See *Pakistan Times*, 12 September 1947.
[6]Also see Appendix V. 55.

V. 51

Hamidullah Khan to Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf

Telegram, FOA, S. 4(9)

BARAMULLAH,
17 September 1947

Mirwaiz Muh(amma)d Yusuf care Quaid-i-Azam, Karachi

Regret our several telegrams[1] left unattended with result that Indian Union shortly taking over control [of] Kashmir communication[s] in their hands. Replacement [of] present Superintendent Post Offices for charges of hoisting Pakistan Flag[2] by Muslim substitute, though meant insult [to] Pakistan Flag had still some consolation to Muslim prepondering [*sic*] population [of] this State. Abrupt order posting admitted Hindu communalist means final death blow [to] Muslim[s'] right[s] by India Union. Apparently present Postmaster General Pakistan Lahore not suiting present occasion and lacking administration who

[is] also causing dissatisfaction [in] public who are put [to] serious inconveniences various respects [*sic*]. Present neglectful attitude if continues will result harmful [to] Muslims' right[s] in Kashmir in general and Pakistan [in] particular. Intervene and caise [*sic*] proper administration by substituting present Postmaster General preferably by Kh. Abdul Rehman or S. N. Ahmad or some other officer fully acquainted with Kashmir politics to safeguard Muslim and public interests.

HAMIDULLAH
President, Muslim Conference

[1]Not traceable. However, see Appendix V. 19.
[2]See Appendix V. 5, V. 9 & V. 16.

V. 52

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram,[1] *F. 124(8)-GG/28*

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE *18 September 1947*

No. 251

Understand[2] that there are large troop concentrations along the borders of Junagadh and other States in Kathiawar which have acceded to Pakistan. Trust that this information is incorrect. Any encroachment on Junagadh sovereignty or its territory would amount to hostile act. Kindly ensure that Indian Dominion troops or troops of States acceding to India do not violate Junagadh territory, under any pretext whatsoever.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]Repeated to Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.
[2]Appendix V. 49.

V. 53

Ruler of Chitral to M. A. Jinnah

F. 5-GG/4

CHITRAL STATE,
20 September 1947

My dear Friend,

Since the joining of Chitral State with Pakistan, I have been most

anxious to contribute our due share towards the success and consolidation of Pakistan State.

Financially, Chitral is not a rich state and cannot afford at present to make a befitting contribution in money. But it has natural resources, chiefly in minerals and forests. Considering that vast building programme is in hand in Pakistan, and that timber is an essential building material, I take the pleasure of offering five thousand green *deodar* trees standing in the State forests (worth about three lakh of rupees) and convertible to approximately twenty five thousand timber logs, free of cost, to the Pakistan Government. It is requested that felling and transit by river may kindly be arranged by the Government.

Besides forests, this State has various minerals still remaining to be developed, the extent and value of which may be assessed by proper surveying. I offer these minerals also for exploitation to the Pakistan Government at special concession. This will meet some of the mineral requirements of Pakistan and at the same time will prove helpful to the State as well.

With best wishes and sincere regards,

Yours most sincere friend,
MUZAFFAR-UL-MULK

V. 54

Janak Singh to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
20 September 1947

Your telegram 26th August.[1] Despite instructions issued by you report received from State Customs Kohala that one petrol tank bound for Kashmir arrived Pakistan via Kohala on 11th September late in evening but returned next morning. Also salt brought from Rawalpindi by one Mohammad Ashraf Khan shopkeeper Kohala [on] Kashmir side was not allowed to be imported into State. Some trucks allowed to pass exit octroi post Rawalpindi. Premier West Punjab and Deputy Commissioner Rawalpindi were requested 15th September to inform definitely all Pakistan officers of their duty with regard to transport of goods to Kashmir. No reply received from either. Shall be grateful if strict instructions[2] are issued at once and compliance ensured to stop

obstructions of passage of goods etc. bound for Kashmir.

[1]Appendix V. 27.
[2]On 25 September 1947, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary sent telegram No. 166-RC/47 to Prime Minister, West Punjab, requesting him to ensure safe passage of goods bound for Kashmir through Kohala. See *FOA*, S-6/2. Not printed.

V. 55

Kaserimul to E. St. J. Birnie

Telegram, F. 216(7)-GG/6

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR,
20 September 1947

Your letter of eleventh[1] sent, delivered through Air Commodore Whitely on 17th morning. Reply[2] handed over to him. Understand Whitely not returning immediately. Desired to say conditions prevailing similar to those mentioned to you if not slightly worse.

KASERIMUL[3]

[1]Appendix V. 42.
[2]Appendix V. 50.
[3]Not identified.

V. 56

Ruler of Manavadar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 124 (4)-GG/5-6

THE PALACE,
MANAVADAR,
21 September 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Allah be thanked, my State has acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan.[1] I feel proud and confident to belong to a fold, the foundation of which is laid on the principles of equality, fraternity and liberty as preached by Islam and put into practice by our illustrious predecessors and your great self. With these principles, the establishment of Pakistan, the fifth largest state in the world and an unparalleled event in world chronicles, is both a glory and source of strength to the Muslim nation and the world at large. A worthy scion of Islam, your untiring efforts

and selfless devotion to the sacred cause has culminated in the vindication of right and justice which the Islamic people are truly proud of.

Your instal[l]ation, Quaid-i-Azam, at the helm of affairs of the Dominion of Pakistan is a further guarantee for the vindication of those principles for which you have so vigorously fought and a security for the new State of Pakistan—that the State despite impediments, trials and tribulations will emerge out triumphant and will stand consolidated to fulfil its glorious mission of peace and prosperity.

I am fully alive to the present day situation which confronts the Government of Pakistan. In this hour of trial, I take pride to place my personal services and all the resources of my State at the disposal of the Government of Pakistan. It is my sincere prayer that may *Allah* the Almighty strengthen your hands with all resources of Providence to steer clear through the forces of evil.

It is also my sincerest prayer that may *Allah* in His mercifulness bestow on you long life and full health to continue to guide the Muslim nation to its destined goal and to captain the ship of the State to be haven of peace, prosperity and true greatness. Pakistan, *Insha Allah*, with your help and guidance and in co-operation with other peace-loving nations of the world, will contribute its mighty share in the building of a happy and prosperous world, worthy to live in and worthy to be proud of.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
G. MOINUDDIN KHAN

[1]The Instrument of Accession was signed by the Ruler of Manavadar on 21 September 1947. See Appendix V. 59.

V. 57

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 124(8)-GG/29-30

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 34-GG

NEW DELHI,
22 September 1947

From Prime Minister India to Prime Minister Pakistan

Please convey following message from Governor-General India to Governor-General Pakistan. Reference your [GG-Pakistan] telegram No. 251 dated September 19th [18th][1] regarding Junagadh. Information about large troop concentrations around Junagadh not correct.

(Group omitted) about possibility of Junagadh's accession to Pakistan Dominion in teeth of opposition from its Hindu population of over 80 per cent had given rise to serious concern and apprehensions to local population and all surrounding States which have acceded to Indian Dominion. Large scale military preparations of Junagadh and supply of arms and ammunition to its Muslim subjects[—]as it would be obviously intention of terrorising people of States as well as surrounding States[—]accentuated this uneasiness; and Government of India received appeals for suitable action both from people and these States. The Government of India have, therefore, sent a small force of troops to our own areas as a very natural counter-measure, particularly as most of our acceding States in affected areas have no armed forces of their own.

2. As regards accession of Junagadh to Pakistan, your attention is invited to our telegram[2] addressed to Prime Minister Pakistan and delivered personally at Government House, Karachi, by Lord Ismay on September 12th [which] explains fully Government of India's position regarding Junagadh. Pakistan Government have neither acknowledged receipt of our message nor replied to this and our previous despatches on the subject. Instead, Pakistan Government have UNILATERALY proceeded to action which, it was made plain, Government of India could never and do not acquiesce in. Each [*sic* for such] acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by Government of India as an encroachment on India's sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between two Dominions. This action of Pakistan is considered by Government of India to be a clear attempt to cause disruption in integrity of India by extending influence and boundaries of Dominion of Pakistan in utter violation of principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected. In these circumstances, I hope that it will be possible for you to prevail upon Government of Pakistan to reconsider their attitude as [?] accession of Junagadh; but if matter is not reconsidered, responsibility of consequences must, I am compelled to inform you, rest squarely on shoulders of the Pakistan Government. The Government of India are, however, still prepared to accept the verdict of people of Junagadh in the matter of accession, the PLEBISCITE being carried out under joint supervision of Indian and Junagadh Governments.

[1]Appendix V. 52.
[2]Appendix V. 44.

V. 58

Ruler of Las Bela to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 20-GG/7-9

BELA,
23 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Moha[m]mad Ali Jinnah Sahib, Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi

All arable lands are irrigated but owing to famine, seeds absolutely not available in State. Pray order[1] Sind Supply [Dept.] to provide us with food grain immediately as wheat sowing season is elapsing in fortnight. Please help [*sic*] your neighbouring Muslims from death by starvation. People greatly hope that Your Excellency will save their lives in time.

[MIR GHULAM QADIR KHAN]

[1]A copy of this telegram was sent to the Food Department on 28 September 1947.

V. 59

Instrument of Accession—Manavadar State[1]

[*24 September 1947*]

[The Instrument of Accession along with its Schedule was executed by Ghulam Moinuddin Khan, Ruler of the State, on 21 September and accepted by the Governor-General of Pakistan on 24 September 1947. The text of the Instrument follows the standard pattern *vide* Appendix V. 46 and has therefore not been printed.]

[1]*Instruments of Accession and Schedules of States Acceding to Pakistan*, Karachi, 1949, 31-3.

V. 60

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 124(8)-GG/31-3

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 311

KARACHI,
25 September 1947

Following from Prime Minister, Pakistan to Prime Minister, India

1. Please convey following message from Governor-General Pakistan

to Governor-General India:

2. Reference your telegram No. 34-GG dated 22nd September.[1] Representations of India Dominion including the one sent to us through Lord Ismay[2] totally misconceived and untenable. The position of Indian States is very clearly defined and it has been repeatedly accepted that after the lapse of Paramountcy every Indian State is independent and sovereign and free to join Pakistan or the India Dominion. You are now trying to import fresh criteria into this matter limiting the free exercise of choice by the States.

3. The division of British India, agreed upon between the Congress and the Muslim League, has nothing whatever to do with this as the question of States was dealt with quite separately and stands on a different footing. In these circumstances you will agree that Junagadh, like any other state, was entitled and free to join Pakistan and has done so.

4. We are really astonished at the view expressed by you which contains a threat to the Dominion of Pakistan that "such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by Government of India as an encroachment on India's sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two Dominions". India Dominion has no right of sovereignty, territorial or otherwise over Junagadh. We entirely fail to understand how accession of Junagadh to Pakistan can be regarded as an encroachment upon India's sovereignty and as inconsistent with friendly relations between the two Dominions.

5. Regarding your suggestion for a plebiscite, this was a matter between the Ruler, the constituted authority, and the people of Junagadh.

6. We note that the concentration of troops in adjacent States is only intended as a precautionary measure to meet any possible trouble that may occur in those States that have acceded to India Dominion. We are informed authoritatively by Junagadh that your allegation that Junagadh has made large scale military preparations is totally unfounded. In the very nature of things it is absurd to imagine that Junagadh can have aggressive designs on the neighbouring States. All that Junagadh desires is to be left alone in peace.

7. On the contrary our information is that people from outside are fomenting trouble in the internal affairs of Junagadh. The Jam Sahib's latest statement[3] is misleading and mischievous and in many respects devoid of truth. On the face of it, it is a piece of clumsy propaganda by

him and involves a direct threat of resorting to violence against the Muslim subjects, of adjoining States. As a result, panic-stricken Muslims from adjoining States, who are threatened by Hindu rulers and their Hindu subjects, are pouring into Junagadh for safety. His gratuitous advice to Muslims and Junagadh that it is in their interest that Junagadh should join the India Dominion is wholly uncalled for. There are many objectionable features of this statement by the Jam Sahib which we need not go into detail in this context. The India Government should, however, take steps to stop such incitement to violence by a state that has acceded to the Indian Dominion.

8. I am repeating separately to you copy of a telegram[4] received today from the Dewan of Junagadh which speaks for itself. According to my information from all sources the account given therein is substantially correct.

9. The cumulative effect of all the facts stated above makes Pakistan Government feel that India Dominion by their policy and action are infringing [upon] the sovereignty of Pakistan.

10. Your statement that India had been sending despatches on the subject to which Pakistan had given no reply is incorrect. When the matter was last raised with the Pakistan High Commissioner he explained quite correctly to Sardar Patel the Pakistan Government policy on the subject, and no further communication was considered necessary.

11. The alleged telegram from the Prime Minister [of] India to the Prime Minister of Pakistan dated the 11th September[5] was brought by Lord Ismay. It does not bear any number or certificate to the effect that its issue had been authorised. Indeed, it was gathered from Lord Ismay that the Minister[6] concerned had refused to sign the telegram. In the circumstances, it was felt that no notice should be taken of the telegram until it was formally and officially communicated to us.

[1]Appendix V. 57.
[2]See para 11 below.
[3]See Annex.
[4]Appendix V. 61.
[5]Not traceable.
[6]Vallabhbhai Patel.

Annex to Appendix V. 60
Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

U.S. National Archives 845. F. 00/10-2747

[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL

KARACHI,
27 October 1947

SUMMARY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN DURING SEPTEMBER 1947

VII. ACCESSION OF JUNAGADH STATE TO PAKISTAN

In addition to the difficulties encountered in the maintenance of law and order and in coping with the refugee and exodus problems, Pakistan was beset during the month by a bitter controversy with India over the accession of Junagadh State to this Dominion. Although the majority of the inhabitants of Junagadh State are Hindus, with no interest in joining Pakistan, and the State is situated far from Pakistan territory the Nawab of Junagadh, as a Muslim, declared the accession of the State to the Dominion of Pakistan by signing the Declaration of Accession on September 15, 1947.[1] Under the terms of the Instrument of Accession the Nawab retains his sovereignty unimpaired but such fields of activity as foreign affairs, defence, and communications, are entrusted to the Government of Pakistan.

As might have been expected, the adherence of Junagadh to Pakistan has caused much resentment throughout India, where the accession was declared an act of arbitrary power committed by the Ruler against the wishes of the majority of the population. On September 22, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar issued a statement in New Delhi strongly condemning the decision of Junagadh to adhere to Pakistan, and was quoted as having declared that "this attempt at having ■ pocket to Pakistan is a definite attempt on the part of the Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and his advisers to seek to disrupt the unity, integrity, and security of India which, if not checked in time, will assume ■ proportion which would make war inevitable between the two countries". He added that two of the neighboring states, Gondal and Jetpur, had appealed to the Government of India for troops to protect them against Junagadh and that he had sent troops to those States.

Three days later, on September 25, statements were issued by the States Ministry, Government of India, and by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan, the first championing the cause of the Hindus in Junagadh,

and the second protesting against the statement of the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. The States Ministry declared that "although theoretically the termination of paramountcy left the Indian States free to accede to either of the Dominions, it has always been recognized that in practice this freedom will be exercised with regard to the facts of geography". The statement also declared that of the total population about 81 percent were non-Muslims and that it was evident that the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan "must in view of the geographical situation of the State and the interlacing of its communications with the surrounding States which have acceded to the Government of India be a source of strained friction between Junagadh and those States, between Junagadh and the Dominion of India, and ultimately between the Dominions of India and Pakistan".

The statement of Liaquat Ali Khan declared that the Indian Independence Act of 1947,[2] had left all Indian States completely free to join either one Dominion or another or not to join either. He added "No objection has been raised to any States acceding to the Dominion of India. The Jam Saheb has consented to raise a smoke screen by introducing sensationalism in connection with the very first State that has acceded to Pakistan".

The same day that Liaquat Ali Khan issued his statement, a report from Bombay stated that "a provisional Government" of Junagadh had been organized in Bombay which was empowered "to exercise all of the authority and jurisdiction previously vested in and exercised by the Nawab of Junagadh prior to September 15, 1947". It added that the Nawab of Junagadh by transferring allegiance of his Hindu subjects against their wishes to Pakistan had forfeited his claim to the allegiance of his subjects, and that the Dominion of Pakistan by accepting the Nawab's Instrument of Accession had violated the principle of self-determination.

The controversy took on a rather ominous turn when air services from India through Junagadh State were ordered suspended and postal and telegraphic services also appeared to be cut off. At the same time an economic boycott was declared by the neighboring States and the so-called "provisional Government of Junagadh" moved from Bombay to Rajkot, in the adjoining and subsidiary State of Mangrol, in order to be "closer to the front". The first physical resistance against the authority of the Nawab of Junagadh was the taking by assault of "Junagadh House" in Rajkot, over which the flag of India was ceremoniously raised. Mr. Samaldas Gandhi then addressed a meeting declaring that his "provisional Government" would issue directives to the people and that all violation of the economic boycott against

Junagadh would be punished in a drastic manner.

Although the controversy has certain aspects of a comical nature it presents possibilities of serious friction between the Governments of India and Pakistan, and the outcome may well determine the precedent in regard to the accession of other States which might wish to sign "Instruments of Accession" with the Dominion of Pakistan.

Occurring within only a few months after the serious friction caused by the establishment of Pakistan as a separate State the controversy presents one more bone of contention and strain upon the relationship of the two Dominions.

[1]Appendix V. 46.
[2]No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49.

V. 61

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, F. 124(8)-GG/34-5

CONFIDENTIAL / IMMEDIATE — KARACHI,
No. 313 — *25 September 1947*

From Prime Minister, Pakistan to Prime Minister, India

Below is text of telegram referred to in para 8 of the telegram No. 311[1] sent today:

> Your telegram No. 350, September 22nd[2] to H. H. Nawab Sahib has added to our surprise. Both Babariawad and Mangrol are integral parts of Junagadh territory and their accession to Indian Union is invalid. No single case of harassment has occured in Junagadh territory in spite of provocative means employed by neighbouring States and India States Department. Our force in Babariawad is intended to maintain law and order and to protect State property and buildings. Attitude of Indian States Department is tantamount to invasion of Junagadh which forms now part of Pakistan. Mangrol made to sign an accession on September 20 without sufficient time to consider and realising his [Sheikh of Mangrol's] position as part of Junagadh territory has renounced it within an hour on same day in writing to Regional Commissioner at Rajkot. Mr. Buch as States Secretary had meanwhile left for Bombay. He withdrew accession while document was still in hands of States Secretary who was on his way to Bombay long before it reached Delhi or Governor-General. As I explained personally to Mr. Menon, the question can be settled between two Dominions who are pledged to maintain harmony between themselves and in their respective territory. Complete tranquillity prevails in Junagadh. I

again repeat, unless it is intended to invade part of Pakistan, two Dominions' representatives can meet and settle disputed questions. Any impartial committee welcome to see things throughout Junagadh territory where every soul is given due protection and no harassment of any kind exists.

[1]Appendix V. 60.
[2]Not traceable.

V. 62

M. Ikramullah to Janak Singh

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

KARACHI,
25 September 1947

Request Account[ant]-General, Jammu and Kashmir may be instructed to accept letters of credit issued by Accountant-General West Punjab, Lahore, in favour of Postmasters in Jammu and Kashmir State on behalf of Pakistan Government and place funds specified in these letters of credit at the disposal of Postmasters specified therein. Adjustments will be made as hithertofore through the Accountant-General, West Punjab, Lahore.

V. 63

R. A. Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, S-4(9)

BHADESWAR SOUTH,
DHAKADAKHIN, SYLHET,
26 September 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,[1] Karachi

Kashmir State Muslim Conference Shillong urges to help Poonch State Muslim[s] and stop State Police oppression. Reply solicited.

RASHID AHMED CHOWDHURY

[1]A similar telegram was sent to Liaquat Ali Khan. See *FOA*, S-4 (9). Not printed.

V. 64

F. Amin to A. P. Quraishi

F. 124(4)-GG/9

27 September 1947

My dear Mr. Quraishi,

This is to inform you that I placed the cover[1] received from the Nawab Sahib of Manavadar before the Quaid-i-Azam and reply[2] to that is enclosed herewith in a closed cover, which may kindly be handed over to him. I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam's programme of the next one week or so is full up with engagements already fixed, and besides he is so extremely busy that it is not possible for him to give you an interview.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

A. P. Quraishi, Esq.,
Private Secretary to the
Nawab Sahib of Manavadar,
Bombay Hotel,
McLeod Road, Karachi

[1]Appendix V. 56.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix V. 64
M. A. Jinnah to Nawab of Manavadar

F. 124 (4)-GG/8

KARACHI,
26 September 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 21st of September,[1] and for all your good wishes for Pakistan.

I am sure that with your sympathy and support for our people, and with unity, discipline and help of friends, we shall be able to build up Pakistan in a way that it will be equal amongst all the peace-loving

nations of the world.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Sahib of Manavadar,
The Palace, Manavadar

[1]Appendix V. 56.

V. 65

M. Ikramullah to Janak Singh

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

KARACHI,
27 September 1947

Your telegrams [refer.[1]] Greatly regret that owing to the prevailing conditions in West Punjab it is not possible to provide military escort for petrol tank lorries. We are trying to see what else can be done and would welcome any suggestions from you. Reported stopping of salt, wheat and other goods must be due to some misunderstanding. Have issued instructions[2] West Punjab Government to allow this traffic freely.

2. As there are now a number of matters for discussion and settlement and communication by telegrams is both slow and unsatisfactory, Government of Pakistan are prepared to send an officer to Srinagar to discuss all these matters with you and to come to a settlement. The officer would leave on hearing from you.

[1]Appendix V. 21 & V. 54.
[2]See *FOA*, S-6/2, 25 September 1947. Not printed.

V. 66

Janak Singh to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, S-6/2

SRINAGAR,
29 September 1947

Your telegram 25th.[1] European visitors especially Military Officers of both Dominions held up for want of petrol. Whatever arrangements

be made safe delivery of petrol at Kohala may be arranged. Escort should not take more than six hours to come to Kohala and return. Grateful for issuing instructions[2] regarding salt, sugar and other essentials. Hope these would be complied within practice. Draft of Standstill Agreement on hand, will intimate suitable date shortly.

[1]Not traceable. However, see Appendix V. 65.
[2]See Appendix V. 54, note 2.

V. 67

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.-124(8)-GG/36-7

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 8093

NEW DELHI,
29 September 1947

Your telegram No. 311 dated September 25th.[1] Message from Governor-General Pakistan to Governor-General India regarding Junagadh.

2. *The Government of India take strong exception to tone of message.*[2] Discourtesy neither resolves differences between Governments nor is it compatible with established diplomatic usage.

3. The position of Indian Dominion in regard to accession of Junagadh is clearly set out in Government of India's press statement, text of which was telegraphed to you on September 25th[3] and they have nothing to add to it.

4. As regards your reference to press conference held by His Highness the Maharajah of Nawanagar it may be mentioned that he was only voicing the sentiments of Rulers of Gujerat and Kathiawar. In a conference held in Bombay on September 26th these rulers wholeheartedly endorsed the views expressed by His Highness the Jam Sahib in his press conference.

5. Government of India must point out that report of situation conveyed in paragraph No. 7 of your message is totally incorrect. They have made very careful enquiries into position in Junagadh and have unimpeachable evidence that not only have a large number of non-Muslims left Junagadh on account of insecurity of conditions there but also that there has not been [a] single instance where a Muslim from adjoining States had to move to Junagadh for reasons of safety.

6. With reference to paragraph No. 10 of your telegram, I am to point out that States Ministry had, on September 6th, enquired from

your High Commissioner here whether any reply had been received to their letter of August 21st regarding Junagadh. The High Commissioner replied on September 12th that he was awaiting your instructions. The Pakistan High Commissioner then went to Karachi and only returned on September 26th. Your High Commissioner never discussed and, indeed, owing to his absence, could not have discussed this question with Sardar Patel.

7. As regards paragraph 11 of your telegram, the facts are these. Lord Ismay was going to Karachi. The message from the Prime Minister India to the Prime Minister Pakistan, which would otherwise have been telegraphed, was given to him to ensure safe and speedy delivery. It needed neither number nor certificate. Had Lord Ismay been able to deliver it to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in person, he would have explained how he happened to be entrusted with it. Since Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had left Karachi for Lahore before Lord Ismay could see him, message in question could not be delivered to Prime Minister of Pakistan personally. Lord Ismay has seen paragraph 11. He totally denies having said that the "Minister concerned had refused to sign the telegram" and says that from the time he left New Delhi until his return to this city, the word "Junagadh" did not cross his lips. The statement attributed to him is, therefore, devoid of foundation. The Government of India can only express their profound surprise and regret that the honour of a person of his integrity and long record of distinguished public service should have been impugned.

[1]Appendix V. 60.
[2]Underlined in the original.
[3]Not traceable. However, see Annex.

Annex to Appendix V. 67

INDIA GOVERNMENT SUGGESTS REFERENDUM IN JUNAGADH

Willing to Discuss Issue With Pakistan[1]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 25: Suggesting the holding of a referendum and leaving the question to be determined by a free expression of the will of the people of the Junagadh State, the States Ministry in a communique tonight emphasised that the Government of India are determined to find a solution of this problem.

The communique reiterates that the Government of India are, and will always be, willing to find a solution of this complicated and delicate problem by friendly discussion with the Dominion of Pakistan and State of Junagadh. They have an obligation to protect the interests of

the States within and around Junagadh, which have acceded to the Indian Dominion. "This responsibility they will fully and faithfully discharge", says the communique.

Following is the text of the communique:

In view of the wide public interest manifest in the situation in Kathiawar created by the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan the Government of India consider it desirable to explain the effect of such accession and their own policy.

The State of Junagadh is situated in the midst of other States which have acceded to the Dominion of India, and its territories are interlaced with the territories of these States.

For example, inside Junagadh itself, there are territories of the State which have acceded to the Dominion of India, similarly islands of Junagadh State territory exist inside Bhavanagar, Nawanagar, Gondal and Baroda.

The railway and posts and telegraphs services of Junagadh are an integral part of the Indian system, the railway police, telegraphs and telephones are administered by the Dominion of India. The State has a population of approximately 671,000 of whom about 430,000 or 81 per cent are non-Muslims.—API.

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 September 1947.

V. 68

E. St. J. Birnie to R. L. Batra

Telegram, F. 216(VII)-GG/8

KARACHI,
30 September 1947

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th September,[1] the contents of which I have shown to Quaid-i-Azam.

E. St. J. BIRNIE

Mr. R. L. Batra,
Deputy Prime Minister,
Cherry Grove, Srinagar,
Kashmir

[1]Appendix V. 50.

V. 69

Kashmir Muslims Association to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, FOA, S. 4(9)

LAHORE,
30 September 1947

Prime Minister Pak[istan] Gov[ernmen]t, Karachi

Kashmir Muslim leaders entry ban[ne]d in State territory. Muslims ruthlessly butchered in Poonch. Muslims demand for mixed troops in civil areas rejected by State authorities. Muslims greatly harassed by Dogra atrocities. About one lakh evacuated State territory so far. Armed Sikh gangs pouring in great numbers. Grave consequences apprehended. Kindly intervene.

KASHMIR MUSLIMS ASSOCIATION

APPENDIX VI

VICEROY'S PERSONAL REPORT

Louis Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel
Viceroy's Personal Report No. 17[1]

L/PO/6/123

TOP SECRET / PERSONAL *16 August 1947*

This last week of British rule in India has been the most hectic of any. We have been working longer hours and under more trying conditions, and with crises of differing magnitudes arising every day, and sometimes two or three times a day. The problem of the States continued to occupy most of my time, particularly of those Rulers who have kept changing their mind up to the last moment, whether to accede to India, to Pakistan, or to neither. I paid my farewell visit[2] to Karachi, and took part in unbelievable scenes on the day of the transfer of power in Delhi....

[*Paras 2 to 7 omitted*]

8. At a meeting on 22nd July, the Partition Council issued a statement[3] in which they pledged themselves to accept the awards of the Boundary Commissions whatever these might be; and, as soon as the awards were announced, to enforce them impartially.

9. The first indication that the reception which the awards were likely to have was going to be even worse than anticipated was contained in a message given to Ismay on behalf of Liaquat Ali Khan by the Pakistan Cabinet Secretary (Mohamad Ali) during a visit to Delhi from Karachi. This was a verbal message, but very strongly worded, to the effect that if indeed it proved true that the Gurdaspur District in the north Punjab area or even a large part of it had been given to East Punjab by the Boundary Commission, this would be regarded as a most serious fact by Jinnah and the Pakistan Government. If it turned out that this was a political and not a judicial decision, then this would amount to so grave a breach of faith as to imperil future friendly relations between Pakistan and the British.

10. In answering Liaquat, on 11th August,[4] Ismay (while pointing out that even I had not received the award) reminded him that I had had nothing to do with the Boundary Commissions; that I was determined to keep clear of the whole business; and that the Indian leaders themselves had selected the personnel of the Boundary Commissions, drafted their terms of reference, and undertaken to implement their

awards.

11. It was on Tuesday, 12th August, that I was finally informed by Radcliffe that his awards would be ready by noon the following day,[5] just too late for me to see before leaving for Karachi. For sometime past, I and my staff had been considering the question of when and how these awards should be published.[6] From the purely administrative point of view, there were considerable advantages in immediate publication so that the new boundaries could take effect from 15th August, and the officials of the right Dominion could be in their places to look after the districts which had been allotted to their side before that date. However, it had been obvious all along that, the later we postponed publication, the less would the inevitable odium react upon the British.

[*Paras 12 & 13 omitted*]

14. On 13th August, I, therefore, wrote to Jinnah[7] and Nehru telling them that I had not received all the awards by the time I left for Karachi, though I expected them that afternoon; and suggesting that there should be a meeting at Government House on the 16th August to decide upon the timing and method of publication, and also the method of implementing the undertaking of the Partition Council to accept the award and to enforce the decisions contained in it.

[*Paras 15 to 19 omitted*]

20. Rumours as to the decisions of the Boundary Commission in the Punjab had been sufficient to start large scale rioting which would undoubtedly have been a real communal war on a big scale if it had not been for the Joint Punjab Boundary Force (which I had got the Partition Council to set up). In Amritsar and the vicinity, the Sikhs have formed armed bands of considerable strength which are carrying out raids on Muslim majority villages at the rate of three or four each night.[8] These bands are well organised, and often include mounted men who are used as scouts to reconnoiter for a favourable opportunity. There are also Muslim bands organised for the same purpose in the Lahore District, but these are fewer in number, smaller in size, and apparently less well organised. The army has had some successful encounters with some of these bands and has inflicted considerable well deserved casualties where bands have been caught red-handed. One tank alone killed over 60.

21. In Amritsar city, the casualties to Muslims have been alarmingly high due to the emasculation of the City Police Force caused by the new Hindu Superintendent of Police disarming the Muslim policemen. Jenkins quickly rectified this, and removed the official, but the

harm has been done.[9] In Lahore, the trouble is due chiefly to the Muslims retaliating for the massacres in Amritsar. The most disturbing feature here is the defection of the police who are predominantly Muslim.[10] Auchinleck reported that there is strong evidence that the police are taking little notice of the orders of their Indian officers (the remaining European officers left on the 14th) and that they have actually joined hands with the rioters in certain instances.[11]

22. But for the presence of the Joint Boundary Force there would by now be a complete holocaust in this city. Local Muslim Leaders are trying to persuade the Muslim soldiers to follow the example of the police, but so far without apparent success. Up to the 13th August the civilian casualties in all the Punjab areas were assumed to be about 1,500 killed and wounded, the total casualties inflicted by the troops not exceeding 200.

[*Paras 23 to 27 omitted*]

28. The new Governor of the NWFP, that old veteran Sir George Cunningham, spent the night of the 11th with Jinnah in Karachi, and the night of the 12th with me in Delhi, and took over from Lockhart on the 13th. He entirely shared my view that to dismiss the Khan Sahib Ministry would be unconstitutional and a foolish move. He had persuaded Jinnah (with great difficulty) to let him try his hand with Khan Sahib to obtain a satisfactory settlement without having recourse to such drastic means.[12]

29. In my last week's report[13] (paragraphs 31 to 38) I dealt with the crisis which had blown up concerning a proposed Order covering the vesting of the assets and liabilities of the present Government of India. It will be recalled that this Order had been taken in the Partition Council and no agreement had been reached there.[14] I had then been strongly advised by the officials that an Order of some sort was essential; and the members of the India Cabinet took the same view. The Pakistan members, however, refused to shift from their position and insisted that both assets and liabilities should be vested jointly until the matter had been decided by the Arbitral Tribunal. The point of view of the Indian members was that, if no Order was passed, India's credit would suffer from the uncertainty about the liability for the Public Debt, while it would be open to all contractors to repudiate their contract if it suited them to do so. Much other confusion and much litigation would be caused.

30. In the "Stop Press" to my last report I said that I had decided to send Cooke, my Constitutional Draftsman, and Mohamad Ali, the Cabinet Secretary for Pakistan, who was still in Delhi, to Karachi.

There they managed to negotiate a revised formula about the assets, which gave India what it wanted, while to some extent saving Pakistan's face. On liabilities it was not possible to get any agreement, but I managed to arrange for Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to send me a letter[15] stating that, if an Order was passed that India would be liable for the Public Debt, India would be content to recover Pakistan's proportionate share (which is about 200 crore) from Pakistan over a period of fifty years, beginning three or four years hence.

31. This seemed to me very reasonable, and I telegraphed[16] to the Secretary of State asking him to decide whether or not, in these circumstances, I should issue the Order of which the text had already been sent to him, subject to the formula about the assets being revised on the lines of the agreement between the Provisional Governments. I also sent Cooke to London to explain the situation verbally. I was sure that I ought to be instructed to issue this Order. It will still be open to Pakistan to repudiate it after the 15th August, but they will look rather absurd if they do.

32. During my visit to Karachi I discussed this matter first with Liaquat, and having got him on my side, we both attacked Jinnah. The latter said that he was too busy and tired to consider the matter now, but would give me an answer in a week or ten days' time. I told him that I could not wait, and that I did not require his agreement since this was an Order in my discretion. I told him that Cooke had gone home to the Secretary of State, and that I should issue whatever Order the Secretary of State wished. Finally, I got Liaquat to support my contention that, in view of Patel's letter, Pakistan would not suffer from such an Order. Indeed, it would probably be saved from economic war with India. Jinnah ended up by saying, "Well if you have put the matter in the Secretary of State's hands, there is nothing more I can do about it". I need hardly say how relieved I was to receive the Secretary of State's telegram[17] agreeing that I could issue this Order, for I am sure that all the good work of the Partition Council over the last two months would have been undone if this Order[18] had not been issued.

33. I mentioned last week in my letter to the Secretary of State that we had a report[19] on the 5th August that Tara Singh, the Sikh leader, was closely involved in terrorist plans for wrecking Pakistan special trains from Delhi to Karachi, for throwing a bomb at Jinnah in the State Drive in Karachi and for attacking certain canal headworks. The report was circumstantial, and has since been confirmed to some extent by the derailment of one Pakistan Special by a mine under the track.

34. Jenkins, Mudie and Trivedi (the present Governor and the two future Governors of the [West and East] Punjab) considered the matter together, and unanimously decided that arrests should not be made until after the Boundary Commission's award was announced, and the new Governments were responsible for law and order. I accepted this decision as it is quite possible that arrests earlier would have led to even more serious trouble with the Sikhs.[20]

[*Paras 35 to 37 omitted*]

38. In paragraph 39 of my last report,[21] I expressed the hope that the Partition Council would be able to choose an independent chairman. They have now decided not to do this; the members themselves will take the chair in turn. I have a feeling that the result will be that very few matters not previously agreed by the Steering Committee will fail to find themselves referred to the Arbitral Tribunal!

[*Paras 39 & 40 omitted*]

41. To turn now to the Indian States. The behaviour of some of the Rulers has really been most extraordinary. I reported in paragraphs 58 to 60 of my last weekly report[22] that I had sent for the Maharaja of Jodhpur on the afternoon that this report was written (8th August). He flew up immediately and arrived late the same night. I saw him the following morning,[23] and he came clean that he had in fact been flirting with Jinnah, and that the details of his negotiations were substantially as given in paragraph 58.

42. The real significance of this move was that the defection of Jodhpur would open up opportunities for contiguous States such as Jaipur, Udaipur, etc., to accede to Pakistan through the contiguity now provided by Jodhpur. (In fact I understand that both these States were invited to join with Jodhpur and both refused.) The States Department really got the wind up about this, and Patel was prepared to go to almost any lengths to prevent it happening. He thus undertook that Jodhpur should continue to allow his Rajputs to carry and import arms without restrictions; to provide food for their famine-stricken districts, if necessary even at the expense of some of the other areas in India; and finally that he would give the highest priority for the building of a railway from Jodhpur to Cutch to open up a port for them, and to allow Cutch to enter the customs union with India.[24] This satisfied the Maharaja, who realised he could not really expect to take an all-Hindu State into Pakistan.

43. The pressure has been so great in Delhi this week that I have sometimes had two, and once, three, different interviews going on in different rooms. I left V.P. Menon to get Jodhpur to sign the Instrument of

Accession in my study, whilst I was dealing with the Hyderabad delegation in my wife's study next door. During my absence, young Jodhpur pulled out a revolver and told Menon that he would shoot him down like a dog if he betrayed the starving people of Jodhpur; but he signed it.[25]

[*Paras 44 to 46 omitted*]

47. In paragraphs 7 and 8 of my last report I referred to Bhopal's threat to abdicate. I saw him again and urged him not to take such cowardly action at this moment.[26] He has now written to say that on his return to Bhopal some 50,000 of his subjects met him at the airfield and would not release him until he had promised not to abdicate. He has, therefore, informed me that he will not abdicate, at any rate at the present.[27]

48. He asked me if he could have a ten-day extension to sign the Instrument of Accession under the same terms as obtained up to the 15th August.[28] Patel said he could make no exception for any State; but he allowed me to make a private arrangement with Bhopal by which he signed the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement and left them with me in a sealed envelope to be retained by me until the 25th August, and then handed to the States Department, unless he sent me other instructions before this date.[29]

49. Indore looks as though he has almost missed the bus. He sent telegrams to most of his brother Rulers urging them not to sign the Instrument of Accession until the last possible moment, as he thought by so doing they could improve the terms. When asked in what way he wanted them improved he was unable to suggest any improvements. Several of the Rulers, such as the Jam Saheb, Jodhpur, Bharatpur, etc., sent me copies of Indore's telegram which has infuriated Patel. Meanwhile, Indore failed to deliver his signed Instrument of Accession before the 15th, but sent it to me on the 15th dated the 14th.[30] Patel was in the mood not to accept this; but he said he was going to see the Maharaja to discuss the matter with him personally.[31] He is contemplating making a condition that his extremely unsatisfactory British *Dewan* should be sacked, and this I feel would be in the best interests of everybody.

[*Para 50 omitted*]

51. There are thus no States outstanding (taking into account the extension to the two Muslim Rulers of Hyderabad[32] and Bhopal) beyond Kashmir, where the Maharaja has at last decided to sack his *Dewan*, Kak.[33] He now talks of holding a referendum to decide whether to join Pakistan or India, provided that the Boundary Commission

give him land communications between Kashmir and India. It appears, therefore, as if this great problem of the States has [*sic* for had] been satisfactorily solved within the last three weeks of British rule.

52. I would have liked to have done more whilst Crown Representative to encourage the Rulers to introduce constitutional reforms in their States; but time did not permit except in the case of Rewa. The previous Ruler of this State had been deposed for engineering a murder in Bombay. His son, who is now on the *gaddi*, told me that he feared his father intended to force a return on the 15th August and seize power. I advised the young Maharaja to announce far reaching reforms as the best means of ensuring against his father's attempt to seize power. He agreed to do this and my Press Attache laid on the necessary publicity for these constitutional reforms. I hope they will form a useful precedent for other States, besides acting as a deterrent to the old Maharaja.

53. My wife and I flew down on the afternoon of the 13th to Karachi[34] to bid godspeed and farewell to Pakistan. The route from the airfield was fairly thickly lined by cheering crowds and Jinnah's new Military Secretary (Colonel Birnie) who was in the car with us, stated that the crowd was noticeably larger than that which had lined the route for Jinnah's arrival. I found this hard to believe, but it was confirmed from one or two other sources. Birnie told me that ■ plot had been unearthed to throw a bomb at Jinnah in the State procession on the following day (see also paragraph 33), and that discussions had been going on as to whether to cancel the drive or alter the route, but that Jinnah had expressed the view that if I was prepared to go through with the drive, then so was he. So it was agreed to leave everything as it was.

54. That evening, I presided over a meeting of the Pakistan Cabinet at which the final Orders in Council amending the Government of India Act 1935 for Pakistan were passed. Not, however, without a final disagreement, for the Pakistan Cabinet wished me to include an Order by which the Governor-General, on the advice of the Central Ministry, could order ■ Provincial Governor to dismiss his Ministry and could govern the province directly by issuing orders to the Governor. This was so like the much criticised Section 93 that I felt it impossible that the British transfer of power should be associated with the perpetuation of this system. However, they were so insistent that I could only get out of it without a real row by saying that I would refer the question to the Secretary of State, fully knowing that he would uphold my view.[35]

55. A State banquet of 60 was held on the night of the 13th at which

it had been agreed that there should be two toasts but no speeches, and this was confirmed at 7 p.m. Judge then of my horror when Jinnah stood up and pulled half a dozen closely typed sheets out of his pocket, and proceeded to deliver a speech,[36] finally proposing the health of the King. I had to make an impromptu speech proposing the health of Pakistan. This banquet was followed by a reception which was attended by some 1500 of the leading citizens of Pakistan, which included some very queer looking "jungly" men.

[*Para 56 omitted*]

57. The following day I addressed the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and enclose a copy of my speech as Appendix V.[37] Jinnah had wanted to take the principal seat himself as President of the Constituent Assembly, but I refused to give up my rights as Viceroy, and he eventually gave way.[38]

58. The State procession took place in open cars, with Jinnah and myself in the leading car and my wife and Miss Jinnah in the next car. The route was fairly thickly lined with enthusiastic crowds, which were kept back by troops and police lining the route. As we turned in at the gates of Government House, Jinnah put his hand on my knee and said with deep emotion, "Thank God I have brought you back alive"! I retorted by pointing out how much more serious it would have been if he had been bumped off.

59. On our drive out[39] to the airfield from the town (a different route to the State procession) the route was lined with very enthusiastic crowds, at least twice as great as when we arrived the day before. The welcome we have had from the people of Pakistan has been most surprising. Miss Jinnah literally had tears in her eyes when she bade us farewell and, to my wife's surprise, kissed her on both cheeks. Even the austere Jinnah himself showed some emotion on bidding us farewell.

60. The whole Karachi programme was extremely well run, thanks largely to my own staff who found the British Military Secretary and Comptroller for him. I gave him my best Indian A.D.C.[40] and the Adjutant[41] of my Bodyguard (both Muslims). The Muslim members of the Viceregal clerical staff have also been transferred to Karachi, and so it is fairly certain that this Government House will be run along the correct traditional lines.

[*Paras 61 to 81 omitted*]

[1]No. 489, *TP*, XII, 757-71.
[2]See Annex to No. 257, Vol. IV, 362-6.
[3]Annex to Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, 960-2.

[4]Appendix I. 9.
[5]No. 389, *TP*, XII, 611. Also see No. 436, ibid., 673-4.
[6]During the Viceroy's 69th staff meeting on 9 August, it was decided to discuss with Jenkins the timing of the announcement of the Punjab Award and also its publication. See *IOR*, R/3/1/157. Also see No.389, *TP*, XII, item 1, 610-2 & No. 29.
[7]Appendix I. 13. Also see No. 454, *TP*, XII, 693-4.
[8]Auchinleck visited Lahore on 14 August and drew up a situation report on the Punjab Boundary Force Area for rendition to the Joint Defence Council meeting scheduled for 16 August. See Enclosures 1 and 2 to No. 28. Also see Appendix III, Vol. IV, 390-1.
[9]Appendix III. 19, ibid., 430-1.
[10]Appendix III. 18, ibid., para 4, 429-30.
[11]Appndices III. 18, ibid., 428, III.13, 422-4 & III. 9, 416.
[12]See Appendix IV. 19, ibid., 464-8.
[13]Appendix VI. 2, ibid., 479-80.
[14]See F. 48-GG/21-3, Case Nos. PC/120/15/47 and PC/126/16/47. Not printed. Also see No. 235, Vol. IV, 343-4.
[15]See Enclosure to ibid.
[16]Also see No. 422, *TP*, XII, 651-2, & No. 447, ibid., 688.
[17]See No. 469, ibid., 711.
[18]See Enclosure to Annex.
[19]See Appendices V. 3, Vol. IV, 472-4 & III. 8, ibid., 416. Also see No. 379, *TP*, XII, 580-1.
[20]See Appendix III. 14, Vol. IV, 424-5.
[21]See No. 385, *TP*, XII, para 39, 598. Also see F. 48-GG/16, Case No. PC/145/16/47. Not printed.
[22]See Appendix VI. 2, Vol. IV, 482.
[23]No record of the interview between Mountbatten and Maharaja of Jodhpur has been traced.
[24]H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, London, 1969, 379-80.
[25]Ibid. Also see V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, Orient Longmans, 1956.
[26-29]On 14 August, the Nawab of Bhopal accepted Mountbatten's advice not to abdicate. The Nawab also sent his Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement which were not to be opened or delivered to the States Department until 25 August. See No. 482, *TP*, XII, 729-31. Also see No. 85, Vol. IV, 146-8.
[30]See *IOR*, R/3/1/139.
[31]Even after signing the Instrument of Accession with India on 14 August 1947, the Maharaja of Indore wanted to explore matters of mutual interests between Pakistan and that State. See No. 256, Vol. IV, 360-1. Also see Nos. 199 and 218, ibid., 307 and 329-30. Later, on 1 September, the Maharaja sent a telegram to Mountbatten explaining that things had been "ironed out to the entire mutual satisfaction of Sardar Patel and myself". See *IOR*, R/3/1/140.
[32]Appendix VII. 16, Vol. IV, 518.
[33]Annex II to Appendix VII. 15, ibid., 515. Also see Enclosure to Appendix V. 26.
[34]For programme of ceremonies, see Enclosure to No. 195, Vol. IV, 303-4.
[35]On 13 August Mountbatten sought Listowel's advice on the constitutional position of the Pakistan Cabinet's demand for retention in modified form of Section 93 in the Pakistan Adaptation Order. Listowel replied next day doubting the legality of that demand and clarified that the correct course for the Cabinet was to seek such powers from the Pakistan Constituent Assembly which was then in session. See No. 464, *TP*, XII, 707 and No. 479, ibid., 726.
[36]See No. 247, Vol. IV, 352-4. For speech delivered by Jinnah, see the *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements, 1947-48*, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 48-50.
[37]Annexure to No. 257, Vol. IV, 362-6. For Jinnah's reply to the Viceroy's address, see No. 257, Vol. IV, 361-2.
[38]No. 174, ibid., 272. In fact, the Viceroy was given a seat to the right of the President of the Constituent Assembly, viz. Jinnah. See F. 17-GG/6. Not printed.
[39]According to the route plan, it was scheduled to be a 20-minute drive with the Viceroy to depart the Government House at 11.10 a.m. and emplaning for Delhi at 11.30 a.m. See F. 17-GG/7-8. Not printed.
[40]S.M. Ahsan.
[41]Sahibzada M. Yaqub Khan.

Annex to Appendix VI
The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary

[Extract]

CABINET SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
13 September 1947

NOTIFICATION

The following Orders[1] which were published in *the Gazette of India Extraordinary* on the dates shown against each of them are re-printed below for general information:

1. The Federal Court Order, 1947	11.8.47
2. The High Courts (Bengal) Order, 1947	–do–
3. The High Courts (Punjab) Order, 1947	–do–
4. The High Court (Calcutta) Order, 1947	–do–
5. The High Court (Lahore) Order, 1947	–do–
6. The Joint Defence Council Order, 1947	–do–
7. The Arbitral Tribunal Order, 1947	12.8.47
8. The Crown Representative (Transfer of Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947	–do–
9. Indian Independence (Partition Council) Order, 1947	–do–
10. The Indian Independence (Legal Proceedings) Order, 1947	–do–
11. The Indian Independence (Income-tax Proceedings) Order, 1947	–do–
12. The Indian Independence (Miscellaneous Transitional Provisions) Order, 1947	14.8.47
13. The Indian Independence (International Arrangements) Order, 1947	–do–
14. The Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947	–do–
15. The Pakistan (Provincial Legislatures) Order, 1947	–do–
16. The Pakistan (Adaptation of Existing Pakistan Laws) Order, 1947	–do–
17. The Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947	–do–

S. OSMAN ALI
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

[1]Item 14 only printed as Enclosure.

Enclosure to Annex to Appendix VI

SECRETARIAT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL (REFORMS)

NOTIFICATION

NEW DELHI,
14 August 1947

No. G.G.O. 18 — The following Order made by the Governor-General is published for general information:

THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE (RIGHTS, PROPERTY AND LIABILITIES) ORDER, 1947

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 9 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Governor-General is pleased to make the following Order:

1. (1) This Order may be cited as the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. (1) In this Order,—

"appointed day" means the fifteenth day of August, 1947;

"Arbitral Tribunal" means the Arbitral Tribunal constituted in accordance with the Arbitral Tribunal Order, 1947;

"Land" includes immovable property of every kind, and any rights in or over such property.

(2) The Interpretation Act, 1889, applies for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3. (1) The provisions of this Order relate to the initial distribution of rights, property and liabilities consequential on the setting up of the Dominions of India and Pakistan, and shall have effect subject to any agreement between the two Dominions or the Provinces concerned and to any award that may be made by Arbitral Tribunal.

(2) Nothing in this Order affects the powers of control over military plant, machinery, equipment and stores conferred on the Joint Defence Council by the Joint Defence Council Order, 1947.

(3) The powers of control over property conferred upon each of the Dominions by this Order shall include all the powers of use, consumption, management and disposition incidental to ownership; but each Dominion shall exercise the said powers with due regard to the interests of both Dominions, and shall carry out the terms of any agreement or award under which the property is to be transferred to the other Dominion.

4. All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Governor-General in Council shall

on that day,—

a. in the case of land situated in India or in the tribal areas on the borders of India, be under the control of the Dominion of India;
b. in the case of land situated in Pakistan or in the tribal areas on the borders of Pakistan, be under the control of the Dominion of Pakistan;
c. in the case of land which immediately before the appointed day is used for the purposes of any official representative of the Government of India in any other part of His Majesty's dominions or in a foreign country, be under the control of the Dominion of India; and
d. in any other case, be under the joint control of the Dominions of India and Pakistan:

Provided that any land which, by virtue of the preceding provisions of this Article, is to be under the control of the two Dominions, and which is situated in an Indian State, shall, if within one month from the appointed day the State accedes to either of the two Dominions, be under the control of that Dominion as from the date on which the accession of the State becomes effective.

5. (1) All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province of Bengal shall on that day—

a. in the case of land situated in the Province of East Bengal, vest in His Majesty for the purposes of that Province;
b. in the case of land situated in the Province of West Bengal, vest in His Majesty for the purposes of that Province; and
c. in any other case, vest in His Majesty for the joint purposes of those two Provinces.

(2) All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province of the Punjab shall, on that day—

a. in the case of land situated in the Province of West Punjab, vest in His Majesty for the purposes of that Province;
b. in the case of land situated in the Province of East Punjab, vest in His Majesty for the purposes of that Province; and
c. in any other case, vest in His Majesty for the joint purposes of those two Provinces.

(3) All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province of Assam shall—

a. in the case of land situated in that part of the Province which on that day becomes part of the Province of East Bengal, vest on that day in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province of East Bengal; and
b. in any other case, continue to be vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province of Assam.

(4) All land which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of any Province other than Bengal, the Punjab or Assam shall continue to be vested in His Majesty for the purpose of that Province.

6. The Provisions of Articles 4 and 5 of this Order shall apply in relation to all goods, coins, bank notes and currency notes which immediately before the appointed day are vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Governor-General in Council or of a Province as they apply in relation to land so vested.

7. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Order relating to certain contractual rights, this Article shall apply to all property, other than land, goods, coins, bank notes and currency notes, which immediately before the appointed day is vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Governor-General in Council or of a Province.

(2) All such property shall on the appointed day vest in His Majesty for the joint purposes of the two Dominions, for the joint purposes of the Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal, or for the joint purposes of the Provinces of East Punjab and West Punjab, or shall, as from that day, continue to be vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Province, according as the purposes for which the property is held immediately before the appointed day are—

a. purposes of the Governor-General in Council,
b. purposes of the Province of Bengal,
c. purposes of the Province of the Punjab, or
d. purposes of a Province other than Bengal or the Punjab.

8. (1) Any contract made on behalf of the Governor-General in Council before the appointed day shall, as from that day,—

a. if the contract is for purposes which as from that day are exclusively purposes of the Dominion of Pakistan, be deemed to have been made on behalf of the Dominion of Pakistan instead of the Governor-General in Council; and
b. in any other case, be deemed to have been made on behalf of the Dominion of India instead of the Governor-General in Council;

and all rights and liabilities which have accrued or may accrue under any such contract shall, to the extent to which they would have been rights or liabilites of the Governor-General in Council, be rights or liabilities of the Dominion of Pakistan or the Dominion of India, as the case may be.

(2) Any contract made on behalf of the Province of Bengal before the appointed day shall, as from that day,—

a. if the contract is for purposes which as from that day are exclusively purposes of the Province of West Bengal, be deemed to have been

made on behalf of that Province instead of the Province of Bengal; and

b. in any other case be deemed to have been made on behalf of the Province of East Bengal instead of the Province of Bengal;

and all rights and liabilities which have accrued or may accrue under any such contract shall, to the extent to which they would have been rights or liabilities of the Province of Bengal, be rights or liabilities of the Province of West Bengal or the Province of East Bengal, as the case may be.

(3) Any contract made on behalf of the Province of the Punjab before the appointed day shall, as from that day,—

a. if the contract is for purposes which as from that day are exclusively purposes of the Province of East Punjab, be deemed to have been made on behalf of that Province instead of the Province of the Punjab; and

b. in any other case be deemed to have been made on behalf of the Province of West Punjab instead of the Province of the Punjab;

and all rights and liabilities which have accrued or may accrue under any such contract shall, to the extent to which they would have been rights or liabilities of the Province of the Punjab, be rights or liabilities of the Province of East Punjab or the Province of West Punjab as the case may be.

(4) Any contract made before the appointed day on behalf of the Province of Assam, being a contract for purposes which, as from that day, are exclusively purposes of the Province of East Bengal, shall, as from that day, be deemed to have been made on behalf of the Province of East Bengal instead of the Province of Assam, and all rights and liabilities which have accrued or may accrue under the contract shall, to the extent to which they would have been rights or liabilities of the Province of Assam, be rights or liabilites of the Province of East Bengal.

(5) For the purposes of this Article, there shall be deemed to be included in the liabilities which have accrued or may accrue under any contract,—

a. any liability to satisfy an order or award made by any court or other tribunal in proceedings relating to the contract; and

b. any liability in respect of expenses incurred in or in connection with any such proceedings.

(6) The provisions of this Article shall have effect subject to the provisions of Article 9 of this Order; and bank balances and securities shall, notwithstanding that they partake of the nature of contractual rights, be dealt with as property to which Article 7 of this Order applies.

9. All liabilities in respect of such loans, guarantees and other financial obligations of the Governor-General in Council or of a Province as are outstanding immediately before the appointed day shall, as from that day,—

a. in the case of liabilities of the Governor-General in Council, be liabilities of the Dominion of India;
b. in the case of liabilities of the Province of Bengal, be liabilities of the Province of East Bengal;
c. in the case of liabilities of the Province of the Punjab, be liabilities of the Province of West Punjab; and
d. in the case of liabilities of any Province other than Bengal, or the Punjab, continue to be liabilities of that Province.

10. (1) Where immediately before the appointed day the Governor-General in Council is subject to any liability in respect of an actionable wrong other than breach of contract, that liability shall,—

a. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Dominion of India, be a liability of that Dominion;
b. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Dominion of Pakistan, be a liability of that Dominion; and
c. in any other case, be a joint liability of the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

(2) Where immediately before the appointed day the Province of Bengal is subject to any such liability as aforesaid, that liability shall,—

a. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Province of East Bengal, be a liability of that Province;
b. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Province of West Bengal, be a liability of that Province; and
c. in any other case, be a joint liability of the Provinces of East and West Bengal.

(3) Where immediately before the appointed day the Province of the Punjab is subject to any such liability as aforesaid, that liability shall,—

a. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Province of West Punjab, be a liability of that Province;
b. where the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of the Province of East Punjab, be a liability of that Province; and

c. in any other case, be a joint liability of the Provinces of East and West Punjab.

(4) Where immediately before the appointed day the Province of Assam is subject to any such liability as aforesaid, then, if the cause of action arose wholly within the territories which, as from that day, are the territories of East Bengal, the liability shall, as from that day, be a liability of the Province of East Bengal.

11. (1) Nothing in the preceding provisions of this Order affects the liability of either Dominion or of any Province in respect of the payment of any pension.

(2) Where before the appointed day the Governor-General in Council, or any Province is subject to any liability in respect of any pension, that liability shall, as from the appointed day,—

a. in the case of a liability of the Governor-General in Council, be a liability of the Dominion of India;
b. in the case of a liability of the Province of Bengal, be a liability of the Province of East Bengal;
c. in the case of a liability of the Province of the Punjab, be a liability of the Province of West Punjab; and
d. in the case of a liability of any Province other than Bengal or the Punjab, continue to be a liability of that Province.

12. (1) Where immediately before the appointed day the Governor-General in Council is a party to any legal proceedings with respect to any property, rights or liabilities transferred by this Order, the Dominion which succeeds to the property, rights or liabilities in accordance with the provisions of this Order shall be deemed to be substituted for the Governor-General in Council as a party to those proceedings, and the proceedings may continue accordingly.

(2) Where any Province from which property, rights or liabilities are transferred by this Order is, immediately before the transfer, a party to legal proceedings with respect to that property or those rights or liabilities, the Province which succeeds to the property, rights or liabilities in accordance with the provisions of this Order shall be deemed to be substituted for the other Province as a party to those proceedings, and the proceedings may continue accordingly.

(3). Any proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are pending by or against the Secretary of State elsewhere than in the United Kingdom in respect of any liability of the Governor-General in Council or a Province shall,—

a. in the case of proceedings in respect of a liability of the Governor-General in Council be continued by or against the Dominion which succeeds to the liability;

b. in the case of proceedings in respect of a liability of the Province of Bengal, the Province of the Punjab, or the Province of Assam, be continued by or against the Province which succeeds to the liability; or

c. in the case of proceedings in respect of a liability of any other Province, be continued by or against that Province.

13. (1) Where by virtue of the preceding provisions of this Order either of the Dominions or any Province becomes entitled to any property or obtains any other benefits, and it is just and equitable that that property or those benefits should be transferred or shared with the other Dominion, or with any other Province, as the case may be, the said property or benefits shall be allocated in such manner as, in default of agreement, may be determined by the Arbitral Tribunal.

(2) Where by virtue of the preceding provisions of this Order either of the Dominions or any Province becomes subject to any liability, and it is just and equitable that a contribution towards that liability should be made by the other Dominion, or by another Province, as the case may be, the other Dominion or Province shall make to the Dominion or Province primarily subject to the liability such contribution in respect thereof as, in default of an agreement, may be determined by the Arbitral Tribunal.

(3) In determining what is just and equitable for the purposes of this Article the parties concerned and the Arbitral Tribunal shall be guided by the principles laid down in any relevant decision of any of the bodies referred to in paragraph (2) of Article 4 of the Arbitral Tribunal Order, 1947.

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA
Governor-General
K.V.K. SUNDARAM
Officer on Special Duty

APPENDIX VII

PROPOSALS TO THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

BY

ABDUR RAHMAN

F. 123-GG/5-85

Editorial Note: These proposals formed an Enclosure to No. 67 and comprise five sections which follow.

14 August 1947

I. INDEPENDENCE

A. On principle

Independence is the natural birthright of every people of the world and came to be specifically recognised and declared before the First Great War had come to an end. In his address of 4th July 1918, President Wilson laid down the following principle as one of the four great "ends for which the associated people of the world were fighting":

> The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of political relations upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

If the right of self-determination of the people, as envisaged by President Wilson (and on which the first four paragraphs of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations[1] were based) is to be the determining factor, and if imperialistic designs are to be no longer countenanced, there is no escape from the conclusion that independence should be granted to Palestine forthwith, subject to such interim arrangements for the transfer of power as may seem to be desirable, particularly when its people have admittedly reached a stage of development where their existence as an independent nation has got to be recognised. They are in no way less advanced than other people of the free and independent Asiatic countries. It was admitted by Mr. Bevin, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 25th of February 1947, that the cultural development of Arabs and Jews in Palestine was of as high a standard as in any other Arab State, and when we find that the other Arab States of the Middle East which had been placed under mandates have already acquired self-government, there appears to be no reason why this should any longer be withheld from the people of

Palestine. The decisions of the San Remo Conference[2] in April, 1920 and the provisions of the Mandate in July, 1922,[3] whatever may be said in regard to their legitimacy or legality, proceed on the basis of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Indeed, the principle that independence for the population of Palestine should be the purpose of any plan, though not specifically included in the Terms of Reference of this Committee, was found to be of general acceptance. This was obviously so as one of the purposes of the United Nations was, according to Article 1 of the Charter, "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people" and the obligations of the United Nations under the present Charter were to prevail "in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement."

Moreover, the denial of independence to Palestine and the continuation of the present state of affairs constitute a serious menace to the peace of the Middle East and had been the chief causes of violence in the country. The strained relations between the Arab World and the Mandatory, as well as some of the other Big Powers, can also be traced to these same causes. The present state of affairs has already involved the country in large sums of expenditure on security measures to the detriment of the more positive and constructive side of normal governmental activities, and that in spite of the fact that huge sums of money are being spent by the Mandatory Power on the maintenance of an army disproportionately large in relation to the size of the country.

B. With reference to promises made

Apart from the fundamental principle to which I have above referred, the unequivocal promises made to the Arabs from time to time make it incumbent upon us to give effect to them, particularly as the Arabs carried out their part of the bargain and are fully entitled to have them redeemed. But before I refer to the actual promises made to the people in Palestine, I might recall that when Turkey had decided to join Germany in the First Great War in 1914 and the Sultan of Turkey,[4] who happened to be the Caliph of the whole Muslim World, had decided to declare the *Jihad*, the British Empire, composed as it was of the largest Muslim population in the world (India alone having 90 million of Muslims at the time), found itself in a very difficult position, as according to the Islamic faith every Muslim, whether a soldier or not, was bound to participate in the war and carry out the command

issued by the Caliph. It was vital, therefore, for the British Empire to counteract that command and they could find no better person at the moment in the whole Islamic world than the Sharif of Mecca [Makkah][5] who besides being one of the descendants of the Prophet himself, was the custodian of the (*Ka'ba*). That is why attempts were made to prevail upon him to declare against the *Jihad*, for if the British succeeded in that attempt, the Muslim world would at least be divided in its opinion. But before Turkey had actually been drawn into the war and when its participation had seemed imminent, Lord Kitchener had opened the negotiations with the Sharif. And after Turkey had entered the war, he sent a message on October 31, 1914, which contained a definite promise to the effect that if he and his followers were to side with England against Turkey, the British Government would not only guarantee his retention of the dignity of Grand Sharif with all the rights and privileges pertaining to it and would defend it against all external aggression, but would also promise support to the Arabs in general in their endeavours to secure freedom, on condition that they would ally themselves to England.

Although Syria (which included Lebanon, Transjordan, and Palestine at the time) was technically a part of the Ottoman Empire, the Syrian population (including that of Palestine which is the southern part of natural and historical Syria) had enjoyed the right of parliamentary representation with its incidental rights of legislation and government. The Arabs of Palestine had thus the right to elect and be elected as representatives in the Ottoman Parliament and many of them held high offices of State during that period. These however had not been considered to be enough, and several secret societies had come into existence to get rid of the Ottoman sovereignty and to become independent. This movement of independence had started toward the middle of the last century and, taking advantage of the position, the Syrian Arabs under King Hussain's[6] leadership agreed to join the British Empire in her war with Turkey, primarily with the object of liberating themselves from the Turkish yoke.

It is with this background that the correspondence between the Sharif of Mecca [Makkah] and Sir Henry MacMahon has to be read. I do not propose to discuss at the present moment the interpretation placed upon these letters but would only like to draw attention to what was said about them by the Committee composed of Lord Maugham, Lord High Chancellor of England and other British representatives of His Majesty's Government and Arabs in *Command 5974*. It may however be pointed out that, without coming to any final decision in regard to the Arab contention that Palestine was included in the letters addressed

by Sir Henry MacMahon, it was conceded by the United Kingdom representatives (a) "that the Arabs' contentions... regarding the interpretation of the Correspondence, and especially their contentions relating to the meaning of the phrase 'portions of Syria lying to the west of the Districts of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo,' have greater force than has appeared hitherto. Furthermore, the United Kingdom representatives have informed the Arab representatives that they agree that Palestine was included in the area claimed by the Sharif of Mecca in his letter of the 14th July, 1915, and that unless Palestine was excluded from that area later in the Correspondence, it must be regarded as having been included in the area in which Great Britain was to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs. They maintain that on a proper construction of the Correspondence, Palestine was in fact excluded. But they agree that the language in which its exclusion was expressed was not so specific and unmistakable as it was thought to be at the time." It might be added, however, that the British representatives maintained that, in the opinion of the Committee, from various statements referred to in paragraph 19 (Sykes-Picot Agreement,[7] Balfour Declaration,[8] Hogarth Message,[9] Declaration to the Seven,[10] certain assurances given by General Sir Edmund Allenby, and the Anglo-French Declaration of 7th November 1918[11]), it was evident "that His Majesty's Government were not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine, and that these statements must all be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the responsibilities which—upon any interpretation of the Correspondence—His Majesty's Government have incurred towards these inhabitants as a result of the Correspondence."

There can be no manner of doubt that King Husain, and the Arabs, regarded them to contain an unqualified promise of independence to all Arab countries, including Palestine, as soon as Turkey was defeated. This conclusion can be fully substantiated not only by the terms of the letters as they had been conveyed to King Husain, but also by declarations made on behalf of the British Government on several occasions. One can easily visualise what would have happened if the Arabs had been told at the time that Palestine was not to receive independence along with other Arab countries.

1. A communication was sent by the Acting British Agent at Jeddah, Mr. J. B. Bassett, on behalf of the British Government, to the King of Hejaz on the 8th February 1918. To appreciate this letter, it might be mentioned that King Husain had heard through Turkish sources that the British Government had entered into a pact with Russia and France in regard to the division of Arab territories (Sykes-Picot Agreement)

and his suspicions, aroused in view of what had been considered by him to have been agreed, were quelled in the following words where again the assurances of the liberation of the Arab peoples were reiterated.

> ...It would be superfluous to point out that the object aimed at by Turkey is to sow doubt and suspicion between the Allied Powers and those Arabs who, under Your Majesty's leadership and guidance, are striving nobly to recover their ancient freedom. The Turkish policy is to create dissension by luring the Arabs into believing that the Allied Powers have designs on the Arab countries, and by representing to the Allies that the Arabs might be made to renounce their aspirations. But such intrigues cannot succeed in sowing dissension among those whose minds are directed by a common purpose to a common end.
>
> His Majesty's Government and their Allies stand steadfastly by every cause aiming at the liberation of the oppressed nations, and they are determined to stand by the Arab peoples in their struggle for the establishment of an Arab world in which law shall replace Ottoman injustice, and in which unity shall prevail over the rivalries artificially provoked by the policy of Turkish officials. His Majesty's Government re-affirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples. His Majesty's Government have hitherto made it their policy to ensure that liberation, and it remains the policy they are determined unflinchingly to pursue by protecting such Arabs as are already liberated from all dangers and perils, and by assisting those who are still under the yoke of the tyrants to obtain their freedom.

2. This was followed by the British Government Declaration to the Seven Arabs on June 16, 1918 (*Cmd.5964*).

It reads:

> His Majesty's Government have considered the memorial of the seven with the greatest care. His Majesty's Government fully appreciate the reasons why the memorialists desire to retain their anonymity, and the fact that the memorial is anonymous has not in any way detracted from the importance which His Majesty's Government attribute to the document.
>
> The areas mentioned in the memorandum fall into four categories:
>
> a. Areas in Arabia which were free and independent before the outbreak of war;
> b. Areas emancipated from Turkish control by the action of the Arabs themselves during the present war;
> c. Areas formerly under Ottoman dominion, occupied by the Allied forces during the present war;
> d. Areas still under Turkish control.

In regard to the first two categories, His Majesty's Government recognise the complete and sovereign independence of the Arabs inhabiting these areas and support them in their struggle for freedom.

In regard to the areas occupied by the Allied forces, His Majesty's Government draw the attention of the memorialists to the texts of the proclamations issued respectively by the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief on the taking of Baghdad and Jerusalem. These proclamations embody the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the inhabitants of these regions. It is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the future government of these regions should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed, and this policy has and will continue to have the support of His Majesty's Government.

In regard to the areas mentioned in the fourth category, it is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the oppressed people of these areas should obtain their freedom and independence, and towards the achievement of this object His Majesty's Government continue to labour.

His Majesty's Government are fully aware of, and take into consideration, the difficulties and dangers which beset those who work for the regeneration of the populations of the areas specified.

In spite, however, of these obstacles His Majesty's Government trust and believe that they can and will be overcome, and wish to give all support to those who desire to overcome them. They are prepared to consider any scheme of co-operation which is compatible with existing military operations and consistent with the political principles of His Majesty's Government and the Allies.

3. This was again followed on the 17th October 1918 by the general assurance given by General Sir Edmund Allenby on the occasion of the evacuation of Beirut by the Sharifian forces regarding occupied enemy territory:

I gave the Emir Faisal an official assurance that whatever measures might be taken during the period of military administration they were purely provisional and could not be allowed to prejudice the final settlement by the peace conference, at which no doubt the Arabs would have a representative. I added that the instructions to the military governors would preclude their mixing in political affairs, and that I should remove them if I found any of them contravening these orders. I reminded the Emir Faisal that the Allies were in honour bound to endeavour to reach a settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned, and urged him to place his trust whole-heartedly in their good faith.

4. The Anglo-French Declaration was issued in Palestine, Syria and Iraq in the form of an official communique emanating from General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Forces, on November 7, 1918:

> The goal envisaged by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the War set in train by German ambition is the complete and final liberation of the peoples who have for so long been oppressed by the Turks, and the setting up of national governments and administrations that shall derive their authority from the free exercise of the initiative and choice of the indigenous populations.
>
> In pursuit of these intentions, France and Great Britain agree to further and assist in the setting up of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, which have already been liberated by the Allies, as well as in these territories which they have been endeavouring to liberate, and to recognise them as soon as they are actually set up.
>
> Far from wishing to impose this or that system upon the populations of these regions, their (i.e., France's and Great Britain's) only concern is to offer such support and efficacious help as will ensure the smooth working of the governments and administrations which these populations will have elected of their own free will to have; to secure impartial and equal justice for all; to facilitate the economic development of the country by promoting and encouraging local initiative; to foster the spread of education; and to put an end to the dissensions which Turkish policy has for so long exploited. Such is the task which the two Allied Powers wish to undertake in the liberated territories.

5. The Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920,[12] by which the High Contracting Parties had agreed to recognise Syria and Mesopotamia as independent states in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, subject to the rendering of administrative advice by a Mandatory until they were able to stand alone, was not confirmed. But Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne[13] which was signed on the 24th of July, 1923, reads as follows:

> Turkey hereby renounces all rights and title whatsoever over or respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the present Treaty and the Islands other than those over which her sovereignty is recognised by the said Treaty, the future of those territories and Islands being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned.
>
> The provisions of the present Article do not prejudice any special arrangements arising from neighbourly relations which have been or may be concluded between Turkey and any limitrophe countries.
>
> (Note: "The parties concerned" in the first paragraph is a translation of the French "par les interesses".)

It has been suggested by the office that, inasmuch as International persons, members of the Family of Nations, i.e., sovereign states "are the subjects of International Law according to the general principles and that individuals (including populations without sovereign governments) are only objects of International Law, the expression "parties concerned"

should normally mean "only other sovereign states" and if it was intended to mean populations, it would have been so specified as such a stipulation would have constituted an innovation in International Law. It has also been suggested that, in consequence of President Wilson's disappearance from the political scene, it would be incorrect to presume that his idea which was discarded in 1919, when France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan "had prevented the sending of an International Commission to Syria, Palestine and Iraq" was again revived when the Treaty of Lausanne was being signed and a new procedure—the settlement of the future of the territories in negotiation with the parties concerned, which the High Contracting Parties had no intention to put into practice, was being introduced.

There appears to be no warrant for the proposition that the ideas contained in President Wilson's speech, to which reference has already been made, had been discarded in 1923 when I find that the League of Nations had come into being in conformity with the ideas and ideals expressed and propounded by him and was functioning when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. A reference to various clauses in the Treaty shows that whenever it was necessary to refer to the States, the words "the States concerned" (Art. 7), "the various States interested" (Art. 8), "the High Contracting Parties" or "the Contracting Powers" or "the Signatory Powers" (when it was intended to refer to the States which were parties to the Treaty of Lausanne, e.g., Arts. 23, 24, 25, 35, and 44) were employed. And since Iraq had not become independent, the frontier between Turkey and Iraq had to be laid down by means of a friendly arrangement to be concluded between Turkey and Great Britain by a Mandatory Commission whose expenses were, according to Art. 6, to be borne in equal shares "by the parties concerned". Now the words "the parties concerned" in this clause refer to Iraq—which, although a dismembered portion of the Turkish Empire, had not been recognised to be a sovereign independent state until 1930—and Great Britain, which had required certain rights of control by the Treaty of October, 1922,[14] was declared to be acting on her behalf for the purpose of fixing the frontier alone. But the expenses were to be borne, not by the British Government as a Mandatory Power, but by the parties concerned, i.e., Turkey on one side and a dismembered portion of her Empire on the other. It should not be overlooked that Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant contained specific provisions in regard to the Arab countries (of which Iraq was one) and had expressly stipulated that the wishes of the populations concerned were to be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory. The Covenant had thus recognised populations of the Arab countries to be a definite

entity for certain purposes. Article 5 was extending the same principle and was making them liable for the expenses incurred in the demarcation of frontiers in which they and not the British Government were interested. The words "the parties concerned" or "les parties Interesses" in Article 5 and "par les interesses" in Article 16 were apparently inspired by or adopted from Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations or from President Wilson's speech quoted in the beginning of this note. Thus, no new procedure was being invented. The contention that the High Contracting Parties had not chosen to issue a Commission to consult the wishes of the people does not carry us anywhere. The High Contracting Parties are always in a position to ignore the terms of contract when it does not suit them for there is no sanction other than a declaration of war in the event of their breach.

Had the intention been to refer to the High Contracting Parties or to sovereign, independent states which had already been recognised as such, the same expression as used in other clauses of the Treaty would have been used in Article 16. The difference in language obviously indicates, and in any case includes, persons other than those expressed by the words "the States concerned" or "Interested" or "the High Contracting Parties" or "Powers" or "Signatory Powers".

It must be remembered that, unlike Article 15 where all rights and title on certain Islands were being renounced in favour of Italy, there was a deliberate and significant omission in the succeeding Article 16 where the renunciation was not being made in favour of Great Britain, France or any other State which was a party to the Treaty of Lausanne.

A declaration, as is well-known, was made by the British Government in November, 1917, which has come to be known as the Balfour Declaration. It was in the following terms:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The term "national home" was not a term of art and has been unknown to International Law. But if it was designed to convey an idea of assisting the Jews in making a national state, which I might say I am not for the time being prepared to accept, and which was not even conveyed by Commander Hogarth on the 4th January 1918 when he carried the British Government's message to King Husain (*Cmd. 5964*), it will go to support the claim for independence as well.

For the above reasons, independence may be granted and should be

declared to Palestine forthwith. The interim arrangements suggested toward the end of this paper should not stand in the way of such a declaration.

II. MANDATE & BALFOUR DECLARATION IN THEIR HISTORICAL SETTING

It is now necessary to consider the contention advanced on behalf of the Arab States to the effect that, being in conflict with the terms and spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Mandate was invalid and should not have been granted by the League of Nations or enforced by the Mandatory. In order to examine this contention, it would be desirable to consider the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, however, briefly, in their historical setting.

There can be no doubt that the Mandate for Palestine was assigned to the United Kingdom by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers at San Remo in April, 1920, and its terms were approved by the Council of the League of Nations on the 24th July, 1922 although it could not formally be given effect to until after the Treaty of Lausanne was brought into force towards the end of September, 1923.

But the real questions to decide are:

a. whether the Balfour Declaration made on behalf of the United Kingdom in November, 1917—before Palestine had ceased to be a part of the Ottoman Empire—should have been made, for it cannot be reasonably disputed that the creation of the Mandate was procured by the United Kingdom in view of what was regarded to be an undertaking given by her to the Jews;

b. whether the Mandate was as a matter of fact in conflict or inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations;

c. in case there is found to be a conflict or inconsistency between the two, which of them is to prevail;

d. whether the Mandate is in conflict or inconsistent with the Covenant or not, what is the legal effect of the former on the action taken by the Mandatory Power in regard to the administration of Palestine in general and as regards Jewish immigration into that country in particular?

The First World War had started in August, 1914, and Turkey was drawn into it shortly afterwards. There was a powerful Zionist element in existence at the time in Germany and Austria, who were actually in negotiation with the Central Powers for the grant of certain rights in Palestine and thus providing them with an interest in an Entente victory. The United Kingdom must naturally have been anxious to win them over, and the Zionist group, led by at least two influential persons—Baron Rothschild, a well-known figure in British

political circles, and Dr. Weizmann, a highly distinguished scientist who was at the time working in the Ministry of War—lost no time in pressing the Zionist demand for Palestine. But Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of England at the time, was not at all sympathetic towards the suggestion and wrote in his diary on the 28th January, 1915:

> I have just received from Herbert Samuel a memorandum headed *The Future of Palestine*. He goes on to argue at considerable length and with some vehemence, in favour of the British annexation of Palestine, a country the size of Wales, much of [it] barren mountains and part of it waterless. He thinks we might plant in this not very promising territory about three or four million European Jews, and that this would have a good effect upon those who are left behind. It reads almost like a new edition of *Tancred*[15] brought up to date. I confess I am not attracted by this proposed addition to our responsibilities. But it is a curious illustration of Dizzy's favourite maxim that "race is everything" to find this almost lyrical outburst proceeding from the well-ordered and methodical brain of H.S. [Herbert Samuel.]

An entry in his diary dated the 13th March 1915 reads as follows:

> ...I have already referred to Herbert Samuel's dithyrambic memorandum, urging that in the carving of the Turks' Asiatic dominion we should take Palestine, into which the scattered Jews would in time swarm back from all quarters of the globe, and in due course obtain home rule. Curiously enough, the only other partisan of this proposal is Lloyd George who, I need not say, does not care a damn for the Jews or their past or their future, but thinks it will be an outrage to let the Holy Places pass into the possession or under the protectorate of "agnostic, atheistic France".

There was also a volume of Jewish opinion in Britain itself which was opposed to this—not on account of British interests, not on account of their personal interests as Dr. Weizmann seemed to suggest in his evidence before the Committee, but in the interest of the Jews themselves. They were opposed to the idea of political Zionism and its nationalistic implications and were afraid of being treated as strangers in their own countries. That is why a statement appeared in the *Times* of the 24th of May 1917 over the signatures of Messrs. David Alexander, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Claude G. Montefiore, president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, in which, although they stressed their fidelity to cultural Zionism of which the aim was to make Palestine a spiritual centre where Jewish genius might develop along its own line, they entered a strong protest against the idea of political Zionism which claimed that the Jewish settlements in Palestine should be recognised as possessing a national character in a political sense, and that the settlers should be invested with certain special rights on a

basis of political privileges and economic preferences. They prophesied that the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine would be bound to "have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands, and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of these lands." This notion was fully supported by Mr. Edwin Montague, the then Secretary of State for India.

At the same time, it was essential for Great Britain to mitigate the "hostility of Jews in Allied countries" towards Russia and giving those Jews who had been so active in overthrowing the Czarist regime an incentive to keep Russia in the war". There was also an imperialistic motive of securing Palestine or a portion of it as a bulwark to the British position in Egypt and to protect the overland link to the East, including India. Sir Martin Conway, Member of Parliament and well-known British politician, wrote a book about Palestine and Morocco in 1922 in which he says that the control of Egypt alone was not sufficient for protecting the Suez Canal.

> The real danger to the Canal does not in fact come from the West but from the East ... It must ever be from the side of Palestine that serious danger will come. Behind Palestine is Syria, behind Syria are the Turks and behind the Turks is [*sic*] any European power that may be hostile to Great Britain—Germany in the past, Russia perhaps in the future, who can say? The French have proved more of rivals than friends... and therefore Great Britain's hold on Palestine is of imperial interest of the highest order.

These considerations and the fact that the war had assumed a dangerous phase in 1917 and nobody could say for a certainty what the final result would be, must have led the British Government to change its policy. Mr. Asquith had gone and had been succeeded by Mr. Lloyd George who was, on account of the British policy, not willing to let France have sway over Palestine which was, because of her empire in the East, so important strategically. A defeat to the United Kingdom, moreover, would have meant its extinction and the supremacy of autocracies over democracies.

These were briefly, in my view, the reasons which had led to the Declaration. But its language was the subject of discussion for a long time between the Jews and the British Government. In England "many different versions of the suggested formula were drafted by various members of the Zionist Political Committee[16] (Zionist official report) on both sides of the Atlantic. This was admitted by Dr. Weizmann in his evidence. He was not in a position, however, to produce the draft or drafts; but when his attention was drawn to those printed by Jeffries

in his book, *Palestine—The Reality*, he admitted that the words "a national home for the Jewish people *in* Palestine" had been substituted for the expression used in the earlier drafts of Palestine being a national home for the Jewish people. Speaking in Wales in 1930, Mr. Lloyd George himself assured his hearers that the Declaration "was prepared after much consideration not merely of its policy but of its actual wording". The amendment was significant as the whole of Palestine was not recognised in the Declaration for the use of the national home. Moreover, it would be seen from the words that no promise was being made to the Jews for the creation of a state or of attempting to make an Arab majority into a minority by any process of immigration or otherwise. Indeed, the Declaration clearly provided that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". This was a very important reservation and it was apparently made on account of promises which had already been made to the Arabs, and to which I shall advert shortly. But I must say that any suggestion by which the Arabs could be converted into a minority, or even much less by which they were to lose a part of their country, was not even contemplated. Their civil rights had been expressly saved. In fact, the suggestion made by Dr. Weizmann in his interview with the *Times* on the 1st March 1918, that "By the establishment of a Jewish national home we mean the creation of such conditions in Palestine as will enable us to move large numbers of Jews into the land... so that the country may become as quickly as possible as Jewish as England is English" elicited a clear statement from Mr. Winston Churchill who, although admittedly a great friend of the Jews for reasons which are unnecessary to state, and therefore keen to protect the Jewish interests as is clear from his Statement[17] of British Policy in Palestine of 3rd June, 1922, stated that "Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become 'as Jewish as England is English'. His Majesty's Government regard any such expectations as impracticable and have no such aim in view". Moreover, the Declaration was at the outside the statement of a policy which the Government of the United Kingdom had agreed to pursue in case she was victorious and was legally in a position to advance it. She did come out victorious, but whether she was legally or even morally bound to advance it is a different matter. This would largely depend upon her position at the time and on the commitments, if any, already entered into by her before the date of this Declaration.

The reasons which had led the Government of the United Kingdom to enter into an alliance with the Arabs have been given by me elsewhere and need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that on a declaration of *Jihad* by the Porte[18] after Turkey had joined Germany, it was vital for

the British Government to counteract that effort in such a manner as to avoid a Muslim uprising in her Empire.

That is why Sir John Maxwell, who was then commanding the British forces in Egypt, advised Lord Kitchener on the 16th of October, 1914 in the following words: "I do not know what the policy of the Foreign Office is, but I think the Arabs about Mecca [Makkah] and the Yemen ought to be approached and set against the Turks".

Since King Husain's son, Emir Abdullah (now King of Transjordan) had already written to Storrs on the subject on the 14th July 1915, Lord Kitchener telegraphed a reply to the British Agency in Cairo on the 31st October to be despatched to Emir Abdullah. The terms of that letter were general, but it held out a promise of support to the Arabs for freedom, on condition that they ally themselves with England. In the meantime, the Sharif Husain's first note was written to Sir Henry MacMahon on the same date on which his son Emir Abdullah had written to Mr. Ronald Storrs, and in this letter it was clearly stated that the Arab nation had decided to approach the Government of Great Britain with a request for the approval, through one of their representatives, if they think fit, of the following basic provisions:

> Great Britain recognises the independence of the Arab countries which are bounded: on the north, by the line Mersin-Adana to parallel 37°N. and thence along the line Birojik-Urfa-Nardin-Midiat-Jazirat (Ibn 'Umar)-Amadia to the Persian frontier; on the east, by the Persian frontier down to the Persian Gulf; on the south, by the Indian Ocean (with the exclusion of Aden whose status will remain as at present); on the west, by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea back to Mersin.

Sir Henry MacMahon's reply on the 30th August 1915 was evasive, and the Sharif wrote a longer note on the 9th September, 1915, in which it was clearly pointed out that the demand in regard to the proposed frontiers and boundaries was fundamental, and that they represented "not the suggestions of one individual... but the demands of our people who believe that these frontiers form the minimum necessary to the establishment of the new order for which they are striving. The reply to this note was sent by Sir Henry MacMahon on the 24th of October 1915, and since he had been informed of the actual Arab situation through other Arab sources, he was more explicit in that letter. He agreed that, with the exception of the Districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the West of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo, "Great Britain is prepared to recognise and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regimes lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca [Makkah]".

Thus, it is clear that Great Britain had expressed her readiness to

assist the Arabs unequivocally in the setting up of suitable administrative arrangements in the areas of Arab independence. The Sharif, in his reply of November 5, 1915, consented to the exclusion of the *Vilayet* of Adana from the area of Arab independence, but refused to accept the exclusion of portions of Syria lying to the west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. Nor did he admit the exclusion of Alexandretta. Sir Henry MacMahon in his reply of the 13th December expressed his satisfaction at the exclusion of the *Vilayet* of Adana, but maintained his reservation of the *coastal regions* of northern Syria, not on the plea advanced by him before that they were not purely Arab, but solely on the ground that the French interests were involved. The Sharif in his reply dated the 1st January 1916, although anxious to avoid any conflict between France and Great Britain, gave clearly to understand that France or any other power could not secure "a single square foot of territory in those parts", and that he would seize the earliest opportunity after the war to indicate the Arab claims to the whole of Syria. In his reply of the 30th of January 1916, Sir Henry merely indicated that in the event of France's maintaining her claims, Great Britain could not hold out any guarantees that the portions which had been excepted from the Arab areas in the letter of the 24th October would be included in the territories in which she had pledged herself to recognise and uphold Arab independence.

It is clear from these letters that Palestine was not specifically excluded from the areas in which Arab inde[pendence] had been asked for and was agreed to be given. Moreover, any map would show that Palestine lies to the south and not to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo which were specifically referred to in the correspondence to which reference has already been made. The *Vilayets* of the province of Syria were those of Aleppo, Beirut and Syria. Deir-ez-Zor, the Lebanon and Jerusalem were centrally administered *Sanjaqs* or countries outside the *Vilayets*. The Lebanon had a special autonomous regime. There was no *Vilayet* of Damascus—it did not exist. And that is why "district" had been used in MacMahon's text and "the Vilayet of Damascus" referred to by Mr. Churchill as Colonial Secretary was obviously incorrect. It must also be remembered that if MacMahon had Palestine in mind, he would have certainly added "and the Sanjaq of Jerusalem" to the *Vilayets* of Aleppo and Beirut.

There is thus no doubt in my mind that from what was stated in the letters, the only possible conclusion can be that independence was promised to be granted to the present Palestine along with the other Arab countries. This promise can be supported by the other documents

such as Bassett's letter, Hogarth's message, Declaration to the Seven, and the Anglo-French Declaration to which reference has already been made.

It is not really easy to see how, in view of these promises, the Balfour Declaration can be said to have been properly or justly made. It had no legal or moral validity—not legal as the British Government had no power to make it at the time when it was made, or even subsequently, as they did not acquire any sovereignty over Palestine; not moral as it was in contravention of the promises already made to the Arabs, who had given all the assistance required of them in pursuance of such promises and which was admitted by General Allenby to have been "invaluable". One is relieved to find, however, that the promises already made to the Arabs had not been entirely overlooked and the Declaration contained a provision—almost in the nature of a proviso—in the words, "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done (in the Government's endeavours to facilitate the establishment of a national home) which may prejudice the civil or religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". This was not all. King Husain was naturally very disturbed when he heard the news of this Declaration. He therefore asked for an elucidation of its meaning, was assured by the British Government in June, 1918 through what has come to be known as Hogarth's Message, that "Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in so far as would be consistent with the *political and economic freedom of* the Arab population". Read along with what was stated by the Government of the United Kingdom within three months of the issue of the Declaration, there is no room for doubt that the protection of civil rights (including political and economic freedom) of the non-Jewish population was declared to be of far greater importance, and the Jewish settlement and the establishment of a national home was only to be permitted to the extent that it was consistent with the Arab rights in Palestine.

After the First World War, the Allied Powers vested themselves with authority to draw up a code of principles known as the Covenant which should govern the action to be taken in respect of the future administration of the enemy territories, including Palestine. It was with the adoption of this code or Covenant that the League of Nations came finally into existence. The principles governing mandates, including that of Palestine, are to be found in Article 22, and paragraph 4 of the Article deals with the territories belonging to the Turkish Empire to the following effect:

> Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent

nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

It may also be emphasised that the principle of the well-being and development of such peoples as had ceased to be under the sovereignty of states which formerly governed them formed a sacred trust of civilisation.

The Arab States contend that the Balfour Declaration was inconsistent with the provisions of the Covenant

(a) as the Arabs of Palestine, whose wishes had to be of primary consideration in the selection of a Mandatory, were not consulted and the choice of the Mandatory at the San Remo Conference was made by the High Contracting parties without any reference to the wishes of the communities concerned;

(b) that the sacred trust committed to the Mandatory was with the object of ensuring the well-being and development of indigenous populations, while in the Mandate issued at the San Remo Conference, the claim of the Jews to reconstitute their national home in an Arab land was formally recognised. There can be, in my view, no manner of doubt that the provisions of the Mandate issued at San Remo were in conflict with the fundamental principles of self-determination and the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant.

But, even if the Arabs of Palestine are taken to have been duly represented by the King Husain, the Covenant of the League of Nations to which the Hejaz was a party, being an original member of the League of Nations, and which was therefore signed on behalf of King Husain was not—due probably to pressure by the Arabs in Palestine—ratified by him. The King of Hejaz[19] did not attend the San Remo Conference in spite of an invitation, with the result that the Covenant never assumed a binding force so far as the Hejaz was concerned. That is why he was not invited to the Lausanne Conference. If the Covenant was not therefore binding on Hejaz and on the Arabs, it is not open to them, in my view to base any argument on it. And the other nations which had duly ratified the Covenant agreed to alter its terms, if not expressly, by necessary implication. That it was possible for the contracting parties to deviate from the terms of the original contract is not open to doubt. And if the terms of the Mandate cannot be reconciled with those of the Covenant, the latter must in my judgment give way to the former which was not only later in point of time but appeared to have been accepted on account of British persuasion in view of the promises which they had made to the Jews.

The real difficulty, which was not realised by the Government of the United Kingdom at the time but which came to be appreciated by her later, lay in the fact that the terms of the Declaration were inconsistent in themselves. If the establishment in Palestine of a national home were to be taken to imply a provision for permitting the Jews to convert themselves into a state, it would come into conflict with the other part of the Balfour Declaration which contained a clear undertaking that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". But even if it is not to be regarded as containing any such promise, and I am clearly of the view that it cannot be so regarded, it was bound to violate the provision as to the civil rights of non-Jewish communities, for the establishment of a national home against their will in a part of Palestine could not but be an inroad on those rights. The fact of the matter is that, in the absence of any information as to the growth of Arab nationalism and as to the depth of their feelings, certain rights in a so-called "notch" of the country were agreed to be created before the Allies had won the war and before the British Government could be held to have any right to make such a Declaration. But the war had somehow to be won, and it was immaterial at the time to pause to consider the legitimacy of the means adopted to achieve that end. That is why, apparently, the rights of the people which had occupied that country and the promises of independence made to them were disregarded. But if a more charitable view of the situation may be taken, in view of what Lord Curzon is reported to have said relating to the procedure adopted in the Cabinet meeting it is possible to conceive that Lord Balfour either knew nothing about the promises which had already been made to the Arabs or had altogether forgotten them under the pressure of the war when it was passing through a critical juncture, and agreed on behalf of the Government to view the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine with favour. This is supported by the following speech made by Mr. Lloyd George in the Commons in June, 1937:

> It was one of the darkest periods of the war when Mr. Balfour prepared his Declaration. Let me recall the circumstances to the House. At the time the French Army had mutinied, the Italian Army was on the eve of collapse and America had hardly started preparing in earnest. There was nothing left but Britain confronting the most powerful military combination the world has ever seen. It was important for us to seek every legitimate help we could get. We came to the conclusion, from information we received from every part of the world, that it was vital we should have the sympathies of the Jewish community. I can assure the committee that we did not come to that conclusion from

> any predilections or prejudices. Certainly we had no prejudices against the Arabs because at the moment we had hundreds and thousands of troops fighting for Arab emancipation from the Turk.
> In these circumstances and on the advice which we received we decided that it was desirable to secure the sympathy and co-operation of that most remarkable community, the Jews throughout the world...

At all events, the words "national home" could not have been intended to convey a Jewish state. The political rights in Palestine were not being conceded to the Jews or the Zionists who were representing that section of the Jews who intended to colonise in Palestine. Lord Balfour in his speech on the 23rd March 1922 before the House of Lords made it clear that the Zionist organisation had no attribute of political power. At that time he said:

> It is surely a very poor compliment to the British Government, to the Governor of Palestine appointed by the British Government, to the Mandates Commisison under the League of Nations, whose business it is to see that the spirit as well as the letter of the Mandates is carried out, and beyond them to the Council of the League of Nations, to suppose that all these bodies will so violate every pledge that they have ever given, and every principle to which they have ever subscribed, as to use the power given them by the Peace Treaty to enable one section of the community of Palestine to oppress and dominate any other... I cannot imagine any political interests exercised under greater safeguards than the political interests of the Arab population of Palestine. Every act of Government will be jealously watched. The Zionist organisation has no attribution of political powers. If it uses or usurps political powers it is an act of usurpation. Whatever else may happen in Palestine, of this I am very confident, that under British government no form of tyranny, racial or religious, will be permitted.

It may be said that this speech referred to the Zionist organization and not to the Jews or any other Jewish agency. But this criticism would be incorrect, for there were only two groups of thought at the time—those who wanted to have a national home in Palestine and those who did not. The Zionist organization held one view and there was no other society or organisation which was asking for any power in Palestine besides the Zionists. That is the reason why Lord Balfour referred to the Zionist organization.

Nor had the Zionists themselves ever suggested the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine until recently. This is borne out from a letter written by Dr. Theodore Herzl, the father of the Zionist movement, to M. Youssuf Zia al-Khaldy in 1899, a copy of which is attached hereto.[20] Although the former did not succeed in persuading the Sultan of Turkey to grant him permission to colonise the Jews in Palestine, for which he was prepared to pay a large sum of money, it is

abundantly clear that the idea of having any political rights in Palestine had not then occurred, or was in any case nowhere suggested. Even Dr. Weizmann, in his interview to the *Times* on the 1st March 1918, had said:

> We do not aspire to found a Zionist state. What we want is a country in which all nations and all creeds shall have equal rights and equal tolerance.

This was put to him when he appeared before the Committee, and although he did not remember if he had made that statement, he stated that a public man's speeches might not be quoted to him after 25 years when a great many changes had taken place in the meantime. But in trying to interpret the Balfour Declaration, the statements made by those who were either parties or privy to its making, either at the time when it was made or shortly after and long before any desire to form a Jewish state was expressed, are not only relevant but, in my opinion, important.

Mr. Leonard Stein, a Zionist of repute, considered the idea of the return of Jews to Palestine to be more in the nature of a spiritual return. He wrote to the following effect:

> The Palestine of which they dream had for most of them long ceased to be the Palestine of concrete reality. Of its geographical position or of its physical form they knew little or nothing. They were not bound to it by ties of personal affection, nor haunted by memories of its sights and sounds. It was not indeed a mere abstraction. The return of the exiles assuredly would be a return in the most literal sense. But it would not come as the result of human effort. It would come in God's good time with the appearance of the *Messiah*.

Bearing the later achievements of the Zionists in mind, it is possible to argue that they had intended to claim political power and rights in Palestine from the beginning and in order to avoid a refusal and opposition by the Arabs, or even by the British Government, at the time, it was not considered discreet to ask for those rights expressly. This might or might not have been so; but the formula evolved in the modest words "national home" was, although *ex facie* innocent, ambiguous and capable of being pressed into service (as is now being done) to secure political rights. But to an ordinary reader, it merely conveyed a "home" in the cultural sense and in no other, and the Jews would have been content with it if the subsequent developments were not as encouraging as they turned out to be.

From what I have said, it would seem to follow that the words "national home" in the Balfour Declaration were not intended to convey a Jewish state. Indeed, Mr. Norman Bentwich, a Jewish international lawyer of repute, defined "Jewish national home" in or about

1926 in his book, *The Mandates System*, as a "territory in which a people *without receiving the rights of political sovereignty* has nevertheless a recognised legal position and the hope of developing its moral, social and intellectual ideas". Had the idea of a possible Jewish state promised to them by the Balfour Declaration come to be known to the Jews, Mr. Bentwich could not have defined the "national home" in that manner.

There is nothing, moreover, in the Balfour Declaration which would indicate what the Zionist aspirations were with which His Britannic Majesty's Government was declaring herself in sympathy. Nor is there anything therein to suggest that the Government of the United Kingdom had agreed to lend its hand in the establishment of a national home. The words, "will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object" were in keeping with the rest of the Declaration in their vagueness.

No difficulty would have been created if the matter had rested there. But in furtherance of the promise made by the Government of the United Kingdom, the Mandate for Palestine was assigned to it, apparently at its own suggestion, by the Suppreme Council of the Allied Powers at San Remo in 1920, and was subsequently approved by the Council of the League of Nations in 1922. It is surprising to find, however, that the principle of self-determination contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations, was absolutely disregarded and the Mandate was approved without consulting the Arabs and in spite of their protests. It is true that President Wilson had, probably in view of the resolutions passed at the General Syrian Congress[21] in Damascus which combined demands for the recognition of the independence of Syria, including Palestine, as a sovereign state and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration, appointed a commission (known as the King-Crane Commission)[22] on the Mandates in Turkey. But their report, which is of considerable importance insofar as they had analysed the Zionist movement quite carefully and arrived at the conclusion that the consummation of the Zionist desire of a complete dispossession of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine (mark the absence of a declaration that they wanted to turn it into a Jewish state) would be, even if achieved, "a gross violation of the rights of the principle just quoted (contained in President Wilson's address of the 4th July 1918) and of the people's rights". They recommended "that only a greatly reduced Zionist programme be attempted by the Peace Conference and even that, only very gradually initiated. This would have to mean that Jewish immigration should be definitely limited and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be

given up". They warned in this report that the anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria "is intense and not lightly to be flouted? They also reported that "from the point of view of the desires of the 'people concerned' the Mandate should clearly go to America". The following passage from the report is, in view of what has happened, deserving of special notice:

> The people repeatedly showed honest fear that in British hands the mandatory power would become simply a colonising power of the old kind; that Great Britain would find it difficult to give up the colonial theory, especially in case of a people thought inferior; that she would favour a civil service and pension budget too expensive for a poor people; that the interests of Syria would be subordinated to the supposed needs of the Empire; that there would be, after all, too much exploitation of the country for Britain's benefit; that she would never be ready to withdraw and give the country real independence; that she did not really believe in universal education; and would not provide adequately for it; and that she already had more territory in her possession—in spite of her fine colonial record—than was good either for herself or for the world.
>
> (Note: "Syria" here is taken to include Palestine.)

No attention was paid to this Commission's report, and a Mandate for Palestine was assigned to Great Britain.

The principal obligations of the Mandatory Power as defined in Article 2 of the Mandate were:

a. the creation of conditions which would secure the establishment of the Jewish national home;
b. the creation of conditions which would secure the development of self-governing institutions;
c. the safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants.

Article 2 of the Mandate, however, refers to the Preamble which contains the statement that the Balfour Declaration had recognised "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country". Actually, there is nothing in the Balfour Declaration to that effect.

It has been suggested by the Jewish Agency[23] that the primary purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a national home for the Jews and the protection of the rights and well-being of the non-Jewish population was only of secondary importance, and the latter object could be kept in view only to the extent that it was compatible with its primary purpose. This is incorrect. Article 2 of the Mandate mentions Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and refers specifically to the terms contained in the Balfour Declaration. I

have already tried to show that the "civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish population" were, although referred to later in the Declaration, not meant to be postponed to the intention of establishing in Palestine a national home for the Jews. In fact, according to my reading, the reference to the rights towards the end of the Declaration was meant to emphasise and with the object of imposing a condition on the establishment of a national home.

Article 2 of the Mandate brings this out fairly clearly and leaves no room for doubt when it is read with Article 6 of the same instrument which imposes an obligation on the administration of Palestine in the words, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced" it "shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions..."

The Mandate, as stated before, was brought into force on the 29th of September 1923, although the Mandatory Power had in fact assumed the civil administration under the High Commissioner from the 1st July 1920, i.e., shortly after the Mandate for Palestine was assigned to the United Kingdom by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers at San Remo. With the assumption of administration, the representative of the Mandatory Power had, in furtherance of the promise contained in the Balfour Declaration, allowed the Jews from all parts of the world—mostly brought up in the western culture and mode of living—to immigrate into Palestine, a country in the Middle East with an Asiatic culture and which was the cradle of three greatest religions of the world. No attention appears to have been paid by the Government of the United Kingdom or by the nations which were signatories to the Mandate or by the representatives of the Mandatory Power in Palestine as to what this conglomeration of different cultures and ideals would lead to. The result of this omission can be seen by any person who visits not only Tel Aviv, Mount Carmel in Haifa, and other places, but even Jerusalem (Al-Quds) itself. Whatever may be said in favour of the development of these various towns in Palestine on western lines, the Western mode of living may not be regarded as an unmixed blessing and brings a number of things in its wake which may not be very desirable and are certainly out of place in a Holy Land. The members of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry[24] were so struck by this incongruity in one particular instance that they felt called upon to make a recommendation, (Recommendation No. 8, at p. 10 of their Report published by the U.S. State Department), in regard to Galilee. It is interesting to find that the recommendation has been carried out by the representatives of the Mandatory Power. The real point, however, is that the Jews from various parts of the world had

nothing in common with the Jews in Palestine except their religion, and the followers of a faith cannot be found to have any political rights in a country simply because they believe or profess to believe in it. Most of the Jews brought from the central portions of Europe were Aryans—descendants of people who had accepted Judaism as their faith—and it would be a travesty of facts, however much it may be utilised for the purpose of propaganda for the creation of a Jewish state, to lable the dislike for the Zionists as based on anti-Semitic feelings. The Jews were allowed to live peacefully in the Arab World without being harassed, and it is only when some of them started clamouring for political power and turned themselves into an aggressive Zionist group for the purpose of converting Palestine or a portion of it into a Jewish state that all the troubles started. It might be mentioned here that there are considerable numbers of Jews in Palestine, in America and elsewhere who do not want a Jewish state. The Memorandum of the Hebrew Fraction of the Jewish population in the Holy Land of the 17th July 1947 and the memorandum of the American Council for Judaism may inter alia be referred to with advantage in this connection.

The underlying causes of the disturbances of 1936— as they were of previous riots—were found by the Royal Commission[25] in their report to be:

i. the desire of the Arabs for national independence;
ii. their hatred and fear of the establishment of the Jewish national home.

The following comments on these two causes were made by the Royal Commission:

We make the following comments on these two causes:

i. They were the same underlying causes as those which brought about the "disturbances" of 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1933.
ii. They were, and always have been, inextricably linked together. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate under which it was to be implemented involved the denial of national independence at the outset. The subsequent growth of the national home created a practical obstacle, and the only serious one, to the concession later of national independence. It was believed that its further growth might mean the political as well as economic subjection of the Arabs to the Jews, so that, if ultimately the Mandate should terminate and Palestine become independent, it would not be national independence in the Arab sense but self-government by a Jewish majority.

I respectfully agree with the diagnosis and would like to add that in my view the unanimous attitude of the Arab States is largely, if not

solely, due to similar apprehensions entertained by them, for they appear to be fully convinced in their minds that the creation of even a small Jewish state in a part of Palestine is, with the Jewish influence, means and urge for a state, merely a thin end of the wedge and would end in disturbing the peace not only of the Middle East but probably of other parts of the world as well. One has only to compare the modest demand of 1917 for a "national home" with the demands for a State coupled with the continuous terrorist and other military activities of the Hagana,[26] the Irgun [Zvai Leumi][27] and the Stern Gang[28] in support of the apprehensions. I feel that a grave error of judgment was, although with the best of intentions, committed when the Jewish Agency was not merely allowed to collaborate with the administration of the country, but was permitted to run its own educational, industrial and economic system for a portion of the population, and thus to run a parallel government when, in a place like Palestine with the High Commissioner as the representative of the Mandatory Power and in the absence of any definite plan for the self-government of the country as a whole, the whole of this administration should have been centralised in him and he should have been asked to control the whole policy.

According to the *Political History of Palestine* presented on behalf of the British administration, 99,806 Jewish immigrants had been brought into the country between September, 1920 and the end of 1929. Referring to this increased immigration, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry observed as follows (excerpt taken from A/AC. 13/3):

> The population, which in 1922 stood at 757,000 persons, of whom more than eleven per cent were Jews, increased by 1929 to 960,000 of whom more than sixteen per cent were Jews. This increase in the Jewish percentage appeared highly alarming to the Arab leaders.
>
> In 1929 Arab dissatisfaction with the Mandate and the modified Jewish national home of the White Paper[29] showed itself in serious riots. A new statement of policy appeared necessary to the Shaw Commission which investigated the disturbances, and in October, 1930, the Passfield White Paper was issued.

A summary of that White Paper is given in paragraphs 45 to 50 (pp. 11-13) in the *Political History of Palestine Under British Administration*. This appeased the Arabs to some extent and the revolt came to an end. But inasmuch as the terms of this paper, on account of Jewish agitation, were materially changed by an authoritative interpretation placed upon it by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Arabs were again dissatisfied and, finding that the Jewish population had risen from over 11% in 1922 to nearly 30%, serious riots, which

were on account of their intensity regarded as rebellion, eventually broke out again in April, 1936. A Royal Commission[30] was accordingly appointed on the 7th August 1936, with Earl Peel as its Chairman,

> to ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances which broke out in Palestine in the middle of April; to enquire into the manner in which the Mandate for Palestine is being implemented in relation to our obligations as Mandatory towards the Arabs and the Jews respectively; and to ascertain whether, upon a proper construction of the terms of the Mandate, either the Arabs or the Jews have any legitimate grievances on account of the way in which the Mandate has been, or is being implemented; and if the Commission is satisfied that any such grievances are well founded, to make recommendations for their removal and for the prevention of their recurrence.

The Report of this Commission, to which I have already referred to in passing for its statement of the underlying causes of the disturbances, was very carefully written and the whole situation was stated, if I may say so with respect, with considerable dexterity and circumspection, and one can find very little in its factual statements from which he [one] can differ. Its conclusions are summarised in paragraphs 85-86 (pp. 21-23) of the *Political History of Palestine* and need not be recapitulated.

I must say, however, with great deference that its final recommendation for partition of Palestine, made with the object of the removal of grievances and for the prevention of their recurrence, could not have been acceptable. It did not redress the Arab grievances and regarded some form of a via media to be the best form of a solution. A technical commission (The Woodhead Commission)[31] was appointed by the Government of the United Kingdom to examine the details of a partition scheme, in accordance with the League Council's resolution.

The members of the Woodhead Commission were not agreed amongst themselves, although they were unanimous in rejecting the proposal made by the Royal Commission. One of them was of the view that no practicable scheme of partition could be devised, while the majority recommended "a plan which would have confined the Jewish state to a strip of territory approximately 75 kilometers in length but intersected by an Arab enclave at Jaffa and the corridor connecting the mandated territory of Jerusalem with the sea". The report was considered by the Government of the United Kingdom which rejected the suggested solution on the ground of impracticability (*Cmd. 5893*).

An attempt was then made by the British Government to reach an agreement in consultation with the Arabs and the Jews. A conference was accordingly called, but it met with no success. Another White Paper was then issued by the British Government on the 17th May

1939. A summary of this Paper is given in paragraphs 102-108 (pp. 27-29) of the *Political History*. It was unequivocally declared by His Britannic Majesty's Government that it was "not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state" and that their objective was

> the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine state... in which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded.

The Government was of the view that "to seek to expand the national home indefinitely by immigration against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country" would not only be contrary to the whole spirit of Article 22 of the League Covenant, but also to their specific obligations to the Arabs in the Palestine Mandate itself. Taking into consideration, therefore, "the extent to which the growth of the Jewish national home has been facilitated over the last twenty years", they came to the decision that it could be further expanded only if the Arabs were prepared to acquiesce in it. It was therefore ordered that after the admission of not more than 75,000 additional immigrants during the five years beginning in April, 1939, the immigration would be stopped unless the Arabs of that place were prepared to agree to further immigration.

The policy expounded in the White Paper was bitterly criticised by the Jews, but it was accepted by the British Parliament. It came up for consideration by the Permanent Mandates Commission[32] at their 36th Session in June, 1939. They were unanimously of the view that "the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation" which they had so far been putting upon the Mandate, along with the Mandatory Power, but there was divergence of opinion on the points whether the policy was in harmony with the Mandate and whether it could be justified in the existing circumstances if it were not opposed by the Council of the League of Nations.

The White Paper of 1939 is an extremely important document—not only insofar as it contains a definition of the British policy after all that had been happening in Palestine ever since 1920—but also as it contains the authorised and well-considered interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. The policy set out in the Paper might not have been in accordance with the interpretation placed upon the Mandate until then by the Permanent Mandates Commission or by the Mandatory Power. But the latter could not possibly ignore the circumstances under which it had worked or the situation which its working had produced in the country. The number of Jews in Palestine had increased to about ten times from what it was when the administration was taken over by Great Britain, and the so-called "national home", which

could in no case be unlimited in its development, was rightly regarded to have come into being in accordance with the promises contained in the Declaration and the Mandate. This statement might not have been found suitable to the Jews, but the charge that it was in any way opposed to the previous declarations of the British Government is groundless. Moreover, the policy of permitting unlimited immigration was nowhere suggested in the Mandate, which purported to give effect to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and to the provisions of the Balfour Declaration containing the clause that nothing should be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, with the result that the Covenant could not be held to have been superseded or modified in this respect by any international instrument.

It might be added that, in pursuance of what was contained in the Mandate, the Mandatory Power had, besides permitting a very large amount of immigration, allowed the Jewish enterprise of rapid economic expansion to grow by granting concessions of great value to the Palestine Potash Co., Ltd. in the Dead Sea and to the Palestine Electric Corporation. The number of Jewish agricultural settlements had, according to the *Political History of Palestine* (p. 15) risen from 96 in 1927 to 172 in 1936 and the volume of citrus exports had gone up from 2,600,000 cases in 1929 to 15,300,000 in 1938-39.

Considering all that had happened in Palestine, there can be no manner of doubt that the national home, unless it was taken to mean a Jewish state with a Jewish majority, had come into being and the Mandatory Power was fully justified in coming to a decision that things should not be allowed to continue or drift as they had been allowed to do.

On the declaration of the policy in the White Paper of 1929 [*sic* for 1939], acts of terrorism began to be committed by the Jews who also attempted to organise the unauthorised entry of a large number of immigrants. But the Second World War started early in September, 1939 and the attention of both Jews and Arabs was invited by their respective leaders to render full assistance to the Government of the United Kingdom. The attention of the Jews and Arabs was to some extent directed into other channels but unauthorised immigration and some terrorist activities by the Jews continued to a limited extent even in this period. With the termination of the war, however, the Jews began to intensify their efforts toward unauthorised immigration and a series of outrages of varying intensity began to be committed. They still continue in almost unabated vigour. Despite all this, immigration was allowed by the Government of Palestine to contiue at the rate of 15,000

a year although the five years referred to in the White Paper of 1939 had long expired and the quota of 75,000 permitted by it during the five years had been exhausted.

Thanks to Germany's anti-Semitic attitude and its cruel, callous and inhuman massacres of Jewry during the last World War, the Zionists, who by no means formed a majority of the Jews before it, began to clamour for political rights in Palestine more vociferously, and succeeded in securing a good many supporters from amongst those who were not in the beginning prepared to support their co-religionists in their attempt to form themselves into a political state. This however led the Arabs, both Christians and Muslims, to unite and to resist this attempt with all the means at their command. Thus, the Renaissance movement which had started amongst the Arabs toward the middle of the last century came to be strengthened to a large extent. The pressure of Zionism on the Mandatory Power and on the United States by a well organised propaganda led the British Government to ask the United Nations to consider the problem presented by Palestine—a small, uneven and rocky country rightly described to be no bigger than Wales and covered by fairly large areas here and there which are uncultivated and some of which have been and are perhaps uncultivable, but which are nevertheless equally, if not more, holy to Christians and Muslims as well.

Since the demand in the United States was strong, President Truman suggested the issue of 100,000 immigration certificates to the Prime Minister of England, but as the latter could not adopt the proposal before the future of Palestine had been fully reconsidered in the light of all that had happened, the Governments of both agreed to appoint an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This Committee rejected partition as a solution of the problem created by Palestine, and held that the establishment of an independent state or states in Palestine would result in a civil strife which might threaten the peace of the world. Thus we find that the land which has sent the messages of peace and goodwill to the world on a number of occasions is asking for peace itself. But since they could not find a solution, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry recommended that Palestine should continue to be administered under the Mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement.

There is no denying the fact, however, that the attitude of the British Government, however justified by the exigency of the situation as it presented itself to the British Government in 1914, has led to the present impasse and is largely of her creation and, speaking for myself, I consider her, rather than any other Power, to be primarily responsible for

the situation in which the United Nations find themselves now placed. They had not only agreed to facilitace the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine after their promises of independence to the Arabs, which were reiterated in 1918 and later, but in their intense desire to keep control of the Middle East and to keep France out, they got the Mandate assigned to themselves by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers at San Remo in 1920 and got it approved by the Council of the League of Nations in July, 1922. They had, in anticipation of this approval, got Palestine under their control in 1920 and started their endeavours to facilitate the establishment of the "national home" in right earnest almost immediately, so much so that no less than 5,514 Jews were allowed to immigrate between September and December, 1920, and this in spite of various Arab protests and riots which had almost immediately started. They continued to pursue this policy with great vigour between 1920 and 1925, and succeeded in bringing 89,666 persons into Palestine between 1920 and 1926. As the number of immigrants was increasing every year, the Arab fears of losing their country were increasing and the Arab protests and riots were proportionately growing in intensity. They were being curbed relentlessly but could not be suppressed until 1939 when the White Paper was finally issued, and in fact when the Second World War began in the month of September of that year. During this period, hundreds of Arabs were killed, a number of houses destroyed and thousands put into prison. It was a reign of terror and the Jews who naturally now resent the use of security measures were themselves largely for the legislation which is now being used against them. During such a disturbed state of affairs, it was impossible for the Arabs to develop their land and take part in peaceful pursuits which go to develop a nation. In the meantime, however, the Jews who were siding with the Government lost no time in trying to consolidate their position, and with the help of large sums of money which they were getting from the Jewry of the world, particularly those of America, the industries were being developed, lands were being acquired from the Arabs, large numbers of whom, not being rich, were, with the constant friction between themselves and the Government, reduced to penury. I can only visualise what, in such circumstances, their plight must have been. It is therefore not surprising to find that the Jews succeeded in securing large plots of land at moderate prices prevailing at the time. At the same time, the fact might be mentioned that the only bank which was advancing money to agriculturists (The Ottoman Agriculturist Bank) was liquidated in 1922. Being engaged in what they regarded as a fight for independence, the Arabs' condition must have

been, financially speaking, pitiable and those two decades of unrest were bound to fall heavily on their advancement and development in almost every walk of life. That they were able to survive against two formidable opponents speaks volumes for their energy and determination.

The administration of the Mandatory Power does not seem to have done much during the last twenty-seven years in the way of uplifting the indigenous people of the country which it was, as an agent of the Mandatory Power, bound to do. What to say of secondary and higher education, even the elementary education was ignored and in spite of almost three decades which have rolled by, the number of schools in the country is not enough and admittedly thousands of Arab boys desirous of receiving education are disappointed every year. There are no vocational institutions and those who wish to receive this education have either to go to the American University of Beirut or to foreign countries for this purpose. Nothing appears to have been done during this time towards training persons for social service. While millions of pounds have been and are being spent on security measures and on the armed police, which is more or less a permanent feature in the country, sufficient attention has not been paid in opening hospitals and health centers. One of the most serious defects of the Ottoman Administration, the system of land tenancy, has not been sufficiently altered to develop initiative in the *fellaheen*. No serious attempts seem to have been made to introduce measures which would have led to self-government. The two half-hearted attempts made at considerable intervals were not enough. This was really due to the conflict with the Arabs during the first years of the administration, and with the Jews during the last eight years. The fact, however, remains that the Mandatory Power cannot be held to have succeeded in preparing the people for self-government and the purpose for which the Mandate was granted under Article 22 of the Covenant must be found not to have been achieved.

Moreover, the international machinery in the form of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which had been created for the purpose of scrutiny of the Mandatory Powers' actions and to which they were bound to submit annual reports, has ceased to exist along with the League of Nations and there are no means by which the international obligations in regard to Mandates can be discharged by the United Nations.

The Mandate has in any case become infructuous, and must, in my opinion go. Whether it would be substituted by any other system within the present Charter is a different matter and would be dealt with when I am considering the solution of the present problem. But

what the Mandatory has done in allowing the immigration of hundreds of thousands of persons ever since the Mandate has been in force cannot be undone. Private rights have been created. People have been allowed to come and settle down. They cannot be asked to go. The objection that most of them have not acquired Palestinian citizenship and owe double loyalties at the present moment has considerable force. But those who have been allowed to spend time and labour by a Power in the discharge of what it considered to be its duty under an international instrument cannot be lightly treated, although to impose conditions which would enable them to acquire Palestinian citizenship within a reasonable time would be just and proper. If they do not take advantage of the time which may be granted to them, and do not make up their minds finally and become Palestinian citizens, they will have to remain in the country like foreigners. But if they do, they will have all the rights which the indigenous population possesses in its own country.

For the above reason, I am of the opinion that the questions formulated in the beginning should be answered as follows:

a. that the Balfour Declaration should not have been made;

b. that the Mandate was in conflict and inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations;

c. that the Mandate was in the circumstances, to prevail in preference to the Covenant when and where it is found to be inconsistent with the latter;

d. that the legal effect of the Mandate is that the actions taken by the Mandatory Power in discharge of its obligations, or what it regarded to be its obligations, are valid and the immigrants who have been allowed to come into Palestine cannot be turned out, although under the rules now in force they must be required to acquire Palestinian citizenship within a reasonable time if they wish to have the rights of citizens in that country. But nations had no right to create a mandate over Palestine without the consent of its inhabitants and to impose their will on them. Although, strictly speaking, it cannot be held to have conferred any rights over Palestine de jure, it must be found to have acquired a de facto validity as it has been enforced. But with the declaration of the Mandatory Power that it is found to be unworkable, with the abolition of the Permanent Mandates Commission which could scrutinize the Mandatory Power's actions, and with the fact that the promise of the Jewish national home has been, as conceded by the Mandatory Power, fulfilled, the Mandate ceases to have further effect. That is why I would recommend its termination.

Enclosure to Section II
Theodore Herzl to M. Youssuf Zia Alkhaldy

WIEN-WAHRING,
CARL LUDWIGSTRASSE 50,
19 March 1899

Excellency,

I owe to Mr. Zadok Kahn's kindness the pleasure of having read the letter which you addressed to him. Let me tell you first of all that the feelings of friendship which you express for the Jewish people inspire in me the deepest appreciation. The Jews have been, are, and will be the best friends of Turkey since the day when Sultan Selim opened his Empire to the persecuted Jews of Spain.

And this friendship consists not only of words—it is ready to be transferred into acts and to aid the Muslims.

The Zionist idea, of which I am the humble servant, has no hostile tendency toward the Ottoman Government, but quite to the contrary it is a question in this movement of opening up new resources for the Ottoman Empire. In allowing immigration to a number of Jews bringing their intelligence, their financial acumen and their means of enterprise to the country, no one can doubt that the well-being of the entire country would be the happy result. It is necessary to understand this and make it known to everybody.

As Your Excellency said very well in your letter to the Grand Rabbi, the Jews have no belligerent power behind them, neither are they themselves of ■ warlike nature. They are ■ completely peaceful element, and very content if they are left in peace. Therefore, there is absolutely nothing to fear from their immigration.

The question of the Holy Places?

But no one thinks of ever touching these. As I have said and written many times: these places have lost forever the faculty of belonging exclusively to one faith, to one race or to one people. The Holy Places are and will remain holy for all the world, for the Muslims as for the Christians as for the Jews. The universal peace which all men of goodwill ardently hope for will have its symbol in a brotherly union in the Holy Places.

You see another difficulty, Excellency, in the existence of the non-Jewish population in Palestine. But who would think of sending them away? It is their well-being, their individual wealth which we will increase by bringing in our own. Do you think that an Arab who owns land or a house in Palestine worth three or four thousand francs will

be very angry to see the price of his land rise in a short time, to see it rise five and ten times in value perhaps in a few months? Moreover, that will necessarily happen with the arrival of the Jews. That is what the indigenous population must realise, and that they will gain excellent brothers as the Sultan will gain faithful and good subjects who will make this province flourish—this province which is their historic homeland.

When one looks at the situation in this way, which is the *true* one, one must be the friend of Zionism when one is the friend of Turkey.

I hope, Excellency, that these few explanations will suffice to give you a little more sympathy for our movement.

You tell Mr. Zadok Kahn that the Jews would do better to go some where else. That may well happen the day we realise that Turkey does not understand the enormous advantages which our movement offers it. We have explained our aim publicly, sincerely and loyally. I have had submitted to His Majesty the Sultan some general propositions, and I am pleased to believe that the extreme clearness of his mind will make him accept in principle the idea of which one can afterwards discuss the details of execution. If he will not accept it, we will search and believe me, we will find elsewhere what we need.

But then Turkey will have lost its last chance to regulate its finances and to recover its economic vigour.

It is a sincere friend of the Turks who tells you these things today. Remember that!

And accept, Excellency, the assurance of my very high consideration.

THEODORE HERZL
Dr

Monsieur Youssuf Zia Alkhaldy,
Khedivial Hotel, Pera,
Constantinople

III. PROPOSAL FOR FORM OF GOVERNMENT

This brings me to the most important question—that of the future form of Government which Palestine should have.

Before coming to this, however, it appears to me necessary to review briefly the respective contentions advanced by the Jews and the Arabs.

The Jewish claim to have the whole of Palestine as a Jewish state, or to have a Jewish state in a fairly large portion of Palestine, has been based on:

a. their historical association with Palestine;

b. the religious significance which they attach to Palestine;

c. the improvements effected by them at considerable cost, and the resulting increase in Palestine's economic prosperity;
d. their "homelessness";
e. the promises contained in the Balfour Declaration subsequently incorporated in the Mandate and agreed to by a large number of nations;
f. Jewish persecution generally throughout the world, and particularly the massacres by Hitler during the Second World War.

The Jews came to be associated with Palestine, or "Eretz Israel"[33], historically when Abraham's tribe, originating in Ur of the Chaldees in the Euphrates Valley, settled in a portion of Palestine about 1400 B.C. It is true that Abraham's descendants, David and Solomon, had small kingdoms in a part of Palestine. But these came to an end with the latter's death and after a chequered history, during long periods of which all the inhabitants of Palestine (including Jews) remained in subjection to the Assyrians, the Babylonians and the Romans. The Jews were expelled from the land in the beginning of the Christian era. To found their claim on their dispersion from Palestine after a period of approximately 2,000 years, whatever religious sentiment may be attached by them to the land occupied by their Prophets, appears to me to be as groundless as anything can be. A multitude of nations conquered various countries at various times and were eventually defeated and turned out of them. Can their connection, however long, with the land which they had once conquered provide them with any basis after the lapse of even one century? If this were so, Muslims might claim Spain which they governed for a much longer period than the Jews had governed part of Palestine. The religious attachment can form no foundation for such a claim, for religious sentiment is one thing and political rights another. Can the Muslims scattered throughout the world and who turn their faces to the *Ka'ba* five times a day when they say their prayers claim any political rights in Mecca [Makkah], which is now under the sovereignty of His Majesty King Ibn Saud?

This is not all. We are apt to get confused if we do not analyse that, whatever claim may be advanced to justify their return to the land from which their ancestors had been dispossessed, this claim cannot be made by those who were subsequently converted to Judaism. Khazars of Eastern Europe, Turco-Finn by race, were converted to Judaism as a nation in about 690 A.D. Can their descendants possibly claim any rights simply because the ancestors of their co-religionists had once settled in Palestine? It is absolutely wrong to suggest that the profession of a faith by a person—and that is all that Mr. Shertok suggested in his statement—clothes him with any political rights in a

country. In fact, most of the blue-eyed and blond Jews that I happened to see in Jerusalem appeared to be as much Aryans as any German. Most of the Jews from Central Europe or the Baltic countries have striking resemblance to the Aryans of these countries. Can the brown Jews in Abyssinia and yellow Jews in China be regarded to be of the same race? It should not be forgotten that there had been considerable missionary activity in ancient and medieval times which had led to mass conversions. An extract from an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* by a well-known Jewish scholar who was at one time Professor of Hebrew at Oxford University, Dr. H.M.J. Loewe, shows the proselytising effort made by the Jews in converting pagans. He says:

> The Jews, when confronted with paganism, omnipotent and universal, has [*sic*] engaged in active proselytisation and classical authors testify to the vigour of the Jewish missionary enterprise.

In his book, *Race and Civilisation*, Frederick Hertz says at pp. 132-133 (1927) that

> conversions to the Jewish religion of Greeks, Romans and other nationalities occurred very frequently—especially during the last two centuries B.C. and in the Middle Ages and modern times, notwithstanding all obstacles, such conversions have happened occasionally, chiefly in the Slav countries, this being evidently the reason why the Polish and Russian Jews frequently have unmistakable Slav facial characteristics.

It is unnecessary to develop the point any further. The contention advanced on behalf of the Jews can have no bearing on the Jews whose ancestors had not been turned out of Palestine and has no force, even in the case of those who have descended from such ancestors, as after the lapse of centuries they cannot possibly have any claim to political rights in a land which they left some 2,000 years ago.

I have already dealt with the question of religious significance, and it appears to be unnecessary to say very much more. I would, however, like to add that the Prophets of the Jews are regarded to be Prophets both by Christians and Muslims. Muslims regard Christ to be a Prophet and place him in the same category in which the Jews place their own Prophets. Thus the land which is holy to the Jews because of Abraham, Moses, Isaac etc. is equally holy to the Christians and Muslims, and the land in which Christ was born and lived is also holy to Muslims, although the Jews do not regard Christ to be a Prophet.

The fact that the Jews of the world were permitted to immigrate in and after 1920 and spent considerable sums of money in improving a part of Palestine cannot confer any political rights on them. If this argument were to be upheld, it would amount to saying that, by

spending any amount of money in the improvement of ■ house or land, the person who has spent the money gets title to the same—a very dangerous and wholly unsound proposition. But whatever the value of the argument, it cannot possibly have any force when we find that the money was being spent in spite of the Arabs' protests to increase Jewish immigration and to consolidate their position. These improvements have perhaps indirectly benefited the Arabs, but this does not advance the argument as it must be remembered that all the efforts appear to have been directed toward improving Palestine with the object of converting it into a Jewish state. The gain of some temporary advantages or gain to the Arabs cannot be regarded as any compensation for the loss of the country as ■ whole.

The contention that the Jews need a state because they are homeless and have no other state which they can call their own does not bear close examination. Can they for the same reason ask for New York State, which has well over three million already, or for England? But the United States of America and England are strong enough to resist a demand by force of arms if necessary. Or is it because Palestine, where immigration has been carried out to a large extent with the help of the Mandatory Power's forces, is considered unable to defend itself against the forces which the Jews have organised? I fear that the Jews, who are not and cannot be regarded to be either a nation or a race, have on account of an urge for a state, big or small, resolved to have Palestine or a portion of the same as a Jewish state. They are in the minority even today. But they want to have the help of the United Nations (which the Mandatory Power has refused to give them in accordance with the principle enunciated by it in the White Paper of 1939) to permit them by means of immigration to become a majority first, and then to ask for the principle of self-determination to be applied to them. The whole of this effort is as unreasonable as anything can be. If we are called upon to adjudicate on the question of the future government, we have to take the facts as they exist today and decide on the material before us. It is wrong, in my view, to wait for events which may or may not happen in the future and decide our course on the assumption that they have already come to pass. The whole argument advanced by the Jews is based on unrealities, and the fact that they are homeless and desire to have ■ state cannot possibly be taken into consideration as conferring any right on them to have it.

I have already dealt with the Balfour Declaration separately. The Mandate, whatever its validity, has succeeded in establishing a National Home.

It is unfortunately true that the Jews were persecuted by Hitler

during the Second World War, but whatever sympathy one may have for his victims, the problem of displaced persons is not only a question of entry into Palestine, as the Jews would have us hold, but it is a question for the whole world to settle. Fortunately or unfortunately, the world is divided into a number of national states; it is their right to regulate immigration within their own boundaries and to determine the composition of their population. If Palestine is to have the same independence as enjoyed by the other countries of the world, the same right should be conceded to the future government of an independent Palestine. Immigration into Palestine would have to be controlled by the Palestinian Government with due regard to the interests and welfare of the existing population. Palestine would have to bear its share of displaced persons in the future, but in deciding that question the number of immigrants, both legal and illegal, who have already entered the country should be taken into account.

The Arab case is, on the other hand, essentially that they are the descendants of indigenous inhabitants who had been in the country even before Abraham had settled in the country; that even after the Islamic conquest in the 7th century, the conquerors, who had succeeded in giving their language, their culture and their religion to the people of Palestine had been themselves assimilated in the existing population which, along with its descendants, remained in continuous possession of the country. It is conceded that the Turks had conquered the country in the middle of the 16th century, but it is contended that in spite of this conquest the indigenous inhabitants of the country continued to take part in the government, and although nominally the sovereignty rested in the Turkish Empire, they were an integral part of that Empire and took part in its government. In the end, it was urged that at all events they constituted and still constitute a large majority of the inhabitants in Palestine.

According to the well-known international principle of self-determination which is now universally recognised and forms a keystone of the Charter of the United Nations, the affairs of a country must be conducted according to the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants. It is too late in 1947 to look at the matter from any other angle. And thus looked at, the claim put forward by the Arabs is unanswerable and must be conceded although it would be highly undesirable—nay, almost impossible, to overlook important minorities such as Jews in Palestine happen to be at present.

It is true that the political sovereignty of Palestine during the Ottoman rule was vested in the Sultan of Turkey. But it must be remembered that the Arabs were not satisfied with their political status in

spite of the rights which they had enjoyed under that regime, and the Arab Renaissance movement had started in about the middle of the last century. This was not liked by the Turks and steps were taken by them to curb the movement. Several secret societies came into being thirty or forty years later which gave great impetus to the movement. The Turkish Empire was gradually disintegrating, and the Committee of Union and Progress,[34] composed as it was of Young Turks, although successful in forcing Sultan Abdul Hamid [II] to abdicate, found it difficult to control the Arab drive for independence. And when Turkey joined Germany in the First World War, the Arabs lost no opportunity for achieving that object and negotiated their freedom through King Husain with the British Government. Turkey was defeated in 1918 and the Arabs felt that their dream of independence would now be realised. But the British Government had, in the meantime, issued the Balfour Declaration. On the receipt of the news, Arab suspicion was aroused while the war was still in progress, and on a question put by the King Husain the Arabs' doubts were allayed, as already stated, by Hogarth's message in which they were assured that the establishment of the Jewish national home would be *subject to the political and economic freedom of the Arabs.*

In any case, they were in the majority and continue to be so, in spite of large immigration of Jews into the country during the last twenty-seven years. They are, as admitted by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Bevin, no less advanced than the people of the other Arab countries which have already secured their independence. There is thus no reason whatsoever why they should not be allowed to manage their own country and form their own government. I might add, even at the risk of repetition, that Article 22, paragraph 4 of the League of Nations Covenant, which was in no way modified by the Mandate, read along with Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne according to which the country was not renounced by the Turks in favour of the Allies, point to the same conclusion. The conclusion is thus irresistable that self-government must be granted to the people of Palestine as a whole.

I am fully aware of the persistent propaganda which has been carried out by the Jews, particularly during the last few years, with the object of getting a state for themselves. And it may be conceded that for this purpose the Zionist group has tried to produce conditions and create an atmosphere which has close resemblance to a national movement. But it is impossible to forget that the Jews, as a whole, are not a nation but only a community which follows a particular religion. The urge of the Zionists to get a state and, with that in view, to convert themselves into a nation, cannot make them a nation in spite of their

riches and intelligence. A Jew in England is even today as English as an Anglo-Saxon who is living there. Similarly, a Jew in the United States is just an American and has an American nationality. Moreover, the so-called nationalism is of too recent a growth to be of any value.

The question then to consider is what form this self-government should take. The Jewish Agency demands a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine, while Dr. Weizmann in his evidence before us expressed the view that partition was the most satisfactory solution. Dr. Magnes, on the other hand, asked for a bi-national state but with parity between Arabs and Jews although the latter were and are not numerically equal, and form about one-third of the whole population. All the three exponents of these different points of view are unanimous, however, in pressing for free and unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine. And that is because it is impossible for them to substantiate their claim for independence or for a state even in a part of Palestine. The evidence is not wanting that a fairly large number of Jews in Palestine are being held back by the pressure of the Jewish Agency, but in spite of that thousands of applications have been made by individual Jews to various Consulates in Jerusalem for emigration. It was admitted before us by Mr. Sommerfelt that considerable propaganda is being carried on by or on behalf of the Jewish Agency in the Displaced Persons camps with the object of inducing the Jews to immigrate into Palestine, although he found that those staying in these camps as a general rule accept, if they are afforded opportunities, to go to places other than Palestine. The exuberance in the expression of sympathy by the Jewish Agency for those who are in displaced persons camps and their demonstrations in trying to force illegal immigration into Palestine—of which the Exodus 1947, recently brought back to Port le Bouc, is a glaring instance—has a two-fold purpose, although I am not prepared to say that the feelings of sympathy for their co-religionists in trouble are entirely absent. Every human being is bound to have varying degrees of sympathy for his fellow-beings if they are in trouble and the callous and inhuman treatment by Hitler cannot but invoke sympathy in any other human being. But I feel that these persons' misfortunes are being magnified for a political end, while we hear nothing of a much larger number of persons in these camps who are not Jews. Looked at in the right perspective, immigration is in my judgment being insisted upon as they wish either to turn the minority in Palestine into a majority or with the object of showing to the world that they were and are capable of doing so although I have my own doubts whether, with the natural growth of the Arabs, they would ever be able to do so. Nor am I sure that once the future of

Palestine is settled either one way or another, the Jews will have any great impetus in immigration, for if they acquire a state, they will have to look at this problem in a different manner for obvious reasons. If they do not, then real immigration will have no political object in view. It must be remembered that those immigrants are far from being economical and cost the Jewish Agency large sums of money for taking, maintaining and establishing them in Palestine and, but for huge contributions from America and elsewhere, they would not have found it possible to continue this effort for any length of time.

The other possible solutions to which my attention was drawn in the meetings of the committee were federation with varying degrees of power and control at the centre, and cantonization.

The Arab States, on the other hand, pressed for the creation of a unitary state for Palestine on the basis of present population, of Arabs and of the Jews who have already acquired Palestinian citizenship. Since immigration was regarded by them in the light of an attempt by the minority to transform itself into a majority with the help of the Mandatory Power hitherto and possibly with the help of the United Nations hereafter, they strictly resisted any further immigration of the Jews into Palestine and questioned the right of the British Government or even of the United Nations to impose it against the will of its indigenous inhabitants, particularly when its object was to deprive the Arabs of their country either wholly or partially. The position taken by the Arab States was not purely in the interests of the Arab of Palestine, but in their own interest as well, for the setting up of a Jewish state in their midst would be, according to them, a source of great danger to their own safety. They also apprehend that if immigration were allowed to continue, the Jews would not remain confined to the country of their occupation but would gradually begin to infiltrate into the adjoining states which would be a serious menace to the peace of the Middle East.

The bi-national and cantonal solutions can be easily disposed of. The bi-national solution is opposed to the fundamental concepts of democracy, as Dr. Magnes based it on parity of Arabs and Jews in the organs of government, irrespective of their present proportions in the country's population. It is interesting to observe that in his small book, *Like All the Nations?*, published by him in 1930, he observed at page 7 as follows:

> A former Administrator of Palestine reckoned that, with agriculture remaining the chief industry of Palestine, the land within its present political borders could accommodate roughly 3,000,000 people. Others give higher figures. But as for myself, if I could know that in the

course of a long, long period a Jewish community of 1,000,000 souls—one-third of the population—was possible here, I should be well content. There are now 900,000 people in the country, of whom 160,000 are Jews. Let the colonisers and the students of vital statistics tell us how long a period it will take for Arabs to become 2,000,000 and Jews to become 1,000,000. Surely much longer than a full generation. Why not, therefore, let us try to work out a program for a generation, and let the generation after take care of its own problems? If we could do this, we should perhaps be talking less in abstractions, and even though we differed in our philosophies, all of us ought to be able to work together with a will.

And this one-third has become one-half within a span of seventeen years although, in spite of all their efforts, the Jews have succeeded in bringing up their numbers in Palestine to one-third only. A bi-national solution would also mean the setting up of a complicated system of artificial devices to attain the parity which does not at present exist and is not feasible.

The cantonal solution implies the dissection of the country into a large number of small uniform groups of Jews and Arabs with powers to govern the various cantons. It would actually result in creating about 200 or more local units which would not only be cumbersome but may also lead to disorder.

If these two possibilities are ruled out as they must be in my mind, the choice would lie between partition on the one hand, and unitary or federal form of government on the other.

As for partition, I find that, although suggested by the Royal Commission, this solution was not accepted by the Woodhead Partition Commission appointed by the Government of the United Kingdom on the receipt of the Royal Commission's report. It is true that a majority of the members of the Woodhead Commission had made certain proposals, but after a full consideration of all the facts these did not find favour with the Government of the United Kingdom, and were finally rejected as impracticable. The reasons given by Mr. Reed at pages 263-281 of the Partition Commission Report, which did ultimately prevail, have considerable weight and I respectfully adopt them. For myself, I would like to emphasise the following reasons for the rejection of partition as affording a reasonable solution:

a. It would not be possible to create two viable states.

b. It would not be possible to create a Jewish state without a very large Arab minority which is intermixed with Jews.

From amongst the various schemes which were put forward before the Government of the United Kingdom at different times, the best plan could not avoid an Arab minority of 350,000 in a Jewish state

with 460,000 Jews. Such a large number of disgruntled Arabs would give rise to fresh problems similar to what we have been called upon to consider and would render the government of the country impossible. Moreover, there is no reason why Arabs who are in a majority in the whole state should be, by adopting this method, reduced to a minority.

c. Palestine is far too small a country to be able to bear the burden, financial and otherwise, of two governments particularly when relations between the people of the two governments are bound to be strained from the very beginning.

d. The Jewish state would be surrounded by hostile Arab states, and there would always be a danger of war.

e. The commerce of Palestine is already handicapped by artificial frontiers which separate it from the other Arab countries. The division of Palestine into two or more areas would place impossible obstacles in the transit of goods and persons.

f. Since there is no reasonable chance of co-operation between the Arabs and Jews, the Arab boycott would probably be strengthened and the Jewish state would be forced to buy raw and other materials for its use from, and to take its products for sale to, places at long distances.

g. If partition were carried through, the main areas where intensive cultivation is possible and the main potential centres of industry would lie within the Jewish state and the problem of rural population would be difficult to solve.

h. Relations between the Arabs and the Jews are bound to deteriorate and not to improve by a partition scheme which will have to be enforced by a special force of the United Nations. Where would the United Nations get it from?

i. The Arab state would consist mainly of hilly country generally unfertile and already thickly populated by poverty-stricken people.

j. Partition would actually do a great disservice to the Jews as a whole. Jews living elsewhere would lose the strength arising from their present nationalities and would be exposed to an embarrassing position of having a double loyalty which would create mistrust against them in the country in which they reside. That is why a number of influential Jews like Mr. Montagu had opposed the creation of a Jewish state. For the same reason, there is a large number of Jews even now who oppose the idea.

k. Palestine is as thickly populated now as Belgium, and if the desert portion in the south, which is mostly uncultivable, is not

to be taken into account the density of the remaining portion of the country would become worse and intolerable. If the natural growth of the Arabs is also kept in view, it would make Palestine an impossible country to live in.

1. The right of self-determination has been given to the country as a whole and scheme of partition would be, in my view, opposed to this principle.

I would for the above reasons reject partition as a reasonable solution of the problem of Palestine.

The choice now lies between a unitary state, as I have suggested, and a federal state. Both of these are two forms of democracy. The Palestine problem has not so far been solved as attempts have been continuously made to disregard the democratic principles in order to please or placate the Jews in view of their influence and riches, assisted by both an extensive and intensive propaganda carried on particularly in the United States which has several millions of Jews. It is always best to stick to the right path and not to deviate from the principles which have long received international recognition. The hands of the clock cannot be set back and we would have to enforce those principles as far as possible, deviating from the well-beaten track only if it is found to be essential in the circumstances. It would be entirely wrong in my opinion for the people of Palestine to regard that country as being in some way peculiar politically, whatever importance it does possess from a religious or sentimental point of view. But there is no reason why political considerations should be mixed up with religious considerations and why political rights in a state should be confused with religions rights. Life is, I know, made up of compromises but it is not possible to compromise principles. It is impossible to minimize the importance of peace and order and for the sake of peace and amity I am ready to accept any reasonable solution as long as I find it to be just.

Having regard to the fact that the indigenous population of the country has been in possession of the country and had agreed to throw off the yoke of the Turks during the First World War, thus throwing away whatever rights they had possessed in carrying on the government of the country at that time, I do not think it is possible to ignore the principle of self-determination and to refuse the right of forming the government to the majority.

I may not, however, be understood to say that I am willing to sacrifice the rights of the minority, whether religious, linguistic, educational or cultural. They must be fully protected by the constitution which may be declared to be either unalterable altogether or not capable of

being altered unless a majority of three-fourths votes in favour of its alteration. This is, however, a matter of detail and can be settled later. The important point is that once these rights are duly protected by the constitution, there should be no legitimate reason for the Jews to apprehend that they will be ill-treated by the majority. Short of getting a separate state for themselves and the attendant advantages and disadvantages which such a state confers, the Jews should be reasonably satisfied with the protection which I have suggested, and when I am ready to concede that the Jews who have already immigrated into Palestine and settled down there should be permitted to continue to do so if they have already acquired Palestinian citizenship or will acquire it within a period of, say, two years. This is being suggested with the object of avoiding a dual loyalty to two states at one time and, at the same time, to create loyalty toward the Palestinian state.

Several portions of Palestine, there can be no manner of doubt, on account of their associations with the lawgivers of three great monotheistic religions and with their apostles and followers, have a great attraction for many millions of their adherents. There is no other land in the whole of the world which arouses so much religious sentiment and feeling. Being a focus of spiritual interests of the Jews, Christians and Muslims, of which the Wailing Wall, the Holy Sepulchre, the Mount of Olives, Haram esh-Sharif and Masjid Aqsa are only a few instances, it would continue to arouse deep attachment for as long as these religions continue to exist. But, as remarked by me elsewhere, religious or spiritual connections with the land are one thing and political sovereignty another. The exercise of political sovereignty over a country has nothing to do, however, with religious rights which a sovereign may possess over the land where religious institutions, or other object of religious interest, are located. The Muslims, after their conquest of Palestine in the seventh century, did not desecrate the holy places of worship and buildings. Nor have I any reason to suppose that the Palestinian state or any person or body of persons who exercise sovereign rights in the land would at any time interfere with the exercise of religious rights and rites in the holy buildings of individuals of the various persuasions. For the above reasons, I am convinced in my mind that there is no reason to separate Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Galilee etc., or to deal with them separately for political purposes. It is better, nevertheless, to guarantee the Holy Places in the constitution which should provide:

a. that it would preserve the sacred character of all the Holy Places, and keep them in good repair;

b. that, except in the case of persons of undesirable character politically

or otherwise, it would allow access to all pilgrims from all over the world;

c. that it would never interfere with the religious liberty and the performance of religious rites in these places.

In giving concrete shape to the conception of a free and independent Palestinian people and a Palestinian state, the leaders of the country must work for a divorce of race and religion from politics and cease to think in terms of religious persuasion when dealing with affairs of state. In so far as politics and administration are concerned, there must in the future only be a Palestinian state and a Palestinian people. To such a land and such a people we must give the independence which any other country in the world enjoys. The idea of a separate Jewish nation and a separate Arab nation within Palestine should not be countenanced.

It is not possible for me in the time at my disposal to give the details of a complete constitution. Moreover, it would require a large number of other details and a secretariat adept in drawing it up which it is not possible for me to find in Geneva. I have, however, attempted to give a rough sketch which is appended herewith.[35] This would make my meaning clear.

In my opinion, immigration for political ends must be stopped, although I have no desire to stop it altogether for any community whether Jewish, Christian or Muslim, but it should only be permitted when the applicants wish to settle down in Palestine either on account of religious zeal or for any other domestic reasons which may appear reasonable to a committee to be appointed for the purpose. The committee for this purpose should in my view consist of one-third Arabs, one-third Jews and one-third representatives of the United Nations. It is, however, essential that the number of immigrants of all the religions should not exceed three thousand annually, to be divided equally between the three communities.

Although I am for the reasons above given in favour of a unitary state, yet I must admit that federation offers a possible solution. It has a number of advantages but federations have so far as I know, only come into being when the federating states had the initial desire to federate. It is not a solution which can be imposed from outside as it depends for its working upon the co-operation of the federating states and the desire to co-operate is lacking in the present case. If it is possible for Jews and Arabs to work as members of federation there is no reason why they should not be able to settle down and co-operate in a unitary state which is not only the correct solution in point of principle but which is likely to bring about co-operation between the

two peoples. But if federation has to be seriously considered, the best thing appears to me to divide Palestine into two provinces, separating as far as possible predominantly Jewish areas from predominantly Arab areas. I have very serious doubts myself whether it would be possible to do this, but if it is found to be so the functions of the government will have to be divided into two parts, (a) local and (b) central. These areas or provinces will have to be autonomous in respect of provincial subjects and should therefore have the authority to raise the necessary taxes to finance the autonomous governments in the administration of subjects entrusted to them. But this authority will be delegated to them by the central government. All subjects concerned with the presentation of the integrity of the state and subjects such as foreign affairs, currency and finance, defence and communications should be vested in the central government. Similarly, immigration would have to be a central subject. I am conscious of the views of some members of the Committee who are inclined to think that immigration should be a provincial subject. This is to enable the Jews to have as much immigration as they like into the areas over which they have administrative control but there is a danger of these areas being deliberately over-populated and of the Jews over flowing into the Arab part of the country, leading to similar difficulties which exist at present. Moreover, so far as I know, immigration is a central subject in all the other countries. The question of land laws would have to be similarly under the control of the central government. The provincial subjects should be, in my view, of local importance alone and such as are connected with the cultural and social welfare of the people, e.g., health, education and agriculture.

Enclosure to Section III

ESSENTIAL FEATURES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF PALESTINE

1. Universal adult suffrage for men and for women where consistent with the customs of the particular community.

2. A legislature composed of two houses—the House of Assembly (lower house) and the Senate (upper house).

3. Elections to the House of Assembly to be based upon a ratio of one member to a fixed number of voters on the basis of joint (Arab and Jewish) electoral rolls.

4. The Senate will be composed in the following manner:

a. One member for each four constituencies of the Assembly to be elected by the same voters as for elections to the Assembly.

Constituencies for elections to the Senate will be so arranged as to ensure that Jews are returned in proportion to their population.

b. The terms of the members of both houses shall be three years.

5. The Senate shall have the power not to accept the legislation proposed by the Assembly and to remand any proposed legislation except finance, providing that if the Assembly refuses to alter its prior decision within one year of the Senate's action the bill as passed by the Assembly shall become law.

6. The House of Assembly to have all effective powers of the legislature, including full power regarding immigration and land laws.

7. The delimitation of constituencies to be so effected as to make it possible for Jews to be returned to the Assembly in proportion to their total population in the country.

8. The head of the State shall be elected in a joint session of the two houses convened for this purpose by a simple majority vote. He shall be elected for a term of four years and shall be eligible for re-election. He shall be vested with limited powers.

9. The government of the state shall be conducted by a cabinet of ministers responsible to the House of Assembly working on the principle of joint responsibility under a Chief Minister, and in view of the composition of the two houses it is assumed that the strength of the Jews in the cabinet will reflect their number in the legislature. However, if necessary, a certain minimum could be laid down in the constitution itself.

Judiciary – There shall be one High Court for the country. Judges shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the Cabinet, at least one-third of whom shall be Jews.

Declaration of Rights – The constitution shall incorporate a fundamental declaration of rights which shall guarantee religious liberty to all communities, which shall forbid the imposition of any religious disabilities for any purpose whatsoever, and which shall recognise Arabic and Hebrew as official languages, and ensure freedom of association for all communities including Jews, and the right of Jews to maintain their own educational system.

IV. PROPOSAL FOR INTERIM PERIOD

The Palestinian problem assumed greater importance after 1939, as a result of Hitler's persecution, and the Jewry inhabiting Central and Eastern Europe were dislocated in consequence. A large number of them were done away with and something like 200,000 are still to be found in Displaced Persons' camps. There are, I understand, another 150,000 in other parts of Europe. Although from the evidence it appears

that persons in Displaced Persons' camps are being fairly well looked after—extra rations of food and clothing are being supplied to them—yet it is natural that they would not like to remain in places which revive bitter memories. Nor can the life in these camps be regarded as normal. It cannot certainly be a permanent arrangement. The Sub Committee which has gone to see these Camps has not yet returned and I have not had the benefit of seeing its report. I presume, however, that those living in the Displaced Persons' camps would like to get settled somewhere else. Persistent propaganda on behalf of the Jewish Agency has all along been carried on in their midst, and they appear to have been told that they would find a haven in Palestine. As a part of their scheme to acquire a state, the Jewish Agency has been doing all it can with the help of funds supplied by the world Jewry to attract as many Jews to Palestine as it can. Most of the other countries in the world have not been willing to receive them so far and it is, therefore, not surprising to hear that a majority of the Jewish residents of the Displaced Persons' camps have expressed their preference for Palestine. They must have known through a large number of their co-religionists who have succeeded in finding an entry into Palestine—legally or illegally—that they had been well treated by the Jewish Agency and that every facility was being given to them to find work in their respective spheres and a home according to their stations in life. Whether the Jewish Agency would be able to accommodate a large number of Jews in Palestine in the future is open to question, but it cannot be disputed that the Jewish Agency has used displaced persons as an instrument of propaganda with the object of creating in the world at large sympathy for the remnants of European Jewry, although they cannot, in my opinion, be treated differently from a large number of other persons in the Displaced Persons' camps. Anyhow, if places are to be found for the Jews living in these camps, the ground which has enabled the Jewish Agency to invoke sympathy will disappear. At the same time this will remove the actual urgency of the problem of immigration.

The duty of finding suitable places for these persons rests on the whole of the world and not only on Palestine. According to the official figures, more than, 218,000 Jews were admitted into Palestine during the last nine years. There have been besides a fairly large number of illegal immigrations. This work actually falls within the ambit of the International Refugee Organisation, but it is in my opinion necessary for this Committee to propose to the United Nations to appeal to the world for suitable homes for these people as speedily as possible.

From a practical point of view a transitional period during which

steps must be taken to set up a new form of government is imperative. An independent state could not be set up in a day, and the problem becomes more difficult when we find that the solution will be unacceptable either to one party or to the other. It is, therefore, necessary that a transitional arrangement should be made which, under the terms of the Charter, is now only possible through a trusteeship agreement. It is quite true that such an agreement can only be made with the consent of the states concerned. The question whether the Arab States would be held by the United Nations to be the states concerned in such an arrangement would probably be decided in the affirmative, but whether they are or they are not concerned, the Mandatory Power is certainly one of the states which will be concerned in these arrangements. From what little I have read in the *London Times* of the 15th August, it appears that the Government of the United Kingdom is not prepared to assume responsibility for the future single-handed. In fact, one Member of Parliament (Conservative) suggested that the Army should leave Palestine as early as possible. This makes the task more difficult, but I have no reason to doubt that in the interests of peace the United Nations and particularly the United States of America will agree to assist the British Government during this transitory period.

A transitional arrangement would, however, aggravate the present situation unless it were accompanied by a definite solution which would be put into effect immediately upon the termination of such an arrangement. It is also incumbent that its duration should be definitely stated in the agreement, and that it should not be a very lengthy one. Speaking for myself, I have no doubt that although the solution which I have suggested would be resented by the Jews and a certain amount of terrorist activity is bound to follow, yet this is inevitable in the circumstances. They have been allowed to grow and the situation has to be faced. The sooner this is done the better. In my opinion, a period of three years should be ample for the purpose.

It is assumed that the objective of trusteeship is of preparing the ground speedily for the creation of an independent Palestine, and a large number of preliminaries will have to be settled during this period before the new government can come into being and begin to function. It is necessary to add that although saved by Article 80 of the Charter, the Mandate which must be held to have been acted upon legally so far, will have to come to an end and will be substituted by the arrangement which I have suggested.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In view of what I have said I would make the following recommendations:

1. Independence to be granted to Palestine as a whole and a declaration to that effect be made forthwith.
2. The Mandate to be terminated.
3. A Palestinian State should be formed which should be composed of two-thirds Arabs and one-third Jews in both the houses of the legislature.
4. The rights of the Jews (ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious) should be fully protected by the Constitution.
5. All Holy Places should be protected and boards may be constituted for the purpose.
6. Immigration should cease except within the limits mentioned and the law relating to the future immigration would be passed by the new government when it comes into existence.
7. A trusteeship agreement may be entered into for a period of three years during which the trustee must take steps to prepare the Palestinians to take charge of the country and to form a government.

[1]Signed in June 1919. It recognised the provisional independence of former Ottoman Arab provinces with the assistance of a mandatory power to be selected according to the wishes of communities concerned.

[2&3]Held to decide, inter alia, the question of former Ottoman Arab provinces. The Supreme Council of the Allied Powers gave mandate over Palestine to Britain. The mandate was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations and Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey in September 1923 and came into effect on 29 September 1923, though civil administration was assumed from July 1920.

[4]Sultan Muhammad V, 1909-18.

[5&8]Hussein Ibn Ali (1854-1931), Sharif of Makkah 1908-16 and King of Hejaz, 1916-24.

[7]A secret agreement between Britain (represented by Mark Sykes, M.P.), France (represented by F.G. Picot) and Russia in May 1916, to settle their claims to the territories they hoped to detach from the Ottoman empire. It envisaged Syria and Iraq going under French and British spheres of influence, respectively, with Palestine under international control. In 1917, the Revolutionary Russian government publicised the agreement which was condemned by the Arabs as being inconsistent with the promises of post-war independence made to them.

[8]A declaration made by Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, on 2 November 1917 to Lionel Rothschild promising establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

[9]A British archaeologist known for his scholarship and diplomatic ability, sent to Cairo in 1915 for organising an Arab revolt against Turkish rule; was appointed Director of Arab Bureau (dealing with military intelligence) where T.E. Lawrence and Mark Sykes collaborated with him. His message had assured the Arabs that establishment of Jewish national home would be subject to the political and economic freedom of the Arabs.

[10]Not identified.

[11]It promised that Iraq and Syria were to become free and self-determined states.

[12]Dictated to the Ottoman representatives of the Sultan having been drawn up in April 1920 at the San Remo Conference; was repudiated by the Turkish Republican government at Ankara.

[13]Negotiated by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan with Turkey after the latter's repudiation of the Treaty of Sevres and victory over the Greeks. Turkey did not claim her former Arab provinces but otherwise recovered every thing which was Turkish before World War I.

[14]After her repudiation of the Treaty of Sevres and defeat of the Greeks, Turkey was invited by the Allies on 23 September 1922 to a peace conference. Accepting the invitation, Turkey proposed a preliminary armistice conference. The Armistice Convention was thus signed on 11 October 1922.

[15]A Norman hero (died 1112) of the first Crusade. Italicised here and hereafter in the original.

[16]A committee of the World Zionist Conference.

[17]Churchill stated the British policy that the Balfour Declaration did not mean "the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews of other parts of the world ...".

[18]Translation of the Turkish *Bab-i-Aali*, the chief office of the Ottoman empire.

[19]See notes 5&6 ante.

[20]Enclosure to Section II.

[21]Held in July 1919 and attended by Palestinian delegates, passed a resolution electing Emir Faisal as King of United Syria (including Palestine), rejecting the Balfour Declaration. King Faisal was however deposed by the French in July 1920.

[22]Appointed to ascertain the wishes of the former Ottoman Arab provinces regarding post-war settlement of their territories; 72 per cent Syrians expressed anti-Zionist views whereas the Zionists contemplated dispossession of Arabs from their territories.

[23]Article 4 of the Mandate allowed the establishment of a Jewish Agency to advise and cooperate with the Palestine administration in matters affecting the Jewish national home.

[24]Formed in November 1945 by Britain to secure American co-responsibility for its Palestine policy. In April 1946 the commission inter alia recommended continuation of the mandate and a return to the White Paper of June 1922 which stipulated establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine but not in the whole of it; and limiting Jewish immigration to the capacity for economic absorption and to the setting-up of a legislative council.

[25]Appointed on 7 August 1936, published its findings in July 1937 recommending inter alia the partition of Palestine and forcible transfer of Arab population from the proposed Jewish state.

[26]A Zionist underground organisation, sponsored by the Jewish Agency; carried out terrorist acts against the Arabs before World War II and later against the British.

[27]A dissident Zionist underground group which carried out terrorist attacks on the Arabs before World War II and later against the British as well.

[28]A Zionist splinter group which along with Irgun indulged in widespread terrorist activities against the British towards the end of World War II.

[29]See note 24 ante.

[30]See note 25 ante.

[31]Set up in pursuance of a resolution by the Council of League of Nations, this Commission rejected the Royal Commissions' partition plan. Also see note 25 ante.

[32]A supervisory body of the League of Nations to ensure execution of the trust by the Mandatory Powers.

[33]Hebrew for "Land of Israel".

[34]A secret society on the model of Freemason Lodges, formed by Talat Beg and Rahman Beg, joined by some notable army officers, against the autocratic rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

[35]Enclosure to Section III.

Glossary

Aameen	May it be so (said particularly at end of prayer)
A'la Hazrat Jalalat-ul-Malik Ameer	Honorific title of *Amir* of Bahawalpur, literally the most noble and exalted lord
Allaho Akbar	God is great
Ansar	Helper, especially of refugees
'Arif	The knowing one; devout and wise person
Ashram	Hermitage
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, Mercy and Blessings of God be upon you
Azad Hind Fauj	Indian National Army, literally Army of free India
Azeem-ush-Shaan	Magnificent
Bayt al-Maal	State treasury
Bak[h]shish	Gift; tip; grant
Bania	Shopkeeper; merchant
Bazar-i-Sarrafan	Goldsmiths' market
Charas	Marijuana
Charpoy	Bed; Bedstead
Chowkidar	Watchman
Daama Iqbalahu	May your grandeur increase (honorific phrase)
Darbar	Princely court
Dargah Shareef	Holy shrine
Dasturul 'Amal Sarkar	Order of the State (as used by Junagadh)
Deodar	Cedar tree
Dharma Shastra	Book of Hindu religion
Dhobi	Washerman
Faatiha	Prayer for the dead
Fakhr-i-Qaum	Pride of the nation
Feringee	Englishman/European
Gariwala	Driver/pusher of cart
Ghazi	Victor in war against infidels
Granth Sahib	The holy Book of Sikhs
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Guru	Guide; teacher

Hadj (Hajj)	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Hazrat	Venerable person
Hijra (Hijrah)	The holy Prophet's migration to Madina in AD 622; Islamic calendar
'Id	Muslim festival
'Idgah	Place for *'Id* prayers
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival after *Ramadan*
Imam	Muslim spiritual or religious leader; one who leads Islamic prayers
Inam	Reward; prize
Insha Allah	God willing
Istiqlal	Steadfastness
Jagir	Fief; land
Jagirdar	Grantee of land
Jai Hind	Victory to India (Indian slogan)
Jamadar	A Junior Commissioned Officer; a senior peon
Jami'a Masjid	The principal mosque
Janab	Sir
Jatha	Contingent; a group of people
Jirga	Council of tribal elders
Jumu'a	Friday
Jumu'at al-Wada'	The last Friday of *Ramadan*
Khaddi	Handloom
Khaki	Dust coloured
Khassadari	Allowance given to tribal elders
Khilafat-i-Rashida	Righteous caliphate
Khuda Hafiz	Good-bye; May God protect you
Kirpan	Sword carried by Sikhs
Laila-tal-Qadr	The night of power, occuring in the last ten days of the month of *Ramadan*
Lilla hil hamd	Praise be to God
Lungi	Turban; loincloth
Madrasa (Madrasah)	School; academy
Madrasa-i-Tahzib (Madrasah -i-Tahzeeb)	Institution of learning
Majlis	Assembly; association
Majlis-i-'Ulama	Assembly of Muslim religious scholars
Mali	Gardener
Mandir	Temple

Marhoom	The late (dead); literally blessed
Mehtar (of Chitral)	Ruler of Chitral
Millat-i-Amn	Nation of peace
Millat-i-Islamia	The Muslim nation
Minar	Minaret
Mofussil	Environ of a city
Mohalla	Section of town
Mo'tabars	Worthy of trust; elders
Muballigh	Religious preacher/missionary
Mufti	Muslim jurist; exponent of Islamic law
Muhajireen	Refugees
Mujahid	Muslim warrior in defence of faith
Mukhtiarkar	Revenue official
Musha'ira	A gathering of poets to recite their poems
Muttaqeen	The pious and God fearing
Namaste	Salutation in Hindi
Na'rah-i-Takbeer	Slogan acknowledging greatness of God
Nawab	Title denoting a Muslim ruler or noble
Paindabad	May last long
Pardah	Veil
Pardah Nasheen	A woman who wears a veil
Qilaband	Fortified
Rajab	Seventh month of Islamic calender
Ramazan (Ramadan)	Ninth month of Islamic calender, a month of fasting
Razais	Quilts
Roti	Bread
Salaam	Greeting; salutation
Salar	Commander
Sanjaq	An administrative sub-division of an Ottoman province
Saree	A female dress
Sarkar	Estate; government; master
Sarraf	Goldsmith
Shari'ah	Islamic code of law
Shawwal-ul-Mukarram	Tenth month of Islamic calender
Sherwani	Long buttoned-up coat
Sola	Sun hat

Sufis	Mystics
Suras Taha and Yasin	Verses of the holy *Qur'an*
Tahsil	Subdivision of a district
Talukadar	Landlord; owner of an estate
Thana	Police Station
Tumandar	Baloch chieftain or landholder
Vaid Raj	Ayurvedic medical practitioner
Vilayet	A province of the Ottoman empire
Wali	Ruler (of Swat)
Wa minallaahi taufiq	And with *Allah's* grace and guidance
Wassalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	May *Allah's* protection, mercy and blessings be upon you
Wazir-i-Azam	Prime Minister
Zakat	Fixed percentage for donations by eligible Muslims
Zindabad	Long live

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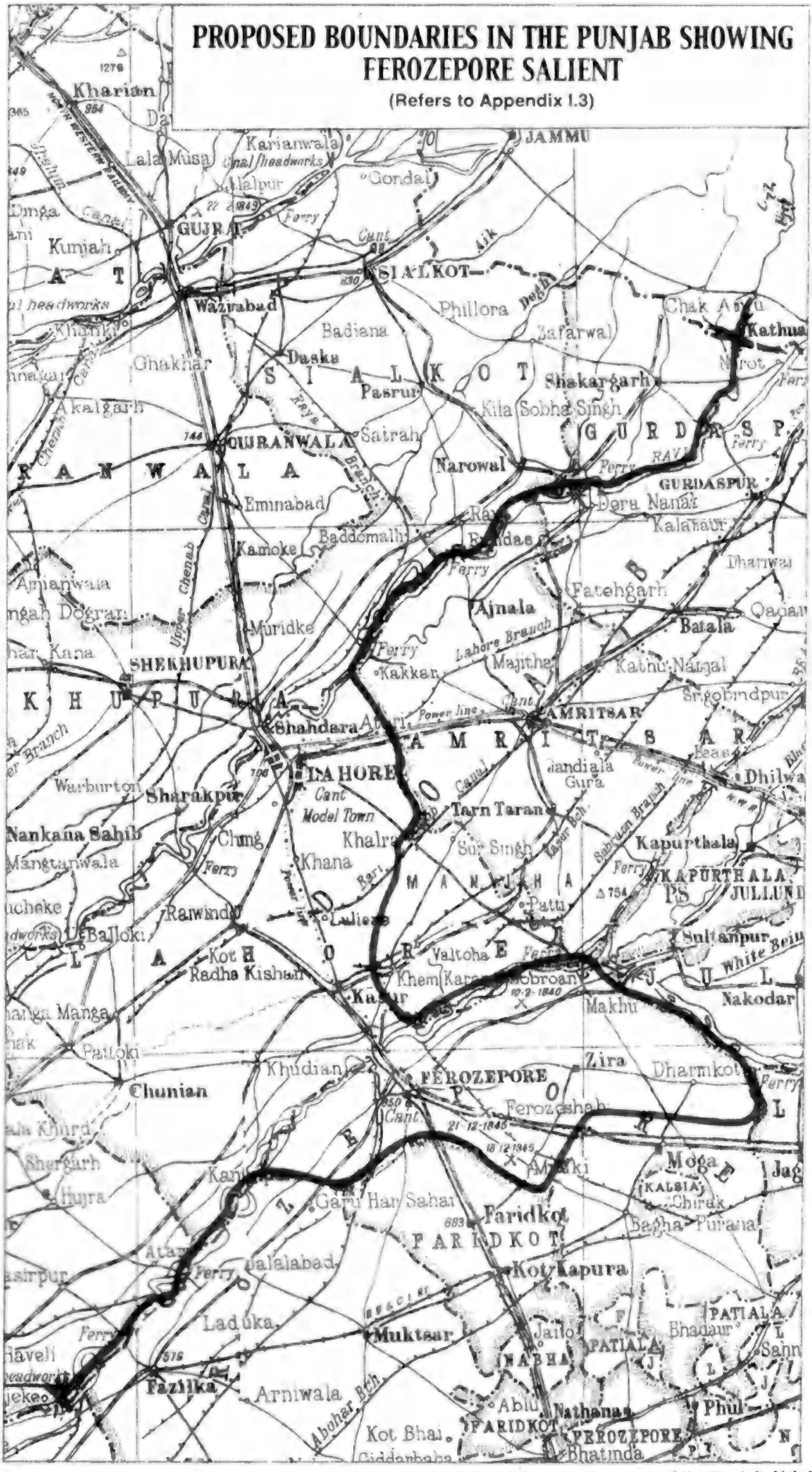
PROPOSED BOUNDARIES IN THE PUNJAB SHOWING FEROZEPORE SALIENT

(Refers to Appendix I.3)



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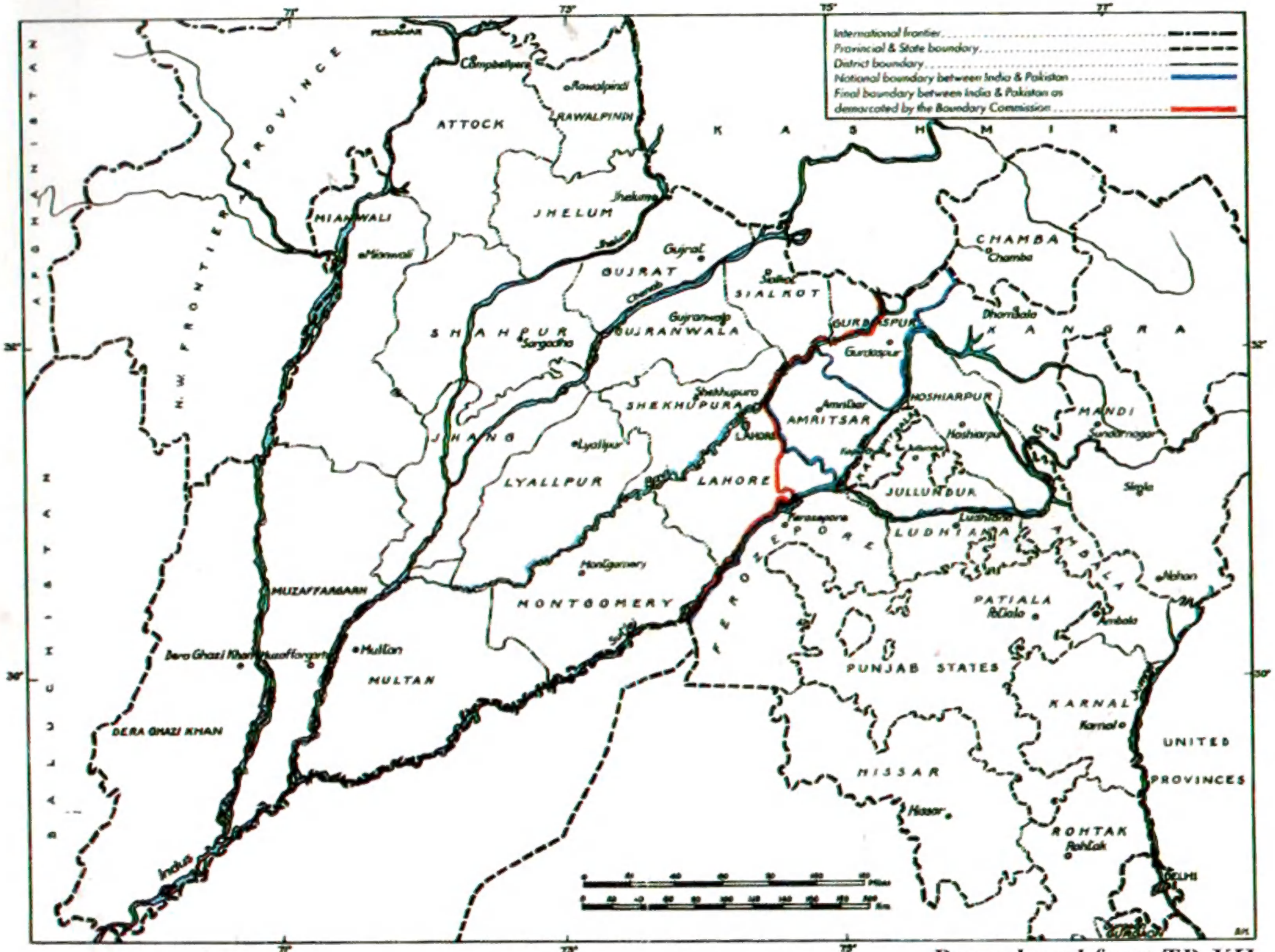
NOTIONAL AND FINAL BOUNDARIES IN THE PUNJAB

(Refers to Annex I to No. 30)



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NOTIONAL AND FINAL BOUNDARIES IN BENGAL AND ASSAM

(Refers to Annex II to No. 30)

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QUAID-I-AZAM'S CONCLUDING REMARKS IN URDU IN HIS BROADCAST OF 31 AUGUST 1947

(Refers to No. 175)

پنجاب کے مسلمان کے بلانے پر میں اٹھائیس (۲۸) تاریخ کو لاہور آیا۔ جہاں تک مجھ سے ہو سکا اور جس طرح مجھ سے ہو سکا میں نے اصل اور ٹھیک ٹھیک حالت کا پتہ لگایا اور آج کل جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے اس کے سمجھنے کی پوری پوری کوشش کی۔

آپ کو اس وقت تک معلوم ہو گا کہ لاہور میں جو اسپیشل کانفرنس ہوئی تھی اس میں کیا کیا فیصلہ کیا گیا اور ان پر عمل کرنے کے لئے کون سے قدم اٹھائے گئے۔ اس کانفرنس میں انڈیا ڈومینین اور پاکستان کی حکومتوں کے نمائندے، ڈومینین آف انڈیا اور پاکستان کے گورنر جنرل، لارڈ ماؤنٹ بیٹن اور میں، ہمارے صلاح کار اور اسپیشلسٹ شامل تھے۔

کانفرنس نے پورے پورے اتفاق کے ساتھ یہ اعلان کیا ہے کہ دونوں حکومتوں کے یہ پاک فرض ہے کہ وہ عوام کے مال اور جان کی ہر طرح سے حفاظت کریں گے اور ہزاروں کی تعداد میں جو لوگ اپنے گھر بار چھوڑ کر بھاگ رہے ہیں ان کی حفاظت، ان کی دیکھ بھال اور بہتری کیلئے دونوں حکومتیں اپنی اپنی طاقت کے مطابق سب کچھ کریں گی۔

میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک پاکستان کی حکومت کا تعلق ہے ہم اپنی ذمہ داری کو سرانجام دینے کیلئے سب کچھ کریں گے۔ مجھے پوری امید ہے کہ انڈیا ڈومینین کی حکومت بھی ایسا ہی کرینگے۔

جن جن بات پر ہم نے اقرار کیا ہے اگر ان کو باعزت طریقے سے اور پورے ارادے اور طاقت سے پورا کیا جائے تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وقت جو نازک صورت حال پیدا ہو چکی ہے اس میں جلدی اچھی تبدیلی پیدا ہو گی اور ہم سب پھر امن و امان سے دونوں حکومتوں میں آزاد قوم کی طرح زندگی خوشی سے بسر کریں گے۔

پاکستان زندہ باد

نوٹ: ہم نے قائداعظم کی تقریر کا ٹیپ سنا ہے اور ان کے اپنے الفاظ من و عن شائع کر رہے ہیں۔ منسٹری آف انفارمیشن کی مطبوعہ کتاب *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah – Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48* میں اس تقریر کے متن میں کچھ تبدیلیاں پائی جاتی ہیں۔

Jinnah realised that Pakistan was primarily an agricultural country but was keen to "develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias" in order to reduce "dependence on the outside world...".

The Frontier Congress Ministry boycotted the flag-hoisting ceremony on 15 August and thus symbolized its deep-seated opposition to Pakistan. This defiant act compelled Jinnah to dismiss the Ministry. However, he proceeded to mend fences with Afghanistan by sending Saidullah Khan as his personal representative to Kabul to establish diplomatic ties.

Jinnah ardently desired friendly and cordial relations with all countries, particularly the Muslim world. He was a man of peace, goodwill and understanding. He observed: "We have no aggressive designs against anyone. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world".

For Pakistan, independence was not a bed of roses but an awesome challenge to consolidate and build against overwhelming odds. The people of Pakistan rallied round their inspirational and charismatic leader, the Quaid, and proceeded with unwavering determination to do just that.

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